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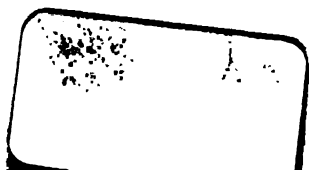
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THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

MAY, 1861.

ART. I.—*Iceland, its Volcanoes, Geysers, and Glaciers.* By Charles S. Forbes, Comr. R.N. London: Murray, 1860.

THERE are few if any countries within the circle of the European family which can put forward so many and such varied titles to our attention as Iceland. There are, of course, a hundred other lands, which can each advance some special and absorbing claim to our admiration, respect, or serious contemplation;—some long train of glorious reminiscences and imperishable deeds, some mighty part borne in the history of mankind, some immense benefit conferred, or enduring influence exercised upon our race. And, at the present moment, when the world is standing still in mute expectancy of some great change, it can hardly be presumed that the condition and fortunes of a remote and thinly peopled island, placed almost beneath the Arctic circle, should attract even a moderate share of general consideration. But we have in mind more normal circumstances which allow a larger scope and a wider range, to our investigations; and do not limit our attention to the situation of the moment in the overbearing anxiety for what the morrow may bring forth. It is with reference to such circumstances, and taking that larger view of the history of European communities, that we believe the position of Iceland to be unique, at least among the countries of our quarter of the globe.

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Placed on the very verge of the habitable world, and situate beyond the line which marks the farthest limit of travel suggested or stimulated by other motives than those purely selfish ones of commercial gain; Iceland, notwithstanding its isolation and our unfamiliarity with its special points of interest, presents to us features which must secure the sympathy of the philosophical student, and excite the curiosity of the man of science and the seeker after novelty and adventure. In an island lifted by volcanic action from the ocean's bed, where that bed lay deepest, girt by almost perpetual ice, continuously trembling through violent shocks of earthquakes, and ravaged by incessant volcanic eruptions of the most terrible and varied character; in a moist climate, where a dreary and tempestuous winter scarcely allows sufficient time for the warmth of summer, and forbids even the simplest forms of husbandry; in a country cut off from all save the rarest intercourse with the rest of the world, desolated by periodic pestilences of most formidable magnitude and direful effects,—we may well marvel that man ever fixed his abode, still more, that his perseverance and ingenuity have achieved a greater triumph than to eke out a precarious existence. Yet, here man not merely vegetated, but lived a life of literature, politics, and religion. Here he not so much triumphed over the natural obstacles and restrictions of his situation, as forgot them in the refinements with which he surrounded himself. Here, anticipating history by many centuries, a free people, by their orderly government and prudent administration, succeeded in resolving the highest political problem, and consolidating the peace, comfort, and prosperity of the whole community; while, by their spirit of adventure, they forestalled the glory of the discovery of America. At a period when all the rest of Europe was one wide theatre of chaos, of sanguinary wars and social revolutions, the Icelanders presented the enviable spectacle of a civilized state in which learning flourished, poetry was cultivated, and the arts practised; combating with unwearying patience and unflagging industry the difficulties of their Arctic home, and obviating by their commercial enterprize the evils which they could not overcome. Here, accordingly, although originally but an exiled colony from the parent land of Norway, we find the first recorded essays of Norse literature, and the more polished and

ambitious productions of its more cultivated period. Here we find those inimitable Sagas, so life-like a reflection of the Norse mind, which embody the whole system of mythology of the Northern nations—a mythology which contrasts with the graceful fables of Hellas, as much as do the frank worshippers of Woden and Thor with the effeminate votaries of Aphrodite and Apollo. Hither, too, must the laborious student betake himself in search of those chronicles and memorials which do not so much recount as paint the early fortunes, the strong personal character, the social life, and political institutions of that hardy race which over-ran Europe from sea to sea, and rolled back the tide of Moslem invasion in the crisis of its fate. The student of Norse history and Runic lore may well be pardoned, if he turns to Iceland with feelings akin to those which swayed Herodotus, when he sought in Egypt the primitive vestiges of the civilization of Greece.

But it is not merely on intellectual and historical grounds that Iceland can claim a large share of attention. It is not the antiquarian or the political philosopher only whom she may expect to attract to her shores. There are special features of interest for the naturalist and the man of science, tempting allurements for the crowd whom pleasure or the love of change or healthful excitement yearly sends forth to travel. There are marvels in abundance, stern and sublime, such as cannot be matched, or at least met with elsewhere. Any one who loves to view nature in her primitive and most rugged forms, to contemplate the effects of great efforts of the mighty forces which lie slumbering beneath the crust of our globe, and to moralize on the helplessness of man and the frailty of his works, when placed in conflict with the irresistible agencies that moderate the vicissitudes of the physical world, will have full opportunity of gratifying his passion during the brief space of an Icelandic summer. He must not look for the teeming fertility, the luxuriant light and shade which robe the sides of Etna, nor for the blue sky and bluer water in which that king of fire-mountains is set. He must not expect to find ice-giants, like those which keep watch and ward over the sublime and beautiful scenes of Switzerland. He may not even hope to meet with that ever varying succession of fen and forest, waterfall and fiord, snow-capped peak and mossy dell, which throws such enchantment around a summer ramble in Norway,

and makes one regret when it is over that it has passed away so fast. Scenes such as these are the peculiar property, each of its own land; they are as national as its people, and cannot be found elsewhere; and he who should come to Iceland with the hope of meeting their fellows, would be sadly disappointed. But the feeling of disappointment would soon yield to the satisfaction and astonishment produced by the unexpected wonders which present themselves at every step. We have not the glories of other lands in all their fulness; but nature has borrowed from them with a lavish hand when heaving upwards this island from fathomless depths below the ocean. We have snow-clad mountains and glaciers from the Alps; fens and fiords and waterfalls from Norway; volcanoes and sulphur mines and earthquakes from Sicily. We have fisheries of salmon from Scotland, of herrings from the Dogger-bank, of whales from the Arctic seas, and of cod from Newfoundland. Occasionally, by way of variety, when the winter has been more than normally severe, the icebergs set free by the summer's thaw will bring fierce and unusual visitors in the shape of white bears from Greenland or Spitzbergen. And, special property of Iceland's own, there are geysers and mud springs; there is a district into which no man dare venture, for volcano and earthquake have seized upon it for their chosen abode; and wherever we tread the crisp lava crackles beneath our feet, and discloses a sub-soil of layer upon layer of blighted moss and heather, that mark by their successive growth and decay the periodic ebb and flow of the fiery tide.

Iceland has been at different times visited by Englishmen. Latterly, indeed, these visits have been assuming the condition of a habit. Of course the number of Icelandic visitors is not one in a thousand compared with the crowd which annually throng the mountains and valleys of Switzerland. It is not even anything like the number that in the season is to be found rambling through Norway. But it is increasing, chiefly through the accommodation afforded by the steamers that carry the Danish mails, calling at Leith on their outward and homeward voyages, and making about four trips every summer. We have no doubt that when an interest in Icelandic scenes and attractions shall have been more widely diffused among those classes of our countrymen for whom a sum-

mer excursion is almost a necessity, this number will be very considerably augmented. We cannot hope, indeed, that a trip to Hekla or the Geysers will ever be as popular as one to Chamouni or Monte Rosa. But we are satisfied that every one who has the good fortune of making himself personally acquainted with even a limited portion of Icelandic marvels, will be anxious to renew that acquaintance, and will spread among his friends a wish to share in the gratification he has himself enjoyed. There is abundant room, not only for rendering more accurate the information which we already possess, but for enlarging it almost indefinitely. The greater portion of the island has never been described or indeed explored. Most of the published accounts are limited to the south-west corner; and even there, an attentive investigator would be sure to light upon many novelties previously unobserved or at least unrecorded. It is a subject of mortification that the books purporting to give us sketches or notes of Iceland, which have appeared within the last fifty years, add really nothing to the information contained in the *Travels* published by Sir George Mackenzie, in 1811; and in most respects fall far short of the elaborate and detailed descriptions contained in that most excellent work. This arises doubtless from the fact that later writers have not possessed the varied acquirements, the large scientific knowledge, and the trained habits of careful and minute observation possessed by the distinguished men who compiled those *Travels*. But this deficiency only increases our desire to see the task undertaken by men of similar talents and attainments. How much would our stock of Icelandic knowledge be increased if men like the accomplished members of the Alpine Club would turn their steps northward, and visit the northern and eastern shores of this island, and penetrate into the district of Skaptar Yökul. Surely they who have explored all the Colis, and ascended every peak of Monte Rosa, who have climbed the Wetterhorn, and revelled in the horrors of the Saas Grat, would not shrink from perils that probably owe their dangerous reputation solely to the fact of never having been attempted? Putting other considerations aside, there are certain reasons of national importance which render a better acquaintance with the physical condition of this island eminently desirable. We yet hope to see the same attention, the same patient

research, and indomitable perseverance, brought to bear on its investigation, by which Forbes and Tyndall have familiarized us with the phenomena of the Alps.

The work before us is a record of the observations of two months, most busily employed, by Captain Forbes of the Royal Navy. It is written in a most easy flowing style, and abounds with anecdote and useful bits of information. Indeed we feel almost inclined to abate in its favour some of our remarks on the comparative meagreness of modern books, and the very little they add to our previous knowledge. For consistently with the main object of his visit, which was not scientific or geographical enquiry, but a pleasant trip, we do not think the author could have embraced more extended details, or proposed to himself more minute observation. Independently of this, the information which he does convey, if not as extended and full as we might expect in a larger and more pretentious work, is certainly given in a form more likely to attract the attention of most readers. The tale of his personal adventures is so well blended with descriptions of the natural scenery of the country and historical allusions, that it is almost impossible, once any one has taken up the book, to lay it down until it has been read through to the end. It certainly displays cultivated ability of no common order, and hence we have at the outset to offer one criticism with extreme regret. There is too evident a disposition to view every thing Catholic in a hostile and depreciating spirit; and this inclines the author, unintentionally no doubt, to misinterpret and misrepresent occurrences and events whose explanation depends upon or is intimately bound up with our religion. This hostility is a blot upon the frankness which breathes through the whole work; and which leads us to believe it is not naturally incidental to Captain Forbes's character. It may have been imbibed from others, unawares, and nursed by the prejudices unfortunately too frequent in his profession. Perhaps it may have been transfused into his pages while they were passing through the press, and is but the reflection of the evil company in which he made the Sicilian campaign of Garibaldi.

Captain Forbes started from Leith on the 21st of July on board the Danish mail steamer *Arcturus*.

"She is clean and fast, and the Danish cheer provided is ample and wholesome. You will also find your bitter beer and Harvey sauce ; but no luxurious man should make the trip, even if he can bespeak fine weather. Our cabin passengers are an intelligent Lothian farmer who has an apt quotation from Burns for any idea that may start ; an American professor and an American physician—the former, although a martyr to sea-sickness, has come all the way from the States to examine the Geysers.....A Danish artillery officer, three of my countrymen, and myself ; and we are all told. Forward, there are a few Icelanders returning to their native land, which they love like islanders, a common saying amongst them being '*Island er kinn besta land sem solun skinnar uppá*,' 'Iceland is the best land on which the sun shines upon.' Aft, all with the exception of myself say they are bent on doing the Geysers during the week's stay of the vessel in Iceland and returning ; but from a subsequent regardless display of white kids and varnished boots on the part of the Dane, he was evidently bound to the far north on a love 'pigeon' and eventually was betrothed and returned *without* his bride, proving the existence of 'stern parients,' even in Reykjavik."—pp. 6-7.

On the third day out they reached the Faroes :

"A triangular group of lofty table-shaped rocks, cropping out of the Atlantic, about a third of the way between the Shetlands and Iceland, and composed entirely of old volcanic formations, which have been superimposed beneath the depths of the ocean, and by subsequent igneous convulsion driven up to, and far beyond, the surface of the water. The twenty-five islands of which this group consists are so intimately related in formation and appearance, that they evidently were once a compact mass, in which upheaval has caused the rents, or rather fiords, by which they are now divided. In general these fiords are very deep, and vary from one to two miles in width, and are parallel to each other. Here the lay of the trap-beds and alternating strata may be distinctly traced from island to island in the face of the abrupt cliffs which in most parts bound their shores. And as we pass within a few hundred yards of the southern extremity of Nalsoe, the screaming of our feathery friends is relieved by the low moaning of the Atlantic swell in the numerous caves and fissures which it has hollowed out in the softer portions of the trap. One of these caverns pierces the island from side to side, and forms a natural arch with nearly 1000 feet of superimposed rock, offering a passage for small craft in fine weather. Immediately above the cliffs, nearly all of which are perpendicular, and averaging about 800 feet in height, stripes and patches of a vivid green form a pleasant relief to the eye, and pasture to a few sheep during the summer. These grassy holms are again capped with grey lichen-clothed terraces of the same trap formation."—pp. 9-10.

At Thorshaven, the seat of government, they anchored and stayed for the night. Here, the author and his *companions de voyage* landed, and ascending an eminence, obtained "an extensive and panoramic view" of this strange group. One of the islets, Sandoe, attracts particular notice, its cliffs being so steep that no boat can be kept there. "Its sparse inhabitants live in entire seclusion, saving an annual visit from the clergyman, who is hoisted up by ropes." Next morning his attention was called to a whaling smack, the master of which was in distress, four of his crew being in prison for theft. Outrages of this kind are, our author testifies, far too common on the part of whaling crews. The sheep, which are allowed to graze unheeded on the detached islets, are the chief object of their attentions; the rapidity of their operations and the remoteness of the scenes rendering detection impossible. In the case which came directly under Captain Forbes's notice, "the rascals had actually had the audacity to plunder a village. The disrepute such unmitigated brutality entails on our national character is very great: and it seems a pity that we do not follow the French system in Iceland, and send a man-of-war to keep such scoundrels in order."

On the sixth day out from Leith, the voyagers made Iceland. The first indication of land was the foam and the roar of heavy breakers in the vicinity of the dreaded Skaptar Yökul, which the calm rendered both audible and ominous, proclaiming the great perils that await navigators on these tempestuous and iron-bound coasts. Shortly afterwards a bold promontory loomed through the haze, known as Portland Head. It is the only high headland on the central portion of the southern coast, and is proposed as the first landing station of the projected North Atlantic telegraphic cable.

"The dense fog began to lift and revealed the mysterious land of sagas and sayings. Immediately above the long line of foam were spread apparently interminable lava-fields, intersected with numerous rivers, and in many places covered with moraine and detritus, while here and there a gigantic glacier, quitting its native gorge, stalked out in abrupt relief upon the plain, on its march towards the sea, as if in chase of the uncontrollable white torrent debouching from its bowels. And as the fog ascends, the black and tormented flanks of mountain and yökul appear, each looking more grim than the last—rent and distracted by fire,

water and earthquake, into every form conceivable and inconceivable—conveying an idea of desolation and tribulation which must be seen to be realized.

“To the east, Kotlugiá Yökul’s ever-icy summit calmly rests on the accumulated ruin of centuries of intermittent volcanic activity; for this distinguished of Icelandic volcanoes, not content with the destruction of man and beast, obliterated every vestige of terrain on which they lived by successive deluges of water and ice, of lava and ashes; and as if still unsatiated with its destruction on land, created shoals and islands off the coast, which again have been destroyed by submarine convulsions.

“Abreast of us, Solheima Yökul, in comparatively close proximity to the shore, and connected with the former (Kotlugiá) by a lofty mountain range, including Myrdals Yökul, shelters a village of that name, and numerous homesteads scattered at its base, which to the uninitiated appear more like grassy hillocks out of place than the abode of civilized man. To the west, the towering Eyafialla Yökul, and its adjacent colleagues, rear their drear and gaunt cliffs towards the sea, bisected with glacier and torrent, but all alike devoid of wood or verdure, save the scanty stripes and patches under Solheima.

“Cap the mountain-tops with black, angry, watery clouds, and you have my first introduction to Iceland on a July day: for whilst at sea all was calm and clear, mist and fog seemed to claim the island as its own.

“We are now passing Skogar-foss, one of the finest waterfalls in the island, which here rushes over the cliffs into the sea in one unbroken sheet of foam, some fifty feet deep by thirty broad. The Westmanns are also becoming more and more distinct; likewise the Drifanda-foss, or driving cascade, which is precipitated from the brow of the Eyafialla range in a column of some 800 or 900 feet in height, and serves not only as a landmark to the Westmann islanders in their communications with the main, but also as a barometer. In calm weather, when the beach is accessible, the column is intact; but in stormy weather and a landing impossible, the wind, eddying among the cliffs, converts the fall, though considerable, into a cloud of spray, which is dissipated in the atmosphere.”—pp. 28-30.

We have given this long extract, not only because it is a good specimen of our author’s descriptive style, but for the information which it gives us as to the route projected for the Atlantic cable. It is proposed, as we have already said, to land the cable at Portland Head which is by far the nearest point to the Faroes. Thence it would be conducted overland along the southern coast to Reykjavik. Now, it has been urged that the nature of the country which this line should traverse is highly

unfavourable. The rapid rivers, the glaciers, the waterfalls, the atmospheric condition of the coast during a great portion of the year, would, of themselves, form no inconsiderable obstacles. But these difficulties become intensified by the fact that the district around Portland Head may be expected at any moment to become the theatre of violent volcanic disturbance. Such disturbance, in addition to endangering the physical permanence of the telegraphic line, would also exercise a fatal influence on it as a magnetic medium of communication. In the passage just cited the reader has a most truthful picture of the appearance of this part of Iceland; and may infer from it how much importance is to be attached to these objections to the proposed telegraphic route.

The Westmann islands, which lie off the S.W. coast, some fifteen miles from the mainland, are a group of basaltic columns. They are surrounded with an iron-bound shore, and present all the black ashy-looking features of recent volcanic ravages. They have, or rather the only one of them which is inhabited has the strange fatality of being peopled solely by immigrants. Whether arising from some local peculiarity of climate, or from the wretched diet of the inhabitants—certain it is that hardly a new-born child lives. They are all attacked with convulsions, at some period between the second and fifteenth day after birth, which almost invariably prove mortal. If any preternaturally vivacious infant survives the fifteenth day, he is looked upon as worth preserving—being the only specimen of that rare genus, a native Westmanner, who is likely to be in a position to transmit to posterity the personal experiences of his generation—and is accordingly sent to the main-land, to receive there that nourishment which could not be procured for him at home. Here our steamer landed its mails—an event which, by reason of the wildness of the weather, seldom diversifies the monotony of Westmann existence oftener than once a year—and then ran for Reykianæs, or *Smoky Cape*, the south-western corner of Iceland.

“It is a lovely summer evening, and the water without a ripple; but although the ocean is calm and clear, the murky mist has complete possession of the main, otherwise Hekla and the western portion of the southern coast range would encircle our northern horizon. The sun at last sinks into its ruddy bed, yet there is no per-

ceptible change; day has merged into night without a shadow; and after a long tournament at chess on the cabin sky-light, we discover, to our astonishment that it is past midnight."—p. 32.

This was on the night of the 26th of July. The next morning saw them steaming up the Faxa Fiord. The sky was cloudless, and such is the intensity of this northern atmosphere, that they saw the Snæfells Yökul, full sixty miles distant, as distinctly as if it were not further off than a couple of hours' sail. At length their destination, Reykjavik, the capital, "as it is facetiously designated," of this distant dependency of the Danish crown, was reached. "The town looked much more like some half-abandoned colonial location, that the energetic portion of the community had left for the diggings, than the metropolis of a community a thousand years old." The arrival of the mail is a great event at Reykjavik, occurring as it does only four times in the year, and these during the brief summer. During the remaining months its inhabitants are made to feel that they are cut off from all intercourse with the rest of the world. It is then hardly matter of surprise that there should be a copious display of bunting, and that every one should "quit their fishy stores, and line the beach to gape at and discuss the new arrivals, assist at the disembarkation of the mail, and eagerly besiege the post office." On this occasion the *Arcturus* was the bearer of intelligence more than usually interesting to the officers and crews of the two French men-of-war stationed in the harbour. The peace of Villafranca had been just signed, and they first learned the news from the little steamer. Captain Forbes, unlike his companions, not being pressed for time, was under no necessity of "doing" the Geysers within the week's stay of the steamer. He spent the week at Reykjavik, forming acquaintances, making inquiries, and in general employing his time in such a way as would best promote the objects he had in view when he undertook the excursion. We may usefully imitate his example, and avail ourselves of the respite to cast a glance over the country, and a retrospect at its history.

Iceland is about one-fifth larger than Ireland, and its area is vaguely estimated at 40,000 square miles. The coasts, as any map will evidence, are deeply indented with

fjords or inlets of the sea, which are in almost all cases the æstuaries of rivers. Two of these *fjords* on the west coast deserve particular notice for their extent, being in fact bays far larger than any similar inlet along our coasts. We have already referred to the volcanic origin of the island, raising it by successive efforts from the depths of an almost fathomless sea. The general form of the island is an arch, springing from north to south, and attaining its highest elevation of about 750 yards above the level of the sea, in a tract called Sprengisandr, a little to the south of the centre of the island. Rugged and irregularly shaped ridges traverse the country from east to west, sending out spurs towards the several peninsulas, and thus defining the angles of the coast by bold headlands. The central range lies nearer to the southern than to the northern coast: hence the northern rivers are longer than the southern. Between the spurs of the mountains, on the banks of the rivers, and sloping down to the shores of the fjords, are grassy valleys, which alone are inhabited. The centre of the island is a vast lava desert, through which one may travel for fully two hundred miles without meeting a trace of human habitation, a shrub, or even a blade of grass. The sameness is broken only by the *Yokuls*, or ice-mountains, which occupy more than a tenth of the whole surface. Magnificent glaciers cover the sides of these mountains, beginning at a great height, and sloping very rapidly towards the bottom of the valleys; and frequently, in the neighbourhood of the coast, crossing the plain like a causeway, and descending over the cliffs into the ocean. These glaciers present the same features of crevasses and moraines which are to be met with in Switzerland; they also seem to be subject to the same vicissitudes of increase and diminution, and apparently owing to the same causes, which are there observable. But the glaciers of Iceland are really yet unexplored. Grain will not ripen through the brief and uncertain summer, and must all be imported. Hence, so far as agriculture is concerned, the farming operations are almost exclusively limited to the grass crop. Even this is very precarious; being exposed to the influence of accumulations of Arctic ice on the northern and western coasts, which always occasion incessant rains, preventing the grass from ripening and rendering it impossible to dry it when cut. Famine follows such a calamity. For our

their cows and ewes the natives mainly depend for subsistence during the dreary winter. Their only reserve is dried cod's heads; the bodies of the fish they are obliged to barter for corn and other European commodities. Indeed, in the best of times, the great mass of the population are unable to procure more bread than will suffice for one meal a week.

The sterility of this ungenial soil is not confined to the cereal vegetables only; it extends to trees. Forests, indeed, are spoken of, but they are only tracts of stunted birch-bushes, seldom averaging more than six feet in height. And yet it would appear certain that formerly corn was grown, and real forests of trees existed, which have been destroyed doubtless through the waste and improvidence of the inhabitants. The question naturally arises, cannot they be restored? and, if not, why? It is alleged, in explanation, that the climate has become much colder, and consequently less favourable to vegetation than formerly; and this increased severity has been generally attributed to the gradual accumulation of polar ice. This is a subject which cannot be properly treated incidentally. We may however make one or two observations with regard to it. First, it is not at all certain that the climate of Iceland is colder now than it was a thousand years ago, so far at least as the atmosphere, or the condition of the polar ice is concerned. Nay, it seems most probable that the contrary is the case. At all events it is certain that the general climate of Iceland during winter is not more severe than that of southern Sweden and Denmark, which are situated between five and eight degrees more southerly; and in both these regions the climate is not unsuited either to trees or grain crops. Secondly, much allowance must be made for the effects of the periodical visitations of earthquakes and volcanoes, which have so awfully desolated the country, and must have considerably deteriorated a soil, which, under the most favourable circumstances could never have been very genial. Thirdly, the treeless nakedness of Iceland is not an unique phenomenon. There are many places in the British Islands and other northern countries, anciently clothed with immense forests, where scarcely a tree can now be made to grow. There are many spots in Scotland where grain-crops was formerly grown, which have been for ages abandoned to the grouse and the moorcock, as

hopelessly irreclaimable heaths. Yet grain is raised, and forests thrive in Sweden and Norway, in a climate immeasurably colder. The fact is that, in a cold situation, the mere absence of companions will prevent trees from flourishing. A small patch of wood will dwindle away, simply for want of that shelter which a large plantation would afford to itself, as a whole, and to every part of it. Where, then, an extensive tract of woodland has been destroyed, it is not an easy task to replace it by fresh planting, especially in countries which, from their atmospheric condition, impose the necessity of more than ordinary shelter. This is simply the problem which has to be resolved in Iceland. The amount of shelter has to be determined under which new plantations may be expected to thrive and supply the place of the perished forests. Some trees are more fitted than others to cope with the rigours of an Arctic winter. The experiment should be commenced with these. When they have grown to a sufficient height and consistency to shelter plants of a less hardy nature, then attention can be turned to the rearing of these latter kinds. The restoration of large patches of woodland seems an absolutely necessary condition, which must precede the hope of raising grain crops. We all know how intimately the atmospheric condition and climate of a country are dependant on the proportion of its area which is under wood. Where there are large forests, thickly planted, moisture is promoted, and storms of thunder and lightning are frequent. The peculiar features of tropical climate are always intensified in thickly wooded tracts. That is a large extent of woodland promotes moisture and heat. The restoration of its forests would do something similar for Iceland. They would temper the severity of the winter and shelter its fields from the severity of the northern blasts; while by retaining much of the heat, that now radiates from a bare surface, they would gradually diminish the general rigour of the climate, and adapt the soil to the production of corn.

Iceland seems to have been discovered in 861, just one thousand years ago. In the spring of that year, Naddodr, a roving pirate, in one of his voyages in the northern seas, while endeavouring to find the Faroes, either through an error in his reckoning, or driven by a storm, made an unknown mountainous coast. He landed, but finding nothing but ice and snow, he departed, calling the coun-

try *Snowland*. Three years afterwards it was visited by two other vikings, Swedes, Gardar and Floki by name. They found a great quantity of drift-ice along the northern shores, whence they called it Iceland. Floki, like most Norse navigators, was guided in his voyage by the flight of ravens, freeing them from time to time, and inferring the position of land from the direction of their flight. In 874, a number of Norwegian nobles, who had rebelled against Harold Harfäger, and been defeated by him at Hafur's Fiord, determined to seek an asylum in this distant country. They were conducted hither by Ingolf and Leif, two famous adventurers, who had been already condemned to banishment for several murders and other atrocities in which they had been engaged. The new colony was first established in the south-eastern corner of the island, but was eventually transferred to the neighbourhood of Reykjavik. Soon after its establishment, it was enriched by Leif with an immense booty, gathered in a successful descent on the coasts of England and Ireland. This expedition cost Leif dear; for, shortly after his return, he was slain in a quarrel with some of the Irishmen whom he had carried into captivity. Rapidly the colony grew in numbers and strength. Crowds of other emigrants, driven from their homes in Scandinavia by the disorders of the times, betook themselves hither: and in a few years it became a most flourishing and prosperous settlement. Norsemen had few wants, and these few were easily supplied. They waged war on the world; and no warriors have ever lived who practised more consistently or remorselessly than they the Napoleonic principle of making war support itself. Everything which was not required for absolute sustenance was borne home. Thus the population of the colony was steadily and rapidly augmented, partly by immigration, and chiefly by herds of slaves acquired in their excursions, while its material wealth was still more augmented by the rich gleanings swept from every European, and some Moorish lands. But, in so doing, the pirates were laying the foundations of a change of which they little dreamed.

Among the captives were many Christians, monks, priests, and even bishops. The old story was renewed, and gradually the truths of Christianity began to insinuate themselves into the breasts of the descendants of Wodin. When or how the conversion of the Icelanders was accom-

plished we do not know precisely. Tradition attributes the principal share in it to a Saxon bishop named Frederick, who came hither A. D. 981. It seems at any rate to have been more complete and instantaneous than that of their brethren on the Continent; for Christianity was formally adopted by the National Assembly in the spring of A. D. 1000. Churches and monasteries rapidly arose, and religion assumed the same dignified and respected position which was accorded to her in the countries of Europe. Simultaneously, or indeed, to speak more correctly, a short time previously, the political condition of the community was settled. The island was divided into four provinces, subdivided into twelve districts, each governed by local magistrates, elected by the people. An annual assembly, or parliament of the whole island, called the *Althing*, was held in Thingvalla, a place about fifty miles to the N. E. of Reykjavik. Here solemn trials took place, laws were enacted, and disputes arranged. The whole republic was under the nominal headship of a *Lagmann*. Land was held by *udal* (or noble) tenure, which was substantially a semi-feudal system. The gradual rise of powerful families, and the concentration of most of the land in their hands soon changed the elective character of the magistracy into hereditary. This led to feuds and deeds of violence, which ended in the surrender of the sovereignty of the island to Hakon, King of Norway, in 1254, three hundred and eighty years after its first colonization by Ingolf. The constitution, however, continued undisturbed, resembling rather the condition of a republic under royal protection, than that of a dependency, until the beginning of the present century, when the *Althing* was abolished. It was again restored in 1848.

Previously to the introduction of Christianity the Runic characters had been employed in inscriptions on wood, metal, and stone. But their use was limited to these inscriptions; *writing*, technically so called, there was none. Still the Icelanders had orally preserved their national traditions, and the memory of the prowess of their ancestors, and of the heroes of their race in songs, and in those *Sagas* which have become identified with the first essays of Runic lore. In the year 1057, however, Isleif, Bishop of Skalholt, introduced the art of writing, together with the Latin alphabet, modified according to the German usage, preserving some few of the old charac-

ters for the expression of peculiar sounds. This proceeding, which prevented the Runic alphabet from attaining the dignity of being the medium of a written language, was the decisive point in the literary history of Iceland. A general taste for learning became rapidly diffused. Societies were formed for the purpose of mutual instruction. The new art of writing was immediately employed in the important task of collecting the ballads, songs, and other memorials of the national antiquities, and of recording the historical recollections of the settlement of the island. Nor were the maritime expeditions of the early inhabitants forgotten, which had led to the colonization of Greenland and the other discoveries along the coast of North America, that reflect such immortal honour on the memory of those intrepid navigators. Several able writers also addressed themselves to digesting and commenting the laws and traditional institutions, and to chronicling in clear and simple narratives the events of their own times. The monks, as usual, especially those of the Benedictine monastery of Thingeyra, were large contributors to Icelandic literature; anticipating by five centuries the labours of the Maurist Fathers—on a small scale, and a different theatre, it is true; but storing up, withal, priceless materials for the future student of Norse archæology. Indeed nothing can compensate for the national loss sustained, at the introduction of Lutheranism in 1550, in the sack of the convents and the wholesale destruction of valuable manuscripts and relics of antiquity.

The position of Christianity in Iceland was eminently favourable to this literary development and to the course which it took. The conversion of the island had been effected almost simultaneously, and without any notable opposition. It had not, consequently, been attended with the same sweeping and indiscriminate hostility to the monuments and traditions of Paganism, which had been elsewhere deemed necessary, and had proved so fatal to their preservation. Accordingly the old Norse theogony still survived in songs and ballads. The old tales of their heathen forefathers were permitted to retain their place in the people's hearts. Deprived effectively of their religious meaning, by the practical hold which the lessons of Christianity had taken on the popular mind, or explained away as mythical allegories, there was no ground for fearing

that they could ever recover their ancient reverence. Perhaps, also, the fact that, from the commencement, the clergy were mainly native, was not without its influence. They had not, as was frequently the case on the Continent, come from a foreign land to combat Heathenism, unacquainted with the peculiar character of the people they were seeking to convert, and consequently ignorant of the mode of dealing with those popular prejudices which were arrayed against their ministry. They were never in the position of strangers, at war with the natives, on all those ideas of which a people is most tenacious, and for this reason alone, if for no other, necessarily regarded as intruders. Nor, when the work of conversion was accomplished, were they compelled, in order to secure its permanency, to recruit their ranks from their own country by men, who, whatever may have been the respect paid to them on account of their religious authority, must always have been looked upon as aliens to the tribe. These circumstances, it may be, were not without their weight in determining the attitude of the Anglo-Saxon and Irish missionaries towards the traditions and monuments of the Teutonic and Scandinavian tribes which they converted to the faith. But they did not exist in Iceland. There the clergy, from the first, were of the people. They knew intimately the habits, instincts, and leanings of their fellow-countrymen. They knew the weak points, as well as the strong ones, of their character; for they were those of their own. Consequently they were in a position, from the first, to deal practically with the tales of Northern Mythology. They knew at once how much of them they should reprobate and denounce, what superstitions they should guard against and eradicate, how much they were to explain away as allegory, how much they might allow to live as the legendary story of events whose true version was lost in the mists of antiquity. They acted accordingly. Nor do they seem to have considered, that any danger to the stability of Christianity could arise from their regarding those Pagan remains with more curiosity, perhaps,—for they had a domestic interest in whatever historical value they possessed—but certainly not with greater apprehension as to their practical influence on the conduct of their flocks, than we do those of Ancient Greece or Rome. The event proved the justice of their anticipations; for there is no trace that the Icelanders

were addicted to any grosser superstitions than any of their contemporaries, even those more favourably circumstanced.

After all, these are mere conjectures on a point which, more than any thing else connected with Iceland, is unique: namely, the singular preservation of Scandinavian traditions which renders its literature so peculiarly valuable in our days. But it is really idle to speculate on the origin of one feature, where everything is equally extraordinary, and may be discussed, but can, at best, be accounted for with difficulty. Rather, let us content ourselves with simply recognizing the facts, whatever may be their explanation. With the introduction, then, of writing a great and general educational and literary movement commenced in Iceland, which continued unabated for fully five centuries. A prominent feature of the literature, which thus arose, was the preservation of the national traditions, as well mythological as historical. The authors and foremost patrons of this educational movement, both in its general aspect and in the particular bias which it assumed, were the clergy and the monks.

The result of all these labours and exertions was an amount of knowledge and cultivation, so widely spread, as to render Iceland a country which, in point of general education and a high-class national literature, was quite unmatched among its contemporaries, and has hardly, if at all, been excelled by its successors. This literary taste, with its consequent acquirements, although, as we have seen, largely indebted both in its origin and in its progress to the fostering care of the clergy and the monastic establishments, was not, however, as over all the rest of Europe, confined to them alone. It was shared by all classes; and some of its most polished scholars appear to have been laymen. The natural result was a refinement of manners and an advanced civilization, that seem quite anachronous in that wild age of lawlessness and violence, and wholly beyond what the most extravagant conjecture could expect in so remote and inhospitable a land. Duelling, and trial by ordeal, protected elsewhere and systematized by custom and enactment, were here strictly prohibited. Doubtless, it was impossible to change radically the quick and fiery nature which had been one of the main elements in raising the Norse name to its high position, and which has so deeply

influenced the characters of all the modern nations of Western and Southern Europe. But it was much modified, theoretically, at least; and found a fitting expression in a legislation far in advance of its continental brethren.

The records and memorials of this vanished civilization, and the monuments of this dead literature still subsist, in piles of dusty manuscripts, preserved in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, in the British Museum, and elsewhere. Some few of them have been published; and from their freshness and vigour, and the deep interest of their contents, we may imagine the value of the treasure which yet remains entombed. The very names of the labourers in this remote field have perished, or lie buried with the forgotten productions of their genius. One there is indeed, which has rescued itself from the general oblivion, either through accident, or through the yet abiding greatness by which its owner, in his day, towered above all his contemporaries. He was a man who flung his shadow wide over every page of his country's story, who would have been most distinguished in any career, had he chosen to restrict himself to one, and who was without a rival in all. He was a great lord, the greatest in Iceland, owning more vassals than almost all the others together. He held several times the highest office in the gift of his fellow-countrymen. He was a great scholar, antiquary and poet, profoundly versed in all the learning then accessible, at a time when many nobles of Europe could not write their names. And in estimating the bearing of all this on the judgment we should form of the literary condition of the country, we must remember that he was educated altogether in Iceland, and never left his island home until after he had completed his forty-second year. He was besides a most accomplished man, of refined, nay luxurious tastes, of the highest order of talent, and most soaring ambition. He has left behind him a number of works, which, under any circumstances may fairly claim for him that first place in Icelandic literature which was allotted to him by his contemporaries and has been confirmed to him by the voice of posterity; but which we may well marvel he found leisure to compose, amid the cares and employments of continuous public life, and the distractions entailed by his many political intrigues. Pity that so noble a mind should have been stained by some of

the worst passions and vices of our nature, and that his fame should be clouded by the suspicion of having sought to sell the liberties of his country to Hako of Norway. His fate was very sad; he was murdered in 1241, in his splendid palace of Reikholt, by his three sons-in-law, in his sixty-third year. And yet, with all these drawbacks on his reputation, in versatile ability, in refinement, in most varied attainments, and high literary culture, we shall seek in vain to match Snorro Sturleson among his royal or noble fellows of the Middle Age. He will live in the minds of men centuries after their names shall have faded away.

Great as are the literary merits of Iceland, the highest claim, perhaps, that, in this age of commercial enterprise, its history can put forward to general attention, is the spirit of maritime adventure which distinguished its inhabitants from the date of its first settlement, and which, as we have already said, led to the anticipated discovery of America. Ploughing the seas in every direction, in quest of plunder, visiting every coast from the White Sea to the Euxine, and issuing forth on an expedition as soon as any scattered rumour reached them of a shore that had hitherto escaped their fatal inquisitiveness; it could hardly be presumed that the daring and reckless jarls who had fled hither from Norway, rather than submit to the slight check which the fair-haired Harold would have put upon their roving propensities, would not sooner or later have stumbled upon Greenland. The direct distance between the two countries is not more than 180 miles. Cape Farewell itself is not much farther from Cape Reikjanæs, the S. W. corner of Iceland, than the Shetlands. It is much nearer to it than any point of Iceland is to Trondhjem in Norway; and yet we know that direct voyages between Iceland and Norway were of frequent occurrence. Accident, however, led to the first discovery, in the person of one Gunnbiörn, who in trying to reach some of the western ports of Iceland was driven off his course by violent easterly gales, and at length made a high, rocky coast, with snow-covered mountains in the back ground. He did not land; but on his return, *within four days*, he gave to his countrymen a most discouraging account of this unknown shore. Some few years later,*

* The date of this expedition of Eric Raude is not settled. Some fix it at 982, others postpone it to 986.

Eric *Raude*, or the Red, a wealthy and restless youth, was banished from Iceland, on account of a murder of more than usual atrocity. Instead of betaking himself to any of the usual haunts of the Norsemen, he determined to profit by his exile and carve out some new adventure. Guided by the reports of Gunnbiörn, he sailed towards the south-west. After a quick run, he descried two lofty mountains, the one covered with snow, which he called the *Huitserken*, or the *White-shirt*, the other cased in ice, which he called the *Blaaserken*, or the *Blue-shirt*. Continuing on his course, he soon reached a headland, which he doubled; and, having entered a wide creek, he wintered on a "pleasant" island. He pursued his discoveries next spring, and exploring the mainland, was charmed by the verdure of the coast. He again wintered in the newly-discovered region, and then returning home spread far and wide the fame of its freshness and fertility, calling it *the Greenland*, in contrast with the barren rocks of Iceland, and, inviting settlers to join him, answered all inquiries by glowing and most alluring descriptions. He succeeded beyond his expectations, and started in the summer at the head of a flotilla of twenty-five vessels, only fourteen of which reached their destination. The new colony was soon augmented by considerable numbers, adventurers flocking to it in crowds, not only from Iceland, but from the Faroes, Orkneys, and other islands previously occupied by the Norwegians. And yet, from the commencement, the new colonists must have been sadly disappointed at the contrast which the reality presented to the magnificent promises of Eric *Raude*. Their life was one of unmitigated hardship and privation. Their rude hovels were surrounded by steep mountains of perpetual ice. They never knew the taste of bread, unless when an exceptional good fortune brought them from Europe a scanty supply of corn. They subsisted entirely on the fish which they caught, varied occasionally with the flesh of the Arctic wild fowl, and the small quantity of milk they could wring from their miserable cows: seal-skins, eider-down, and such other products of the chase, they bartered with the traders who visited them for wood and other necessaries.

Withal the colony flourished, despite these difficulties, and extended itself along the coast. Very soon after its foundation, a second settlement was formed; and the dis-

tribution of Greenland into the *Oestre Bygd*, or *Eastern Settlement*, and *Vestre Bygd*, or *Western Settlement*, first instituted by Eric, was perpetuated. In 999, Leif, the son of Eric *Raude*, being in Norway, was converted to Christianity through the zeal of King Olaf Trygesson; and, bringing with him some monks, on his return, he was able by their preaching to induce his father and the other settlers to embrace the new faith. A bishopric was founded at Garde, a cathedral, dedicated to St. Nicholas, was erected, some monasteries, and even convents of nuns were established, and various provisions were made for maintaining the dignity of religion. It is distinctly stated that there were twelve parishes and two houses of religious men in the Eastern division, and four parishes in the Western. One villa of the Bishop was, we are informed, *magnifica*; another is described as a house "fit for a king to dwell in." We have also an account of a convent of St. Thomas,* which, however exaggerated in some of its

* Father Kircher has given us an account of this Convent of St. Thomas, taken from the narrative of one Nicholas Zeno, a Venetian sea captain, in the service of the King of Denmark, who was driven by stress of weather on the coast of Greenland, in 1380, and there saw this convent.

"Here is also a Dominican convent to be seen, dedicated to St. Thomas, in whose neighbourhood there is a Volcano that vomits fire, and at the foot thereof is a well of burning hot water. This hot water is not only conveyed by pipes into the convent, and through all the cells of the friars, to keep them warm, as with us the rooms are heated by stoves of fire-wood or other fuel, but here they also boil and bake their meat and bread with the same. This Volcano, or fiery mountain, throws out such a quantity of pumice-stone (lava?) that it hath furnished materials for the construction of the whole convent. There are also fine gardens, which reap great benefit from this hot water, adorned with all sorts of flowers, and full of fruit. And after the river has watered these gardens, it empties itself into the adjoining bay, which causes it never to freeze, and great numbers of fish and sea-fowl flock thither, which yield plentiful provision for the nourishment."

There is much that is incredible, and looks like a sailor's "yarn" in this description. But learned men are disposed to regard it as truthful in its main features. It has been strangely confirmed by a friar, a native of Greenland, who spent his youth in this convent, but was resident in Iceland about the middle of the sixteenth century. This man's story, as told to two different

details, conclusively establishes one fact at any rate, viz : that the high mechanical skill, and practical acquaintance with the mechanical laws, which must be supposed to have been pretty widely diffused amongst the religious bodies of Europe, if we wish to account for the existence of Roger Bacon, and for the many extraordinary facts collected by Kircher, was not confined to the Continental communities, but was shared by their distant brethren on those frozen shores. The prevalent opinion with regard to the extent of these Greenland settlements, is that they did not extend further north than the 63rd parallel. This is probably correct, so far as permanent settlements are concerned. But it is now certain that the voyages of these early colonists extended to a much higher point ; for in 1824 a stone, engraved with Runic characters, was found on an island in Baffin's Bay, in latitude 72° 55' N. We have also an authentic account of a voyage undertaken by some priests of the diocese of Gardar, in 1266, in the course of which they penetrated through Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Strait, and examined shores, the discovery of which has been vaunted as among the most intrepid feats of modern nautical daring. They have fortunately given us some astronomical observations, from which it would appear that they must have advanced almost to the 76th parallel.

Now, we can have no doubt as to the general truth of these accounts of the first settlement of Greenland and of its religious condition ; nor, even, of other facts still more extraordinary to which we shall presently refer. They have come down to us detailed in most simple narratives, compiled by authors who wrote independently of each other, in the century following the discovery. The colonists were members of Icelandic and Norwegian families ; they were perpetually visiting their parent countries ; there was a continuous intercourse kept up between Greenland and these countries ; the inmates of the Greenland monasteries were

authorities, who have transmitted it to us, endorsed completely the statement as to the pipes of hot water. It is evident that the modified temperature produced by such a contrivance, although not sufficient for the production of "all kinds of flowers and fruit," was yet capable of being made subservient to a variety of purposes of the last utility in the frozen climate of Greenland.

often sent over to the conventual establishments in Iceland and Norway, and *vice-versa*; the Bishops of Garde were suffragans of the Archbishop of Trondhjem, and besides the occasion of their consecration, had frequent necessity of coming to Europe. It was impossible under such circumstances, to falsify or tamper with facts attested by such ample and intricate tradition. Indeed, from the occasional notices and allusions scattered through these narratives, we are justified in suspecting that the picture of colonial misery which we sketched just now is over drawn; and that, as in the case of Iceland itself, commercial enterprize and activity were able to moderate the hardship and privations of a situation which would otherwise have been intolerable. And, if we remember, that the colony is admitted, on all hands, to have existed in the state we have described for nearly six centuries from the date of its foundation, we are warranted in looking upon this suspicion as amounting to even more than a strong probability.

But the place which the colonization of Greenland will ever hold in the history of geographical discovery, depends far less on its connection with Iceland—however honourable an illustration it may be of the intrepid daring and adventurous spirit of the people of that island—than on the fact that it was in reality, what Nature had designed it to be, the pioneer station on the road which led from Europe to America. Among the companions whom Eric *Raude* brought with him to the settlement of the newly discovered “green land,” was Heriulf, who established himself at a place called Heriulfsness, which our map-draughtsmen still continue, with strange perversity, to mark on the east coast. This Heriulf had a son named Biörni, who happened to be in Norway at the time the expedition sailed. On his return home, the first intelligence he received was, that his father had started for an unknown shore with the intention of settling there for life. The hardy Norseman seems to have listened very calmly to news, which would have appalled a modern son.

‘O’er the glad waters of the deep blue sea,”

had a music for him as for all his countrymen, which has, we believe, quite vanished with them from earth. He had just come ‘over the sea from Norrway;’ what mattered

a sail of four days or so more, for such the trip to Greenland was represented? His decision was soon made. He would cross over and see how his father was doing, spend the winter with him—the Icelanders were not yet Christians, they knew not Christmas, but they burned the yule log merrily withal—and he would look about him in the spring. Suppose he did not like the place? Well, he had a Norseman's common fortune: Iceland, the Faroes, or the Orkneys, for a winter nest, and the ocean wide for a summer home. He had never been to Greenland, nor knew the way. But he was not worse off than Eric *Raude*, when he first turned his galley's head towards that icy coast which Gunnbiörn had caught sight of amid the fury of a gale. He sailed, having learned as the only instruction which he could procure as to the course he ought to steer, that he should keep well away to the southwest.

✱ He sailed for days and days; but no land could he descry. It was early autumn, and he met with the usual fate of navigators in those seas—a gale. When the weather moderated, he found himself off a country covered with wood, but without mountains. This did not correspond with the description of Greenland. He had clearly come too much southwards. So at once he turned about towards the north. In *two* days he made another shore of similar appearance, and continued on his northern course. In *three* days more, sailing with the wind from S. W., he sighted high cliffs, with mountains and glaciers. This could not be the *Green* land. He coasted it, however, and found it an island. This discovery, strangely enough, seems to have decided him on leaving it behind. Continuing on his course, with the same wind, after a stormy voyage of *four* days, he made Heriulfsness, and astounded the colonists with his adventures. The statement of the number of days employed in performing each portion of this navigation, is of great importance, in the absence of all other observations.

We have wished not to curtail a single incident of this strange voyage, which discovered the mainland of America, in the same year that witnessed the first settlement of Greenland. In the whole history of Northern adventures, there is none which better illustrates the special characteristics of the race; the utter recklessness as to the future, and yet the firm will and intrepid courage, never

at fault in disaster, calm, if it could not be successful. The voyage seems to have been much talked about among the colonists, at home in Iceland, and even in distant Norway. Clearly, they were great "yarn-spinners," these old Scandinavians, and they more than suspected that Biörni was availing himself of the national privilege. At length, fourteen years after, Leif, the son of Eric *Raude*, who had been so instrumental in converting the Greenlanders, determined to test for himself the truth of the story. Having purchased Biörni's vessel, and received from him all the instructions he could give, he started A. D. 1000, with thirty-five companions, among whom was a German named Tyrker. They reached first the land last seen by Biörni, and found it to correspond with his description. There was no trace of herbage, but glaciers in the interior, between which and the cliffs the appearance of the country was barren and rocky. They called it *Helluland*, or the *Barren Land*. In this island of Helluland modern geographical critics have recognized the island known to us as Newfoundland.* Leaving behind him this unattractive coast, Leif reached another shore, very much indented, and with numerous banks of white sand. The whole face of the country was covered with

* Omitting other reasons, the following considerations seem to justify this conclusion. From sundry ancient Icelandic authorities it would appear that a day's navigation in fair weather was estimated at about 112 or 115 miles, being at the rate of from four to five knots an hour. Biörni made the voyage from Helluland to Greenland in *four* days, with a strong breeze from the S. W., which for a portion of the time increased to a gale. It is a moderate calculation to assign a rate of about six knots an hour to a voyage performed under such circumstances. This would give about 576 miles for the four days; while the bearing of Newfoundland is S. W. from Cape Farewell, and the distance is exactly 565 miles. This coincidence, which is much greater than is usually considered sufficient to establish an identity in the case of nautical observations, is further confirmed by the description of the appearance of the country, which corresponds accurately with the general features of Newfoundland.

We may here mention, that in 1285, two Icelandic priests, Adalbrand and Thorwald, discovered a "new land" to the west of Iceland. The notices of the voyage are, however, such that we cannot be certain whether this country was Newfoundland or Labrador.

forests, whence he called it *Markland*, or the *Land of Woods*. This is clearly Nova Scotia. Having coasted it he pursued his voyage, and after two days discovered an island lying to the east of the mainland. Entering the strait, which is described as bearing east and north, he ran westwards; and carefully steering between the many shoals which were dry at low-water, he entered a snug harbour. Here he landed. The place looked inviting; so having made a "clearing," he passed the winter exploring the neighbourhood of his encampment. The country is described as very pleasant and fertile, the winter much warmer, and the days longer than in Greenland. On the shortest day the sun was visible for nine hours. It happened one day that the German, Tyrker, strayed from his companions. Leif, going with a party in search of him, met him coming out of the forest with a bunch of grapes in his hand. This incident led to naming the country *Vinland*, or the *Land of the Vine*.* With the spring they sailed for Greenland, with a return cargo of wood; having decided the question that to the southwest of the new colony lay valuable lands.

The account which Leif gave of his voyage, aroused all the attention of the Greenland colonists. The following year (A. D. 1002) his brother Thorwald sailed for Vinland, and wintered at Leifsbudir, as the harbour where his brother stayed, two years before, was called. In the spring he despatched a large exploring party southwards, who seem to have examined Long Island, and the coast of Delaware and Maryland. In the spring of 1004 he sailed northwards, doubling Cape Cod, which he called *Kialarness*, or promontory of the *Keel*, from its resemblance to the shape of a boat; but fell in a skirmish with the natives. Nothing daunted by his fate, a large expedition, numbering three vessels, and one hundred and sixty sailors, started from Greenland in 1007, under the

* There is no controversy as to the situation of Vinland. It is universally admitted to be identical with the southern portion of Massachusetts. The length of the shortest day mentioned above, indicates this locality, while the description of the island and of the strait full of shoals, completely corresponds with the position of Nantucket. Other marks, recorded in the accounts of subsequent voyages, place the matter beyond all doubt.

command of Thorfinn, a youth of noble Norwegian extraction, whom prophecy had already designated *karlsefne*, or the *destined to greatness*. They remained over three years in Vinland, exploring the country in every direction, and carrying on a regular trade with the natives in furs, skins, &c., giving them in exchange stripes of red cloth. This voyage was most important, not only on account of the trade which it opened with the natives, but chiefly for the geographical, botanical, and zoological observations, concerning the three countries of Helluland, Markland, and Viuland, which are preserved in its accounts. These combine in fixing the position of the temporary colony in the south of Massachusetts, opposite the island of Martha's Vineyard. It may be observed that the description of the native Americans, contained in these accounts, would favour the idea that the Esquimaux formerly extended far to the south of their present abodes, and in the eleventh century, at all events, occupied the sea-board of the present New England.

The intercourse thus commenced with the mainland of America seems to have been irregularly kept up for, at least, more than three centuries. The latest mention of it occurs in a document compiled in 1348, where an Icelandic vessel is spoken of as having been to Markland in the previous year for a cargo of timber, precisely the very commodity for a vessel in the Canada or Nova Scotian trade. The thing is mentioned in such a casual way, that we are warranted in looking upon it as quite an ordinary occurrence. But some of these voyages appear, either designedly or accidentally, to have embraced other regions than those usually visited. The fragmentary notices and allusions to these expeditions are deserving of attention, on account of the curious speculations which they suggest. We shall just allude to two of the strangest. One of these refers to the shipwreck, on an unknown part of the American coast called *Hvritmannaland* (White Man's Land), or *Irland it mikla* (Great Ireland), of Are Marson, a wealthy Icelandic lord, in 983, during a voyage from Dublin to Reikjavik, in which he was blown out of his course by a succession of north-easterly gales. The people are represented as white, speaking a dialect of the Erse and Christians. They baptised Are Marson, and detained him among them for thirty years. Are Frode, one of the most trustworthy of Icelandic writers, to whom

we owe the most detailed account of the settlement of Greenland and the American discoveries, was the great grandson of this Are Marson. He firmly believed the tale, having heard it from his uncle, who had it from Are Marson himself; and considered the people to be an Irish colony who had found their way across the ocean a considerable time before.* The other story relates to the sojourn of Biörni Asbrandson among an unknown American people. He departed from Iceland in 999, and was never more heard of. Years after, one Gudleif, making the same voyage from Dublin to Iceland, was blown out of his course by the same north-easterly gales, which had proved so disastrous for Are Marson. He reached at length an unknown shore, on which he landed: but was immediately surrounded by several hundreds of natives, who made him prisoner. Then a venerable man coming forward, asked him in Norse whence he came; and on his informing him, he put to him many questions concerning several Icelandic notabilities. Then, drawing a ring from his finger, he gave it to him to take to an ancient Icelandic lady, with whom he would appear to have had tender relations, when both were young. "And none who saw that ring," adds the Chronicler, "ever doubted that the man who gave it was other than Biörni Asbrandson."

These things are strange, it may be said, nay, incredible. We do not vouch their truth. But it is idle to object to them, when they are but incidents in a story, the whole of which so far transcends the marvellous, that we seem, in listening to it, to hear the echoes of a fairy tale. Once we begin to criticise or discriminate, we must reject the whole: it is all of a piece. And the records of the discovery of America by the Icelanders are too secure, too consistent, too truthful to be rejected. The whole

* They who have examined most attentively this exile of Are Marson, find a striking parallelism in the Irish traditions concerning the voyages of St. Brendan and others. The tradition, if such it is, derives confirmation from another tradition current among the Shawanee Indians before their expulsion from Florida: namely, that the Floridas and Carolinas, were, ages ago, inhabited by a race of white men, who used iron tools, cultivated the earth, and worshipped the Great Spirit in houses built for the purpose. These men must have inhabited those parts, and disappeared long before the Spaniards saw America.

Scandinavian people must have conspired to invent a gigantic fiction, were it false even in one of its leading features, and they must have engaged unborn generations in the conspiracy. And such a fiction! which must have guessed even the minute details of the configuration of some 2000 or 3000 miles of coast, the distances and bearings of places hundreds of miles apart, the zoology and botany of countries differing widely in soil, climate, and physical conformation. It was no fiction, surely, when Thorfinn exhibited the ears of maize, in the streets of Trondheim; nor when he sold the slab of birds-eye maple to the Bishop of Bremen for a mark of gold. More than eight centuries and a half have rolled away since Leif wintered in Vinland; and his descriptions are pictures of Newfoundland, and the country around Martha's Vineyard, to this hour.

The true marvel in this story is, not that the Norsemen got to America, but how they were able to get there at all. Their craft were but pinnaces, compared with the caravals that bore Columbus on his voyage of re-discovery; and these again were but coasters compared with the clippers of our time. They were mere open boats, or little better. And yet, in these frail vessels, manned by Norse intrepidity, and steered by Norse daring, they ploughed the stormiest seas, from Norway to Iceland, and thence again to Greenland, to Newfoundland, to New York; they explored the creeks of Delaware, and penetrated to regions which were believed never before the days of Parry to have echoed human tread. We have been accustomed to read the historic roll of the glories of the Northmen, as of a race that visited as conquerors every European shore, that sacked Constantinople, and held Acre to the last against all the might of Islam. But to our mind a deeper and a more useful lesson is taught in the page which recounts the tale of the hardihood and perseverance that explored every coast from Barrow's Strait to Florida, and presented Europe with a new world, had Europe only known how to profit of the gift.

But this career of adventure and discovery, which might have brought so much wealth and prosperity to Iceland had it been properly directed and supported, was destined to have a close full of sadness and gloom. The terrible epidemic, known in history as the *Black Death*,

which desolated Europe in 1348, made its way to these remote parts. It seems to have swept away at least half the population of Greenland. About the same time the Western Division was harassed by a series of attacks of the Esquimaux, contemptuously designated *Skrællings*, or *Dwarfs*, by the settlers. The assistance of their eastern brethren was demanded by the worn-out colonists. But when they arrived in the district, they found the settlement completely destroyed. The inhabitants had disappeared, their villages were in ruins, and not a trace of them remained but the untended cattle, lowing mournfully through the pasturages. Afflictions such as these could hardly be repaired; ages must elapse before a poor and barren country can make good great gaps in its population. In the present case the calamity was enormously aggravated by artificial circumstances. When the commerce with Greenland began to assume considerable proportions, the revenue derived from it was appropriated to defray the household expenditure of the Kings of Norway. To secure this revenue, no one was permitted to go to Greenland without a royal license under pain of death. Hence the trade came to be centred in the hands of a few individuals, who paid a composition for their privileges, and in lieu of all duties. The number of vessels annually employed in it, going direct from Norway, averaged forty. The *Black Death* was particularly fatal to the sailors and merchants engaged in the Greenland trade, and in consequence the navigation became less frequent, and the traffic rapidly declined. In 1389, Henry, Bishop of Gardar, was present at the meeting of the States of Norway and Denmark, in the island of Funeu, in which Queen Margaret succeeded in effecting the union of the two kingdoms. His representations of the wretched condition of his flock induced the queen to despatch an expedition to Greenland. No tidings, it is said, were ever received of these vessels, so it was assumed they must have perished. Their fate, doubtless, contributed to put an end to an intercourse which seemed so full of peril. Margaret became involved in the intricacies of an elaborate and ambitious policy; her immediate successors had to fight, not merely for their crown, but for existence against a succession of foes. In the absorbing cares of such situations, they lost sight of their remote dependency, or left it to struggle, as it could, with its hard fate. The last notice

we have of a direct voyage from Norway to Greenland, occurs in 1406. Nothing having been heard of Henry, Bishop of Gardar, since his presence at the Assembly of the States in Funen, Askild, Archbishop of Trondhjem, determined, in that year, to exercise the metropolitan privilege claimed by his predecessors; and accordingly consecrated and despatched a prelate, named Andrew, in order either to succeed Henry, should he be dead, or to convey back some intelligence of him. No news of the fate of Bishop Andrew ever reached Europe; and, from that time forward, we meet with no mention of any intercourse between Norway and Greenland. The colony, however, seems to have lingered on, down to the middle of the sixteenth century; at least there are notices of that period which speak of it as then existing, and convey an impression that occasional communications still passed between it and Iceland. But, from that date, all trace of it disappears. It probably succumbed to the same fate as that of the Western Settlement, about two centuries before, and was destroyed by the Esquimaux. Some unusual blockage of ice, such as seems periodically to take place in the Arctic seas, may have cut off the retreat of the remnant which survived a succession of hostile attacks, and prevented them from saving their own lives, and conveying to Iceland the news of the ruin of a dependency that might, if duly cared for, have been a source of immense wealth to the Danish Crown. A notion, however, prevailed—and indeed in some quarters continues to prevail—that the colony continued to exist; and various expeditions were at different times fitted out, both by the English and Danes, for the purpose of re-discovering it. But they were mere piratical raids, whose only result was the slaughter or capture of some of the natives under circumstances of great brutality. At length, early in the last century, Hans Egede, a zealous and philanthropic Lutheran clergyman, induced the Danish government to consent to his leading a colony to Greenland. He settled, in 1721, at the mouth of Baal's River as it is called in most of the charts, and very near to the present large settlement of Godthaab; and thus laid the foundations of the Danish establishments now existing along the Western Coast. It is worthy of remark that he and his successors found traces of ancient settlements, including the remains of a church, scat-

tered along that coast between the 61st and 63rd parallel; but no similar traces have ever been seen on the Eastern coast by any mariner who has had the rare fortune to penetrate the icy barrier that effectually defends it from all detailed examination.

We have devoted more space than we can well spare to this colonial episode in the history of Iceland, not merely on account of its own deep interest, but for the important considerations to which it gives rise. It is clear we must have a very imperfect notion of the real character of Norse life and manners if we abstract from these expeditions. We are familiar with the Scandinavians as men ready to leave home, and all its associations, at the summons of a favourite leader, and join in a descent on some unwarlike coast which promised a rich booty. We are accustomed to meet them at every page in the history of the early Middle Age, first as ferocious pirates, as much at home on land as on sea; next as military settlers in the unhappy provinces which frequent visits had taught them to covet as a permanent possession; and finally, after their conversion, as chivalrous conquerors and heroic champions of the Cross. But these American voyages present them to us under a new aspect. The men whose names are prominent in the business, were not merchants even in the sense of the term which obtained among the Scandinavians. They were chiefly rich lords, who left their pleasant dwellings by Faxø or Breida Fiord, on Reykianæs, or at the foot of Snæfells; and, allured by the tales which had reached them, wandered forth over the Western Ocean, following in the wake of those who had preceded them, or becoming themselves the pioneers to new lands. Doubtless the old familiar type of the roving life and plundering foray is conspicuous in these expeditions; but there is much else besides. There is adventure undertaken for its own sake; there is the genuine spirit of nautical curiosity and discovery; there is the eagerness of the explorer strangely blended with the shrewdness of the speculative trader. The voyage of Thorfinn is in many respects an anticipation of what is actually going on in Japan. A new emporium has been discovered, new commodities come to light, new wares appear which have never been seen in the old countries. A judicious selection must be made of those articles which will be likely to fetch a high price in the home market;

and the risk which the skipper runs will naturally lead him to drive a hard bargain with the natives. All through there is adventure controlled in the choice of cargo by a prudent calculation of what will best minister to the luxurious tastes at home. To complete the parallel; there are squabbles with the natives, attended occasionally with fatal results; but, perhaps, if we were to pursue the subject through its details, the comparison might incline to the less favoured and more barbarous age. There cannot be a doubt that had Thorfinn's expedition occurred two or three centuries later, had it fallen in with the flourishing period of the Hanse, it would have been attended with far more important and permanent results. It is not a solitary Bishop of Bremen who would have purchased his slab of birds-eye maple; but the name of Vinland would have been as current on the Exchange of Bruges, and its productions vended as openly and sought as eagerly as those of Northern Russia or of India.

But the discoveries of Thorfinn and his companions, were far in advance of the spirit of their age, and shared the common fate of all such premature anticipations. They were not merely this; they were also at variance with the movement of the time. They did not present to the Norsemen prospects sufficiently alluring to divert them from the channel which absorbed all their superfluous enterprize along its wide stream. The gaunt cliffs and hoar glaciers of Helluland, the white sandy shores of the wooded Markland, or even the pleasant coasts of Vinland could hardly have tempted away men who sate on the throne of Alfred, and claimed a daughter of the Carlovingsians as a bride for one of their chiefs and many provinces as her dowry; who had conquered Sicily from the Moslem and founded a kingdom at Naples. The discoverers of America brought back with them a trade; but their countrymen were warriors and not traders, and outside the circle of their countrymen, to whom could they apply? None else could understand them, much less appreciate them. Europe was, at the time, in the throes of a new birth. Her individual men, hitherto without a permanent civil bond, were coalescing into peoples; feudalism was rising out of the wreck of ancient society and barbaric institutions; the great lords were becoming sovereigns; and the commons were asserting their right to freedom. A century later she had to struggle for existence, to roll back

the tide of Islam, and fight for a civilization of which she knew not the price. When order began to dawn out of this chaos, and there was an England, a France, a Germany, and an Italy—divided, indeed, and distracted, but rich in all the elements of national greatness—then commerce arose to provide for wants before unfelt or untended. But the germs of an American trade, which had languished for a while amid the frosts of the North had then perished. The standard of the Raven had disappeared, and with it the memory of that western breeze to which it had once so proudly and hopefully fluttered. Trade once dead cannot be revived; it must be re-created. The Hanse, which might have encouraged and developed an existing trade, effectually forbade the reproduction of one which had been extinguished. The jealousy and ambition of that overbearing corporation found other work for the Scandinavian nations than to recall faded traditions, or to travel back on a road whose traces had been forgotten. This was reserved for another and a brighter epoch; when a better organization, greater wealth and increased power should have brought with them wider aims, and a larger national spirit. Then, when the monopoly that had so long held commerce in the leading strings of infancy, had been broken through, and competition had imparted a new life to maritime enterprise; men could listen to the murmurs of those voices of the past, and enter on the great undertaking of the re-discovery of America, and the securing that trade, which had been once before caught sight of, only to be too soon lost.

Returning from the consideration of the Iceland which was, and of that which might have been, had the great advantages placed within her grasp been properly appreciated and made use of, to the Iceland of to-day, the first point, which naturally engages our attention, is the condition of the population. Few will not feel interested in the actual circumstances of these descendants of a race whose early history was so brilliant. We have already touched on the poverty of Icelandic husbandry, and on its being almost entirely limited to the providing grass for the support of their stock. Even as an import, corn is a rare luxury, the only districts into which it finds its way being those near the sea-coast, where, once a week, bread may form a portion of the meal. In the inland districts, always,

and everywhere generally, the staple diet is fish, chiefly dried, varied with cheese, milk, and butter. A bad season is thus doubly disastrous, producing, at the same time, a scarcity of fish, and of the hay on which alone the cattle must live during the long winter. The result of such a dietary is to heighten the statistics of disease. The absence of animal and vegetable food produces its usual morbid effects, and aggravates the pulmonary ailments which naturally arise out of the climate. Both classes of disorders are aggravated by the bleakness and rigour of the region, which would require more varied and nutritious food in order properly to support life. These sanitary difficulties are increased by the construction of their habitations, and by their disregard for cleanliness—unfortunate characteristics of most races domiciled in cold countries. The following is a graphic description of the dwelling house of a comfortable farmer.

“The walls are two or three feet thick, a combination of turf and lava; the roof is boarded, and coated with a thick layer of turf, and consists of three gables, each surmounted with a weathercock. A long narrow passage with massive sides divides the dwelling, and leads straight into the kitchen, where a brisk fire of birch and peat is cooking the evening’s ‘skier,’ under the auspices of a crone who is not at all calculated to increase one’s appetite by her appearance; on either side are large irregular dwelling-rooms, in which there is a quaint mixture of scythes and saddles, dried cod’s-heads, and the side of a colt (it tastes like veal); overhead, stores of moss and angelica, gathered in the interior, coffee and sugar-candy, old clothes and spinning-jennies, fishing-nets and cradles (in one a litter of kittens, in another the hope of the family), strings of wet stockings, and dogs at every step; happily they bark but do not bite. Couple this with a darkness thoroughly Egyptian, and an atmosphere which might be almost cut with a knife, and you have the ground-floor. Step up this ladder and you are in the dormitory, running the whole length of the house; on either side are bunks, in which a single head and foot board separate nephew from grandmother, master from maid-servant; old homespun coverlets, older clothes, and older sheepskins are heaped about promiscuously; I believe seaweed forms the mattresses, but I dare not look. The entire establishment sleep together, as well as any strangers who may happen to drop in, a thing of frequent occurrence. I should also mention that no air can enter save by the trap-hatch by which we ascended: however I darsesay that makes it all the warmer in winter.”—pp. 84-6.

Clearly, the "Model Lodging House" movement may be most usefully extended hither. Yet, with all these disadvantages, the mortality of Iceland is far short of what one would, under the circumstances, be prepared to expect. As far as we can ascertain it averages 3.1 per cent, a very moderate rate certainly, and which, if we make due allowances for consumption, establishes an amount of longevity that can only be accounted for by the hypothesis that the bracing cold hardens the Icelandic constitution against the natural consequences of even a perpetual dried fish diet. Of course this is to be understood of the normal state of things. Epidemics periodically occur and are most destructive. One-fourth of the entire population was carried off by such a scourge in the fatal years 1784-5.

As a set off, however, to these drawbacks on the physical comfort of the Icelanders, their intellectual condition is not wholly unworthy of their ancient fame. The business of education is regularly carried on among all ranks; and the degree of information possessed by the lower classes is probably higher than anywhere else in Europe. It is a very rare thing to meet an Icelandic who cannot read and write; and there still exists a legal provision authorizing the prevention of a marriage where the woman is unable to read.

"Legendary tales and histories, coupled with the Scriptures and Sagas, are their chief source of recreation on their long winter evenings, when clustered round a dim oil-lamp, one of the family reads aloud, and the remainder spin, knit, and weave; the day-time being devoted to domestic labours and the education of the children, which is enforced by law, but without much need; such is their natural thirst for knowledge that there are few who cannot both read and write Danish as well as their own language—ignorance being alike considered a crime and a disgrace both to parent and child."—p. 306.

The attainments of the Icelanders, especially the clergy, with respect to languages are truly wonderful. Many of the men who seek in fishing the scanty store on which their families depend for existence, are found to be thoroughly acquainted not only with classical literature, but with the modern languages. Notices of this kind are found scattered through the volume, and (at page 309) Captain Forbes mentions a clergyman who astonished him by addressing him in very good English. His library was

well stocked with French, German, English, and Danish books, besides numerous Icelandic volumes. All these languages he read with perfect ease; and in the course of an hour's talk, he touched upon everything from the 'Great Eastern' to the late campaign." To complete the picture—"Crime is almost unknown save in the way of rare cases of petty theft; and, with few exceptions, their domestic life is blameless, except in the seaports, which here, as elsewhere, draw a God-forsaken population."* Certainly this disparity between its physical and moral circumstances is not the least of the marvels which Iceland presents.

There is a curious chapter containing "some strange tales and legends on the *Utilegumenn*, or Outlaws, a class of men, or race, as some will have it, who are described as living in the lonely wilds of the interior of the island, intermarrying among themselves, and even preserving an ancient dialect of their own. There is a mystery about these people sufficient to arouse the curiosity of an adventurous band of tourists. Captain Forbes doubts their existence, but "with reserve." The natives certainly have no doubt on the subject. They appeal to the loss of thousands of sheep which annually disappear, and chiefly at night, from the high pasture-lands. That many sheep 'stray away in the summer time, and that several are carried off by foxes and sheep-stealers, is highly probable. But even our author admits, that it is difficult to account for the vast number annually lost, except by admitting the agency of a band of systematized plunderers. This vocation of sheep-stealing was many years since pursued with great success by a company of young men, who fled from Holar on the Northern coast to escape justice and took refuge in the caves of Surtshellir, on the borders of the central desert. The story of their fortunes and fate is described at length by our author, but evidently with some misgiving as to the authenticity of the facts. On his way to visit their retreat he traversed a wild lava region, his description of which deserves quotation as a specimen of the nature of the interior of Iceland.

"We entered a very old lava-field which contains by far the

* page 312.

finest forest I have seen during my wanderings, many of the stunted birch-bushes bordering on eight feet in height.....We skirted the comparatively diminutive Strútr Yökul, where the summer thaws display the bare cindery sides of a perfectly formed crater containing a beautifully rounded dome of blue ice, filling up the entire cup; it looks more artificial than real, so clearly and regularly formed were the edges and sides of the crater. We now traversed a low range which brought us to the entrance of the extensive lava desert of 'Arnarvatnsheidi,' a portion of the vast uninhabited, and for the most part impassable waste, of which the centre of Iceland consists. Two routes (the great northern and eastern roads) traverse that wilderness; but those crossing must take hay, and in some places even water, for their horses, as no blade of grass exists in that exhausted solitude; its very soul was long ago consumed in the throes which engendered such a desolation of desolations.....This once molten sea has run riot in waves never equalled off the Cape; here it has surged up the face of a mountain, there driven rivers out of their course; until, exhausted in its eccentricities, it has cooled down in a thousand bizarre forms."—pp. 144-45.

We wish we could extract the description of Surtshellir itself—the truly wonderful cave, or rather labyrinth of caverns, the fabled residence of the *Fire Demon*, who, according to an old myth, strangely corresponding with Christian tradition, is to destroy the world by fire. But it is too long for our space. Instead we shall give the following beautiful picture of a September evening in this Arctic land; premising that the day had been very tempestuous.

"The evening was very enjoyable after the hurricane, and twilight was relieved by a most brilliant aurora, which in these high latitudes often follows or precedes any great change of temperature; its pale, sylph-like, and undulating rays flitted about in every direction, and were only extinguished in one quarter of the heavens to be rekindled more brilliantly in another. Gradually increasing in power, its light equalled that of the moon, and, together with the intensity of the atmosphere, threw the distant western peaks apparently at our feet, and distorted them with inconceivable rapidity* into fantastic and fairy forms, making inexhaustible

* This phenomenon probably arises from the fact that the band of light, which forms the Aurora, generally rolls round upon itself with great rapidity; and hence, if it is not everywhere of the same intensity, must produce a continuous series of changes in the appearance of objects illuminated by its brilliancy.

demands on the eye and imagination. Brilliant coronas from time to time encircled our zenith, but the climax was attained when a stream of light, rising in the west, seemed to unfold itself from the conical, and at this moment supernaturally elongated Baula, and graciously but slowly advancing, arched the heavens, bisected the pale *Road of Winter*,* and rested on the glittering blue dome of the Ok as if to favour a fairy migration to that Goshen, of which the otherwise inaccessible Baula is said to be the entrance, where trees and meads are ever green, and its dwarfish inhabitants have only to regard their countless flocks and herds. This fragile bridge, possessing all the colours of the rainbow, after a brief hour's existence, imperceptibly separated in the centre and subsided towards its apexes, which became more vivid in colour and light as they expired; the flickering rays lighting us down the edge of the precipice, over which roared the never-ending chorus of the falls." —pp. 149-150.

The trade of Iceland, as may be inferred from the notices of the country and the people, is debarred from all productions of the soil, which are *nil*. It is consequently obliged to draw its staple from the animal world—from fisheries, and from such produce of their flocks and herds as can be spared from domestic use. It chiefly consists in—

"Wool, and dried cod or kippered salmon, eider down, oil, and tallow; which they barter for coffee, corn-brandy, snuff, and bread-stuff of the coarsest description, and a few other European commodities. Towards the end of June the Handels-ted, or period of traffic commences, and all Icelanders prepare for their journey to the trading stations, where they are accustomed to carry on business. By that time their ponies have recovered from their annual winter fast,† and the sheep have had their wool torn off their backs in a most unceremonious manner, not being shorn as with us; and having no particular labour to keep them at home, and the roads and torrents relieved of their winter snow becoming passable, they gather together in large caravans of sixty or seventy ponies, and generally make for Reykjavik, where they not only find greater competition than at the isolated trading stations on the coast, but enjoy the annual gathering, encamping in the vicinity

* The Norse name for the Milky-Way.

† During the winter the ponies are more than half-starved, the hay being almost exclusively devoted to the sustenance of the sheep and cows, on which the family mainly depends for support. Hence in the spring the ponies are all in a miserable condition.

of the town.....The wily trader, taking care to keep his victim in perpetual debt, with the aid of a disinterested administration of corn-brandy has it all his own way, to the disadvantage of the unfortunate native, who barter away for a mere song the 'wadamel' or home-made cloth, and the mits and stockings—the result of the labours of the entire family during the long winter evenings."—pp. 312-14.

But, if Icelandic traffic is scanty in its wares and narrow in its operations, it is not for want of material resources, which, if properly worked, might be a source of great wealth to the inhabitants, as they have certainly contributed no inconsiderable share to the prosperity of foreigners. First among these, both in geographical order, and in the arrangement of our author, is the great sulphur district, lying around Krisuvik, and situate on the southern coast, in a line nearly due south of Reykiavik. The greater portion of this district is in the possession of a Mr. Bushby, an Englishman, in whose company Captain Forbes visited it. It is difficult to call the route to Krisuvik a road, track, or anything else, by which we ordinarily designate a line of communication. Surveying it from the crest of a slag-ridge in the neighbourhood of Havna Fiord,—

"A picture of erratic ruin bursts upon the eye, unsurpassed even in this desolate isle. The entire district looks as if it had been baked, broiled, burnt, and boiled by some devilish hand, until its chemical soul had fled, and left nought behind save a grim, grey shroud of darkness and despair.

"Away towards Reykianæs, interminable hoary lava-streams, amongst the oldest in the island, form the promontory; the ocean receiving their extremities, which extend far away beneath its bosom on the submarine spine connecting the reefs and islets that from time to time have been elevated and submerged at the extremity of the volcanic line. Ahead, the sullen, sombre ash-cones and craters of the black mountain ranges around Krisuvik, meet the inky, angry-looking clouds with which the horizon is overcast; whilst sweeping over this congealed Pandemonium comes an Atlantic gale, driving a tropical deluge before it, dispelling in a measure the natural feeling of loneliness in this awe-inspiring solitude, more like some worn-out hell, which the brush of a Martin had created, or Shelley had imagined, than the home of man in any phase of his earthly pilgrimage.....Nothing breaks the monotony of the track: sometimes we are crossing frothy, sometimes cavernous lava; the latter dangerous—the roof varying from a foot or two to a few inches in thickness. As for the road, it was simply like bat-

tering along on the domes of a succession of cast-iron ovens ; in some places more rideable than in others, from the wrinkled and ropy surface they presented, but always both slippery and tortuous."—(pp. 102-3.)

The account of the sulphur-banks is both interesting and valuable. In some places the crust, formed by the hardening of the exudations from the greasy soil, was from two to three feet in depth, and so pure as not to contain more than '04 parts of foreign matter. The general formation is beds of white, red, and blue clays. Of these, the first contains from thirty to forty per cent of sulphur ; and the two latter, which occupy the lower levels, about sixteen per cent. The district extends over a space of twenty-five miles in length. Its riches consist "not so much in the numerous crusts of pure sulphur, as in the beds of what may be termed sulphur-earth, which are promiscuously scattered in all directions, averaging from six inches to three feet in thickness, and containing from fifty to sixty per cent. of pure sulphur." There is another large sulphur district in the north ; but it is less easy of access, and its yield is less pure than that of the banks at Krisuvik. One cannot help wondering, with Captain Forbes, that the Danish Government has never turned its attention to the development of this mine of wealth. Nor is it possible to exaggerate its importance, in the event of the Sicilian supply falling short, or being interrupted by the course of a war. Indeed, under this aspect, it is a matter of congratulation, that these Iceland sulphur-banks occupy a position so favourably circumstanced, both geographically and strategically, in our regard ; and that, after some difficulty, it has all passed into English hands, and will be made tenfold more productive by the application of capital, and the improvement of the modes of access. Nay, "judging by the trifling cost of production, and the moderate freight home—the numerous vessels coming from England with salt returning in ballast—sulphur gathered from these sources would be able to undersell the Sicilian market by almost a half." But, looking at the matter from a native point of view, it is a subject of regret that through the indolence or apathy of the government, this most valuable property has been allowed to pass into the possession of foreigners.

Next to this mineral source of wealth, or indeed prior to it in actual availableness and facility of development, come

the fisheries. They are nearly as infantile in their management as the sulphur-banks; but, if properly attended to, would soon, with a very trifling outlay, become far more remunerative. They are chiefly of two classes, cod and salmon. Of their productiveness our author gives an instance in the fact, that, from a portion of the river in the neighbourhood of Reykjavik, scarcely three hundred yards in length, he landed, in two hours, three fine grilse and fourteen large and vigorous sea-trout. Such boundless riches, borne by every tide to their very doors, if appropriated by the islanders, would soon raise their condition far above its present miserable level, and bring comfort and affluence to every homestead. But the same hard fate, which formerly deprived Iceland of the advantages that might have come to her from the Greenland and American traffic, seems still to pursue her. She reaps nothing from her mineral treasures, and can barely draw a scanty provision towards the support of her people from the piscatorial wealth of her rivers and seas. Perhaps this anomalous state of things is solely attributable to an unfortunate combination of circumstances, such as, at different epochs of the world's history, is seen to cling to certain nations, hampering all their efforts, and rendering abortive every attempt to emerge from poverty and obscurity. But it certainly does seem to establish a strong presumption against the administrative system of the Danes, that they should allow strangers to obtain the practical possession of what may fairly be considered the domestic property of their own subjects, or at least of all the beneficial interests which it yields.

In the neighbourhood of Borgar Fiord, our author visited a large establishment situate on the banks of the Huitá, or White River, belonging to the Messrs. Ritchie of Peterhead,—

“Where nine Scotchmen were employed in preserving in tins the salmon collected by the Icelanders from the adjacent rivers..... This year (1859) they had had a bad season, the fish taking off suddenly and early, and they had only secured about 20,000lbs. weight, 30,000lbs. being the usual average. Could our fishers purchase the right of fishing for themselves, three or four times that amount might be easily taken without detriment to the supply; but there are so many proprietors along the banks, with whom it is necessary, and at the same time difficult, to come to an understanding, that the only thing to be done is to let them take the fish in their

primitive manner, under piers which they build out in the stream and then purchase at the average price of about three pence a pound. Several similar establishments exist on the various large salmon-rivers, and one in the north has just been purchased by the enterprising owners of our steamer, (Messrs. Henderson of Glasgow), from which even the Icelanders annually export 50,000lbs. weight of kippered fish to Denmark; so the supply in this island may be almost said to be inexhaustible. Some dozen fish, brought on ponies from the head of the northern branch, (of the White River), were lying in a tub preparatory to curing, the largest weighing twenty-one pounds: it was considered a very fine one, their average weight running low in the southern rivers, whereas in the north a fish of thirty or forty pounds weights is by no means uncommon. They seemed less given to obesity and much more vigorous than those which frequent our shores, and altogether a firmer and finer fish.”—(pp. 120-21.

Of the amazing productiveness of the cod-fishery we may form an idea from the fact, that the whole south-western corner of the island bears the designation of *Guldbringe Syssel*, or gold-bringing country, “from the golden cod-harvests” gathered along its shores. Breida Fiord, the great north-eastern estuary is almost a more favourite haunt of the cod. The fisheries here are,

“Not only monopolized, but carefully fostered and subsidized by the French government. This year (1859) there are two hundred and sixty-nine French vessels engaged, varying from forty to eighty tons burden, and manned with crews amounting in all to seven thousand fishermen; not merely hardy and able bodied seamen, natives of the Channel and Biscayan ports, but men who for the most part have served their appointed time in men-of-war.

“The owners of these vessels receive a subsidy; and the crews, besides an annual bounty of fifty francs, cheap tobacco, clothes, &c., participate in the rewards held out for service in the French navy—from further service in which they are exempt save in the event of hostilities. Three men-of-war are constantly cruising with them, and in the ports they frequent, to afford them any assistance they may require—either in men, spars, provisions, or medical aid. It is needless to remark, that, from the severity of their occupation, and the careful training they have received, no such formidable reserve of trained seamen exists, except those engaged in a similar occupation and under similar regulations, on the banks of Newfoundland, where they amount to nearly twenty thousand men.”—* pp. 207-8.

* In an enumeration of the natural resources of Iceland, we can

But, after all, whatever attractions the history and ancient literature of Iceland may possess for the scholar and the archæologist; whatever temptations her sulphurbanks and fisheries may present to the capitalist; her enduring source of interest, ever novel, and ever permanent for the traveller, the tourist, the man of science, and the general traveller, is the multitude of natural marvels, which lie scattered broadcast over the land in endless profusion and variety. Some of these cannot be found elsewhere; some among them may be individually excelled by objects of the same kind in other countries; but as a collection they cannot be matched. As we view them, or read of them, they may well evoke all our feelings of curiosity and wonder, of sublimity and awe; and we find ourselves alternating between astonishment at the versatility of Nature's powers, and terror at the irresistible agencies which she employs, and the relentless efficiency with which they do their appointed work. We shall devote our remaining space to a rapid survey of these objects. The length to which our observations have already run would prohibit a more detailed notice; were we not indeed already dispensed from it, not only by the general acquaintance which we may fairly assume our readers already possess, but by the fulness with which they are described by Captain Forbes.

The excursion to Thingvalla may be passed over for its triteness. There is nothing about the place which can appear singular in Iceland. The special peculiarity which is generally dwelt upon is its situation as a sort of island, cut off from the surrounding lava-field by "a yawning fissure—fifteen feet wide, sixty deep, with a fathomless moat at the bottom"—and joined to the main field by a

hardly pass over the *Surturbrand*. By this name are designated extensive beds of bituminous wood which makes a very fair substitute for coal, and of which the north-western peninsula presents three distinct layers. It is supposed to owe its origin to the mysterious bounty of the gulf-stream, and of the current from the northern coast of Asia; each of which through endless ages continued, and still continues to bear its tribute of drift wood to the shores of Iceland. An attempt is being made to extend the usefulness of the *Surturbrand* by the enterprising owners of the Mail Steamer. Should the experiment prove successful it will probably give a stimulus to working some of its extensive beds.

natural lava-causeway. The *Isola Farnese*, some twelve miles from Rome on the Florence road, near the site of the ancient Veii, is of similar structure, the only difference being that the material is *travertine*, an advanced stage of lava. To complete the likeness there are sulphur springs and other Icelandic adjuncts in the neighbourhood.

Our author commenced his regular tour by attempting the ascent of Snæfell's Yökul. He crossed by boat from Reykjavik to Borgar Fiord; he strongly recommends all future travellers to avoid this mode of travelling, and to stick to the ponies in preference. Proceeding northwards, he passed a wild and extensive range, "where earthquake and fire have done their work earnestly, and old and modern formations are heaped about in wild confusion and profound degradation." From the summit of this range he opened up the magnificent view of the valley of Huitá, or White river, a deep and rapid stream, which at its mouth is half a mile in width. In the descent he passed

"A most remarkable four-sided pyramidal mountain called Honn, to which the Egyptian pyramids are mere pygmies in comparison, and not more regularly constructed. It is composed of regular super-imposed beds of trap, gradually diminishing to a point, and forming the steps, as it were, of four colossal staircases, each one of which is perfectly symmetrical, and looks much more like the handiwork of some bygone race of giants than a freak of nature; the almost mechanical neatness of this natural pyramid contrasting strangely with the ruthless destruction which surrounds it."—p. 119.

It is at the lower end of this valley, near the mouth of the Huitá, that the great salmon-curing establishment exists of which we have already extracted the description. Turning his course towards the east, our author ascended the Reykiadal, or *Smoky Valley*, over which "youthful geysers and thermal springs are scattered with a lavish hand," whence probably its name. An idea of this singular district may be formed from the fact that, from one spot, he counted twenty-seven distinct columns of vapour. Within a few yards of one of these thermal springs stands a farm-house. The site had evidently been selected with a view to culinary convenience; for in an iron pot, lying in the stream, the family meal was simmering. Some of these juvenile geysers were alternating jets. A mile further up the valley, and near another farm, is a natural steam-pump, working through three holes in a rock. The lower-

most serves as a spout to pour the hot water into a basin hollowed by nature, and used as a bath; the two upper ones act as pipes through which the steam alternately rushes at each discharge from the orifice below. In the centre of this valley is situate the parsonage of Reykholt, or *Smoky Hill*, formerly the site of Snorro Sturleson's palatial residence, of which the only remains now visible are a large mound of earth, some scattered blocks, and the celebrated *Snorralang* or "Snorro's Bath." This last is a well-built circular trough, thirteen feet wide, by four deep, and is supplied with water from a nest of hot springs, which trickle through a course that has been formed for them beneath the road. This little stream "is icy cold, then boiling, and subsequently lukewarm, all within the space of a couple of hundred yards"—a condition of things, which lends considerable probability to our author's conjecture, that these thermal jets are not, in strictness, *hot-springs* derived from subterranean sources; but owe their elevated temperature to the fact of their waters flowing over or traversing lava surfaces, which either have never cooled, or are retained in a state of high heat by volcanic agencies underneath which still continue in permanent activity.

Turning his back on Reykholt, Captain Forbes directed his course towards Snæfell's Yökul, the bourne of his excursion, distant some eighty miles. The line of travel—there was no road—lay right across the country, and, whatever its faults, cannot be accused of uniformity or tameness. At one time the track led across a lava waste, a sort of "red, vitrified-looking inland sea, tossed hither and thither, and blown into a thousand fantastic shapes." Now a huge ash-cone has to be mounted, or a rapid stream to be crossed, which presently disappears under an old lava-field. On the way, a "sand-and-cinder hill is passed, crowned with a dark vitrified rampart of lava, resembling a gigantic old embattled turret, some 600 feet in diameter; hence its name of Ellborg, or the Fortress of Fire." At another point,

"We break away on a three hours' ride across the marshes, that here extend from the sea to the base of the mountain spur with occasionally elevated or firmer spots. A curious geological transformation appeared to be progressing on the summits of these elevated tracks: they presented in many places, bare surfaces of the finest black mud, the edges of which were often so soft that it was

impossible to get the ponies over them; where, however, we succeeded, the surface was found gradually to harden towards the centre, and it was there firm enough. The mud, in many cases, had separated itself into perfect basaltic forms, not always regular in their number of sides. Into the interstices round the head of each distinct column, numbers of little stones had gathered, forming a complete and regular line of demarcation; and what appeared to me at least more remarkable was, that the surface of each column was perfectly smooth, and devoid of these stones, which were particles of the adjacent lavas. The area of the column was generally larger in proportion to the extent exposed, and the size of the stones increased in much the same ratio."—pp. 189-90.

At length he reached Olafsvik, a small seaport on the northern shore of the great promontory which divides Faxe from Breida Fiord. Having procured two guides, he attempted the ascent of the famous Snæfells Yökul, the highest mountain in the island, and regarded by the natives with a sort of superstitious terror. But he was destined to be disappointed. A heavy fall of snow and a constant fog effectually barred his progress, and compelled him to return. He remained at Olafsvik for three days, hoping that an improvement of the weather would give him another chance of accomplishing the task for which he had come so far. But, being frustrated in this hope also, he started on his return to Reykholt, *en route* to the Geysers. His way lay along the northern shore of the promontory. The weather was very tempestuous, and the sea too high to permit him to continue his course along the beach. Rather than return, he took the Bulandshofdi pass, a terrible track which ran midway across the *débris* scattered on the face of a cliff, upwards of 2,000 feet high, and "a scant 25° out of the perpendicular." Captain Forbes designates this feat as "tempting Providence to an *insane* degree." We cannot characterize it by any milder term than as highly criminal. He exposed not only his own life, but those of his guides, to almost inevitable destruction, in a situation where neither skill nor presence of mind could have availed them in the slightest degree; and he did this for the mere sake of saving a few hours. Having escaped this great danger, he reached Grundar Fiord, the chief French fishing station, his account of which we have already quoted. Thence by the Berserkia Field, known to English readers through Sir Walter Scott's translation of the *Eyrbyggja Saga*, to Sticksesholm, through the ancient patrimony of the power-

ful family of the Snorros, and over ground famous in the early days of Icelandic history, and still full of most interesting memorials. At length he reached Reykholt, having ridden over ninety miles in two days, across an almost trackless country—and such a country!—"bitterly regretting that he had not come to Iceland by an earlier steamer, which would have given him another six weeks to make the tour of the island at his leisure." He had now only nine available days remaining. But, although he must have been well-nigh exhausted by his previous rapid and uncomfortable travelling, he still contrived to pack into these nine days more than most tourists could have been able to do, even if they brought all their energies fresh to the work.

A precious day was lost in seeking a guide. Two days more were occupied in making the journey to "THE Geysers." The word *geyser*, in Icelandic, means *rager*, and is applied indiscriminately to all noisy water or mud fountains; but as at Haukadal there is by far the most violent, noisy, and perfectly formed fountain in the island, they are therefore termed *par excellence* THE Geysers." The evening was far advanced when he reached the valley, and he hurried on to the famous spot.

"One moment I was carefully skirting the margin of a honey-combed cavity—its blue, boiling waters trickling away down the side of the slope to join others lower down; the next, I was passing the mouth of a funnel, in which the waters were violently agitated, but never rose to the surface. On all sides clouds of vapour were ascending, and from every orifice, steam, and sometimes small jets of water, escaped; or a slough of blue mud was bubbling and simmering, in the neighbourhood of which one was soon ankle-deep in hot clay. Passing the "Strokr" (*churn*), in violent paroxysms, I crossed the grass-plot which curiously intervenes, and, ascending its regularly-formed cone, stood on the edge of the basin of the Great Geyser, full to the brim, bubbling and seething in its centre, and heralding an approaching eruption by repeated subterranean detonations, which vibrated, not only through its intermediate framework, but the surrounding soil."—page 235.

He encamped in a small tent, on the ground, within forty yards of the basin, and was rewarded by the sight of an eruption. The Geyser erupts about once in twenty or thirty hours. The Strokr, which stands about a thousand paces south of its antagonist, is much less churlish of its displays, and may, at any moment, be stimulated by a

dose of turf-sods. Having no cone, its mouth is on a level with the surrounding surface, so that "a short-sighted man might walk into it with the greatest convenience." Its showers do not attain so great an altitude as those of the Great Geyser, but they radiate much more gracefully, and shiver into a perfect foliage of spray and steam. The day after his arrival Captain Forbes put its powers to a novel application. Having invited the clergyman of the neighbourhood to dinner—

"He hastened home to prepare it. Whilst my guide went to purchase a bottle of corn-brandy from the farmer, and beg him as the squire to meet the Church, I undertook the office of Soyer, and determined to avail myself of the natural cooking resources of the country. I collected a considerable pile of turf at the mouth of the Strokr, and then, taking my reserve flannel shirt, packed the breast of mutton securely in the body, and a ptarmigan in each sleeve. On the approach of my guests I administered what I supposed would be a forty-minute dose of turf to the Strokr, and pitched my shirt containing our dinner into it immediately afterwards.

"Directing the guide to keep the coffee warm in the geyser basin, and seated 'al fresco,' I offered brandy and strips of dried cod by way of relish—northern fashion. Not so contemptible either..... The forty minutes passed, and I became nervous regarding the more substantial portion of the repast; and, fearing lest the Strokr had digested my mutton, ordered turf to be piled for another emetic. But seven minutes after time my anxiety was relieved by a tremendous eruption, and surrounded with steam and turf-clods, I beheld my shirt in mid-air, arms extended, like a head and tail-less trunk: it fell lifeless by the brink. But we were not to dine yet: so well-corked had been the steam-pipe below, that it let out with more than usual viciousness, and forbade dishing-up under pain of scalding. After about a quarter of an hour, in a temporary lull, I recovered my garment, and turned the dinner out upon the grass before my grave guests, who immediately narrated a legend of a man in his cups who had fallen into the Strokr, being eventually thrown up piecemeal in the common course of events. The mutton was done to a turn: not so the ptarmigan, which I expected to be somewhat protected by their feathers; they were in threads. As for the shirt, it is none the worse, save in colour, the dye being scalded out of it."—pp. 238, 240.

On the second morning of his visit, he was so fortunate as to witness an eruption of the Great Geyser under very favourable circumstances. The atmosphere was clear and crisp, the solitude was unbroken, while the whole panorama

presented a succession of broad contrasts, furnishing matter for much moralizing.

"As morning was breaking it sounded an unmistakeable 'réveille,' which would have roused the dead; and I had barely time to take up my position, before full power was turned on. Jet succeeded jet with fearful rapidity, earth trembled, and the very cone itself seemed to stagger under the ordoal. Portions of its sides, rent with the uncontrollable fury it had suddenly generated, were ripped off and flew up in volleys, soaring high above water and steam, whilst the latter rolled away in fleecy clouds before the light north wind, and, catching the rays of the morning sun just glistening over the yökul tops in the far east, was lustrous white as the purest snow.

"Discharge succeeded discharge in rapid succession for upwards of four minutes, when, apparently exhausted, and its basin empty, I scrambled up to the margin intending to have a good look down the tube, which I imagined must also be empty; but the water was still within a few feet of the brink, and boiling furiously. Hastening back to my former position the basin filled rapidly, and I was just in time to witness the most magnificent explosion of all. Everything seemed to depend on this superhuman effort, and a solid unbroken column of water of twenty five feet in circumference, was hurled upwards, attaining an altitude of very near 100 feet. Here the column paused for a moment before reversing its motion, and fell listless and exhausted through the volumes of vapour which followed it into its throbbing cup, again to undergo its fiery ordeal at the threshold of the infernal regions.

"The beauties of this awe-inspiring scene could not appear to greater advantage than on such a clear crisp autumnal morning. Northwards the faultless domes of the inaccessible yökuls of the interior formed a broad contrast to the jagged blue peaks of Blafel; and Hekla, together with Eyafjalla, scowled on the pigmy efforts of the lowlands in their vain endeavours to emulate their loftier brethren in the boiling floods which have often preceded their molten streams; whilst, in the valley beneath, man toils as if he were to live for ever, and, in happy confidence, builds his house on the verge of what may any day prove his destruction, his cattle and sheep browsing on the hill, within a hundred yards of the noisiest eruption, without even deigning to look round."—pp. 244, 246.

Captain Forbes devotes considerable space to the Geysers, describing the appearance of the ground and the petrifications and incrustations which surround the basins with much force and accuracy. He gives us a very full account of their history, and discusses the process which, in his opinion, has resulted in their formation with great ability, and in a way which proves that he has devoted

much attention to the subject. Our space, and the object we have had in view in the compilation of this paper, prohibit our following him into these details. Referring our readers to the work itself, we pass on to accompany him in his excursion to Hekla. Having spent two days in observing and investigating the Geysers, he started for Skalholt, formerly the capital of the island, and the seat of one of its bishoprics, the other being established at Holum on the northern coast. Skalholt is beautifully situated in the midst of luxuriant meadow-lands, and embedded in an undulating range, backed by a magnificent amphitheatre of mountains. A wooden church and three cottages are all that now represent the site of the ancient capital of Iceland. The close of an eighteen hours' ride, over the eternal lava fields, now and then diversified by a morass or a dangerous ford over a yökul stream, brought him to the foot of the mountain.

"Hekla is not very remarkable, either from its height or picturesqueness, and mainly owes its world-wide reputation to the frequency of its volcanic eruptions. They average about three in a century; some have continued for six years without intermission. The intervals average about thirty-five years, but the discharges are by no means regular; the longest known period of volcanic rest never extended over more than seventy years. Its form is that of an oblong cone, about twenty miles in circumference, lying in the direction of the volcanic line, and it is about 5,000 feet in height; the snow extending (in September) about two-thirds of the way down the sides, which are chiefly composed of slag, ashes, scoria and pumice. Its lava-streams have nearly all flowed towards the west and south-west; the craters being on its western face, none towards the east.....Gigantic ravens, with iron bills, are ready to do battle with all intruders who may dare to enter this wild domain.We cross on foot a branch of the 1846-growth lava, the last eruption; and very disagreeable work it is—sharp and vitrified, it not only cuts up our mittens, but hands likewise in a most unmerciful manner, as we climb the angular surface and scramble from crag to crag."—pp. 269, 272.

The ascent led over the black sand-and-cinder slope of the mountain, by the flanks of lava-streams, and, when about two-thirds up, over the snow. At length the crater, or rather vent, on the side of the mountain was reached, whence the lava broke out in 1846 in far greater volume than it flows from Vesuvius. This aperture is funnel-shaped, about 150 feet in depth, and well coated with ice

n its lower side. There was not the slightest trace of heat about this portion of the mountain; but six different streams of lava could be distinctly traced, and their age, dating back to periods prior to the commencement of the last century, was almost written upon them. A little higher up stands *the* crater, or principal vent, which is

“Nearly circular, about half a mile in circumference, and from two to three hundred feet deep. The recently-fallen snow still lay in some parts; but by far the greater portion was bare and fuming. Its sides were a strange mixture of black sand, ashes, clinkstone, and sulphur-clay—more water was alone wanting to develop its slumbering energies. Descending to the bottom, which contracted almost to a point, I was somewhat surprised to find it of a hard black mud on one side, supporting a considerable mass of ice—a strange contrariety to its steaming flanks, in which, about half way down, near some precipitated sulphur, I had by digging away the crust succeeded in lighting a fusee, and subsequently my pipe; and choosing a temporary fire-proof seat, endeavoured to realize my position in the bowels of Hekla.”—pp. 274, 276.

At length the summit was reached. On the north-east and south-west sides the mountain slopes gradually away; but the eastern face is nearly perpendicular for the first 3,000 feet.

“One could not fail to enjoy the magnificent and extensive view encircling this vitreous volcano, and which never shone to greater advantage than to-day, when a light north wind had carried the mountain-mists to sea, and a brilliant sun warmed peak and valley, and even imparted a genial aspect to those distant yökuls which the clearness of the atmosphere had transported to my feet. Away in the north-west the massive column of my old friend *The Geyser* seemed to bid farewell as it modestly rose in spotless white against the neutral-tinted slags of Bjarnarfell. In the interior of the island, of which we saw more than half way across, Lang and Hof Yökuls’ icy blue domes glittered in the sunshine, and backed the verdant valley of the Thiorsá, with its hundred silvery tributaries leading up the gorge into the ‘Sprengisandr,’ where the track crosses the desert to the northern coasts. Here and there patches of Iceland ‘forest’ darkened the valley, and irregular groups of heather-blooming hills were conspicuous in their harlequin colours, whilst the resolute-looking Bálfell rose abruptly from the plain to the height of 2,500 feet. To the north-east beyond that vast chain of lakes (Fiskivötn), is Skaptar Yökul, the most terrible of its cotemporaries, scowling over its ravages, where in one gigantic effort it destroyed twenty villages, over 9,000 human beings, and about 150,000 sheep, cattle, and horses. Beyond those interminable ice regions are the

untrodden Vatna and Klofa Yökuls, which never have been, and I believe never can be, penetrated by man.....Towards the southward Tinfiälla and Eyafiälla limit the view, and meet the ocean, on whose unruffled surface the abrupt basaltic cliffs of the Westmann islands are clearly defined, although fifty miles distant.....the whole forming a panoramic view unsurpassed either for interest or beauty, being one of the most extensive and varied of any in the world. Whether we consider the unique character of this island-pandemonium of volcanoes, or ramble from the awe-thrilling powers of Skaptar to the more delicate mechanism of that matchless natural fountain, or the dogged energies slumbering beneath our feet, we wander into the realms of hidden causes, and, alike bewildered and bewitched, are more than ever convinced of our nothingness—for if there be sermons in stones, volumes are unopened here.”—pp. 276, 279.

These are indeed fascinating scenes, as our author confesses, sufficient to repay a trip to the far north, and to compensate for the many inconveniences and shortcomings incidental to an Icelandic sojourn. But this fascination is only their holiday garb; the dress in which the natives know them best, is one of terror and awe, when Nature selects them as her head-quarters for the display of her most gigantic and destructive powers. The whole appearance of the island is an almost speaking monument of this relentless agency, before whose might the area of cultivation has gradually contracted through the combined effects of water and fire. But it is more especially the south-eastern districts that the genius of destruction seems to have selected for his permanent dwelling-place. There a conglomeration of ice exists, occupying a space of no less than three thousand square miles, at an elevation varying from six thousand to three thousand feet. This enormous glacier system actually rests on the elevated cones and fissures of a nest of dormant volcanoes. The geological and geographical circumstances of the mountains are well adapted to promote the retention of the snow and its conversion into ice. Thus the mass goes on increasing from year to year, until one of two causes precipitates a catastrophe. First, the pressure of the over-augmented ice crushes out the lower portions of the system, and drives them down, in the shape of regular glaciers to invade the valleys below, laying waste the pasturages, and increasing the area of desolation. Or, secondly, the dormant volcanic force which lies beneath this ice-system, is roused into

activity. In this case the glacial crust is most rapidly dissolved, and floods of boiling water and ice deluge the country sweeping everything before them. Captain Forbes gives us an example of such an exundation of *Kötlugiâ Yökul* :

"On 17th of October, 1775, the primitive inhabitants around *Kötlugiâ*, who had dwelt in a doubtful volcanic peace for thirty-five years, were warned of their impending fate by violent earthquakes, quickly followed by the boiling waters set in motion by the rapidly-developing internal heat of the mountain, which, melting the lower portions of its icy covering, floated off vast masses of the superincumbent glaciers. Sweeping everything before them, these ruthless floods completely overflowed *Myrdalsand*, bearing down masses of ice and rock, the former resembling *yökuls* in dimensions. Fifty farms, soil, houses, churches, stock, and owners, were literally carried out to sea, and a shoal formed of the débris. The air was filled with smoke, and it rained ashes, enveloping the adjacent country in total darkness. The wretched survivors found themselves denuded not only of their goods and chattels, but the very soil on which they depended for subsistence was torn from them, and an unproductive waste of sand, gravel, and lava-blocks, substituted for their homes and pastures, as if the demon of destruction were not satisfied with their ejection, but had determined to *improve* them off the face of the earth."—p. 285.

But the hero for this sort of business, appears, according to Captain Forbes' graphic account to be *Skaptar-Yökul*. His description of the eruption of this volcano in 1783, paints such scenes of devastation and woe, that although it is very long we are sure it will not fail to interest our readers deeply.

"After an unusually mild winter and spring, the approaching catastrophe was ushered in towards the end of May by a flourish of earthquakes, when the whole southern coast was violently agitated, and the island of *Nyöe* was thrown up off *Cape Reykianæs*, nearly two hundred miles from the scene of devastation which followed. Towards the 8th of June the inhabitants of the *West Skaptarfell Syssel* became more and more alarmed at the violence of the earthquakes in their vicinity : prognosticating some violent volcanic paroxysms, they abandoned their dwellings, took to their tents, and bewildered, awaited the result, unable to tell in what direction the danger would burst forth ; but on the eighth their awful suspense was relieved, though not their fears. Vast columns of smoke arose in the vicinity of the *yökul*, ashes and pumice were borne down in showers on the strong north gale, and immense quantities of ice were melted, causing the rivers to overflow their banks. Two days afterwards the eruption burst forth with an infernal fury which seemed to threaten the end of all things; flames

blazed among the clouds of smoke ; a torrent of lava, flowing towards the river Skaptar, after a short struggle dispossessed it of its bed, and, cut off from its resources, it became dry in less than twenty-four hours ; the lava, collecting in the mountain channel—in many places four hundred to six hundred feet deep and two hundred broad—not only pursued its uncontrolled course towards the sea, but in many places, overflowed the banks, destroying everything that came in its way, and, on joining the low fields of Medalland, wrapped the entire district in molten flames. Old lavas underwent fresh fusion and were ripped up and lacerated by the streams which penetrated their subterranean caverns ; fiery floods succeeded one another in rapid succession ; numerous streams were diverted at each favourable point, and the entire country deluged at one time or another with molten masses. Towards the beginning of July the lava-stream again resumed the channel of the Skaptar, and pouring over the lofty cataract of Stapfoss, filled the profound abyss beneath, which the waters had been ages in excavating, and finally was arrested at Kyrkjubæ church, near the junction of the river with an arm of the sea.....The molten streams did not cool for upwards of two years ; and an idea of their dimensions may be formed from the fact that one of them was about fifty miles in length, and twelve and fifteen broad in the low country, where its height did not exceed a hundred feet, whilst in the narrow parts of the channel it rose to five and six hundred. Another branch was about forty miles in length, and seven at its utmost breadth ; and when it is considered that this merely represents that portion which flowed into the inhabited districts, whilst in all probability an equal, if not a greater portion, was heaped up at the base of the crater, and in the unknown districts by which it is environed ; and if we also take into consideration the pumice, sand, and ashes, scattered not only over the whole island, where the greater portion of the pasture was at least temporarily destroyed for hundreds of miles round, even causing the destruction of the fisheries on the coast—twice the volume of Hekla would hardly represent the matter ejected. During this awful visitation, men, cattle, houses, and churches, in the immediate vicinity, were actually burnt up by the insatiable lava-floods that poured down the hill-sides with fearful rapidity, and everything which could tend to support the life of man or beast perished ; noxious vapours filled the air, and all living creatures yielded to famine and its concomitant diseases. The cattle, deprived of their pasture destroyed by ash-showers, died by thousands ; and denuded of his only other means of subsistence—fish, man perished also. No wonder, then, that after many such ordeals these once vigorous Norse islanders should have deteriorated. That they have survived at all is a matter of astonishment ; for many have been their trials through plague, pestilence, and famine—fire and water dealing out death alternately. Nor is it easy to imagine a more awful visitation than

- when, enveloped in almost total darkness by the clouds of smoke and ashes, and half suffocated by the noxious gases emitted, unable to see in what direction to flee for safety, they were left for days and weeks in sickening conjecture as to their fate; until, actually unearthed by fiery or boiling floods, escape was almost impossible; and, bound together by those domestic ties which are nowhere more intensely developed than on Icelandic hearths, the strong and the weak were alike hurried into the future.”—pp. 286—90.

Leaving Hekla with all its scenes of fascination and awe behind, our author had to hurry through what remained of his tour at a sort of railroad speed. He was able, however, to visit and to spend a night and portion of a morning in the wild romantic glen of Reykir, the locality of the “Little Geyser.” This glen, which extends back some miles into the mountains, is on an average half a mile in breadth, and composed of beautifully-veined and vividly coloured banks of sulphur clay. A stream traverses its centre, supplying copious materials for all the thermal springs of the valley. In appearance the Little Geyser resembles the mouth of a well, about six feet in its greatest diameter, with scarcely any incrustation round its margin, emitting its column of hot water about every three hours, and maintaining it at an elevation varying from thirty to forty feet for about three minutes. There is another fountain in this valley of Reykir which also plays periodically, breaking out from under a red clay bank by the side of the river. It is called the Badstofa; and its eruptions take place in an oblique direction, at intervals of five or six minutes, seldom, however, lasting more than one. This visit to the Little Geyser closed Captain Forbes’s Icelandic excursion.

His concluding chapter contains a brief *resumé* of the many valuable remarks which are scattered throughout the volume, on the mining and fishing capabilities, and on the other circumstances which might be usefully availed of, for developing the natural resources of Iceland. Not the least important amongst these will be the adoption of Iceland as one of the chain of posts, in the projected North Atlantic Telegraph. His last words are an acknowledgment of the open hearted hospitality and sympathy which everywhere welcomed him, from the governor to the peasant; and a confession that he “turned his back on Iceland with feelings of poignant regret.”

We have devoted much larger space than we could well

afford to this subject of Iceland ; not so much for its own special objects, though from the extracts we have quoted from Captain Forbes, it is evident that these are neither few nor trivial, but for the much larger theme of which it forms but a part, and which it at once suggests. How deep an interest even in a purely geographical sense attaches to the stories of the early voyages of the Norsemen, and what a large amount of the actual history of ancient commerce and navigation is shut up in the Sagas relating to Vinland and Greenland, we have pointed out in a previous portion of this paper. As to our particular subject, viz., Captain Forbes' book on Iceland, we have also expressed our judgment on this point at the beginning of the article. Our readers may judge from the extracts we have cited, and the general account of it, which we have laid before them, whether that judgment has been partial or otherwise. That this work has contributed its share—great or small, who can tell?—to spread abroad the name of Iceland, and to get up a feeling of curiosity and enquiry about Icelandic affairs amongst a very large circle of readers, is a matter of public notoriety. Whether it has had anything to do with originating the spirited speculation that has undertaken to open a regular monthly line of communication during the spring, summer, and autumn months between England and Iceland, with a special view to the accommodation of tourists, we cannot say. But such a line is actually advertised, and we may soon expect to hear, not that the slopes of the Alps have waned in popularity ; but that the volcanoes, geysers, and glaciers of Iceland have become better known and more frequented.

ART. II.—*Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England*, Vol. 1.—Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1861.

NO country in the world possesses the raw material of legislation in any degree to compare with our own. The only question that may perhaps be raised is, whether we have not almost too much of it. We have just learned that the weight of the forms issued by the Registrar General to the officials engaged in taking the census, amounted to forty-five tons. We should like to learn the weight of the Parliamentary Papers, Returns, and Blue Books, that each session fill the shelves of members of parliament. Now that statistics have become so exact a science, can no one calculate for us the number of all these many pages that our legislators have read, and the average number read by each of them? We, too, for whom all this prospective legislation is intended, can go to the queen's printers and buy as many Blue Books as we can carry away, with tables of figures enough to last us all the days of our life, and if we should happen to think that seven hundred beautifully printed pages of facts and figures are very cheap at four shillings, the idea might possibly cross our minds that we have something to do with the payment of the printer's bill.

However, no one would be likely to begrudge the cost of the noble Report before us with its five supplemental volumes; and every one will feel that the Royal Commissioners, who have bestowed such time and labour gratuitously on this important subject, have deserved well of their country. For ourselves we have but one regret, and that is, that if the government did not appoint a Catholic Commissioner, the Commission itself did not select one as an assistant Commissioner. The consequence is that we have no information, save some imperfect statistics, on Catholic education. "Information was afforded to the assistant Commissioners upon all the subjects of their inquiry, by almost every one to whom they applied for that purpose, though they had no compulsory powers. The only exception of importance was in the case of the Roman Catholic schools, admission to which was uniformly re-

fused." (p. 10.) It would have been well, if, instead of referring in this place to the correspondence with the Hon. C. Langdale, the Report had stated the grounds on which Catholics refused their co-operation. It would be far better for us not to have any share in the parliamentary grant for education, than to receive the share of it to which we are justly entitled, on the condition of our schools being rendered subject to Protestant inspection. The refusal on the part of the Duke of Newcastle, the chairman, to appoint a Catholic assistant Commissioner to report upon our schools was the harder because the Nonconformists were represented on the Commission itself by Mr. Miall; and the assistant Commissioners consisted of two beneficed clergymen of the Church of England, five lay-members of the same denomination, two Protestant Dissenters, and one member of the Established Church of Scotland. (p. 34.)

But an accurate statement of the position held by Catholic schools among the educational institutions of the country, useful as it would have been, would not have been sufficient. We cannot but feel that the Report of the Commission sins against us on the one hand by omission, and on the other by the want of adequate provision in all its recommendations for religious liberty, an evil that always in practice affects us more seriously than any others. Both these defects the presence of a Catholic at the Board of the Commission would have prevented. If such a one had been there he would have been able to have elicited from the witnesses some information as to the manner in which the religion of Catholic pauper children is disregarded in their education, especially in the metropolis; and thus the provisions for liberty of conscience to which, with respect to schools for the independent poor, the Report freely alludes, would not have been entirely ignored in that portion of the Report which treats of the education of the children in workhouse-schools.

The remark made by the Commissioners with respect to certain parishes where the only school existing is a Church of England one, should have been applied with treble force to workhouse-schools, which are not partially, but entirely supported by taxation, and in which the children are universally *educated* as Protestants, and in the majority of cases have no religious teacher but the chaplain of the workhouse. They say, "It sometimes happens that in

places too small to allow of the establishment of two schools, the only one to which the children of the poor in those places can resort, is placed by the managers under regulations which render imperative the teaching of the Church Catechism to all the scholars, and the attendance of all at Church. In such cases it may result that persons of other denominations are precluded, unless at the sacrifice of their conscientious convictions, from availing themselves of educational advantages for their children, furnished in part by public funds to which, as tax-payers, they contribute. This is manifestly unjust."—p. 344.

So, again, a Catholic would have protested that the "conscience clause" in the Bill proposed by the Commissioners for the compulsory education of outdoor pauper children, was entirely inadequate. In a former article* we described to our readers the Act of Parliament which the Education Commissioners propose to amend. We then availed ourselves of a Return, printed by the House of Commons, later in date by three years than that upon which the Commission founds its arguments. From both Returns, however, we come to the conclusion that the Act has been a failure, and requires amendment. As it at present stands, the Act provides that the Guardians "*may, if they deem proper,*" pay for the education of the child of any poor person in receipt of outdoor relief, "in any school to be approved of by the Guardians," and the Poor Law Board may issue their orders as "to the mode, time, and place, in or at which such relief shall be given, or such education received." And the Poor Law Board at once warned the Guardians that they were not "to use this authority as a means of interference with the dictates of the religious tenets of the poor person to whom this relief is to be applied, or of giving any undue preference to any particular school over others."

The Commissioners, who had previously described "Boards of Guardians" as "independent authorities not easily controlled or persuaded," who, "except in the larger towns, care little for education and much for expense," (p. 377), propose that this outdoor relief for educational purposes shall be compulsory. The school they describe as "any school to be approved by the Poor Law Board,

for such time and under such conditions as the Poor Law Board shall see fit." Surely the Commission do not mean that the Poor Law Board are to settle in every individual case the school to which the child is to be sent. If not, they probably mean that the Guardians may send the child to any school certified by the Poor Law Board, unless the latter authority should interfere. No doubt the Poor Law Board, if asked to do so, would send a Catholic child to a Catholic school, but we have already had quite sufficient experience of the results of constant appeals from Boards of Guardians to the central authority when the Acts of Parliament are defective or obscure. It is absolutely necessary that it should be compulsory upon the Guardians to send children to schools in which the religion is taught which their parents profess, unless the parents expressly name some other school. Thus the very objectionable "conscience clause" proposed by the Commissioners becomes unnecessary. It runs as follows:—

"Provided always, that no child admitted to any school under the provisions of this Act shall be required to learn therein or elsewhere any distinctive religious creed, catechism, or formulary, or to attend any particular Sunday school or place of religious worship to which the parents or surviving parent, or the person having the care of such child shall in writing signed by such parents, parent, or person, and attested by one witness and addressed to the trustees, managers, or proprietors thereof, object."—p. 383.

Attendance at the Sunday school is the point on which the Dissenters lay the greatest stress. More than seventy-six per cent. of all the children receiving education are on week days in Church of England schools, but less than forty-six per cent. are Church of England Sunday scholars. On the other hand, the Wesleyans have less than four per cent. in their week day schools, but they have nineteen per cent. on Sundays. The Congregationalists only two per cent. on week days, but eleven per cent. on Sundays. And the Baptists, and four sects of Methodists, who have together but little more than one per cent. of the children on week days, muster in their Sunday schools the large proportion of twenty-two per cent. A regulation, ensuring leave to attend their own Sunday school, would apparently be all that these Dissenters would require to secure to them liberty of conscience, for it is clear from these statistics, that they do not care what manner of Protestant school educates their children on week days, provided that the Sunday

schools are respected, which "in many parts of the country form the machinery by which different religious denominations maintain or extend their numbers, and, through which, either as teachers or as scholars, the more zealous members of the denomination exert their zeal." (p. 51.) But such a provision would be simply to force upon us Catholics, with respect to the out-door pauper children, that frightful system of mixed education, which in the workhouses serves at present as a most powerful instrument for the perversion of our children, and which is provided against so efficiently by the Reformatory and Industrial School Acts, and by the regulations of the Committee of Privy Council on Education. The proportion of Catholics said in the Report to be attending respectively week-day and Sunday-schools is 5·52 and 1·5 per cent. of the whole number of scholars.

To the important lessons which may be learnt from the statistics with which we are so plentifully supplied in the Report before us, we hope to return in a few minutes, but it will be well, first, as something has been already said respecting pauper children, to advert to the remarks made by the Commissioners on this portion of the subject, which is at this moment attracting so much of our interest and attention.

Nothing can be more forcible than the condemnation passed by the Commission on workhouse-schools. Their predecessors, the Poor Law Commissioners in 1841, had spoken strongly on the subject.

"The moral and religious influences of education are not, we fear, without many obstructions when the school is within the workhouse, even when it is conducted by an efficient teacher; but under ordinary circumstances, when the deficiencies of the schoolmaster are combined with the pernicious influence of the associations inseparable from residence in a workhouse inhabited by a class whose indigence is often the sign of a low moral condition, we are convinced that we cannot hope for much beneficial influence from the school on the future characters and habits of the children, and we fear much evil and disaster may ensue."—p. 353.

The witnesses examined declare with one voice, that "instead of dispauperizing the children, the Workhouse-schools nurse them for the able bodied men's yard and the county prison." A good schoolmistress says that "she felt she was training up the girls for a life of vice and depravity; it was impossible under existing circumstances that it should be

otherwise; one after another went out to carry on the lessons she had learned from the adults, and she returned like them, ruined and degraded, to be a life-long pauper." Miss Louisa Twining speaks of the girls who "learnt the care and management of babies in company with their unmarried mothers;" and she asks and answers herself—"why should not these girls go and do likewise? And so of course they do, and a constant supply is kept up."

The state of the boys is as bad as that of the girls. Dr. Temple's evidence contains the following passage—

"The workhouses are such as to ruin the effect of most of their teaching. 'I think,' writes one of the teachers, 'the boys in this union will never be dispauperised; they have to mix with the men most of whom are 'jail birds.' I have found them talking to the boys about the jail, and of 'bright fellows finding their way to the jail.' Another says, 'I really can do nothing of any good in this place; the guardians will not give any land to be cultivated, and the dull deadening wool-picking goes on, and I have to sit sucking my fingers. What shall I do, sir? I cannot train the children. It appears to me to be absurd to tell these boys to be industrious, and to cultivate a proper spirit of independence, and then, after they have done schooling, to turn them adrift, with no chance whatever of being able to earn an honest living. I should be glad, sir, if you could place me in some station where there is some real work to be done, I do not care of how rough a character.' 'Nothing can be done while the boys are in the union,' says another. 'The common topic of conversation among the children is the arrival of the women of the town to be confined here,' says another. Another, writing from a union where the boys work in the field with the men, remarks, 'My work of three weeks is ruined in as many minutes.'"
—p. 354.

"The children," say the Poor Law Inquiry Commissioners, "who enter the workhouse, quit it, if they ever quit it, corrupted where they were well disposed, and hardened where they were vicious." And this is the education that, with the small exception of the district and separate schools, we buy for the poor children of England by the payment of our poor rates! Amongst children trained thus are to be numbered far the greater part of the 2,378 whom a recent Return* acknowledges to be Catholics!

* Mr. Ewart's Return, printed by House of Commons, 4th March, 1861.

- The exceptions to this condemnation, which ranks workhouse-schools as schools of vice, are the district and separate pauper schools. How small the proportion is of the children enjoying an exemption from the curse inflicted by the working of the Poor Law in this particular will appear from the following table. (p. 373.)

	Children
In six District Schools (of which 3 are Metropolitan) are	2,682
In nineteen separate Workhouse schools ...	4,381
In schools attached to Workhouses ...	37,545
Total pauper children, 25 March, 1859 ...	44,608

And whatever alleviation there may be in the lot of the 7,063 children in the District and separate Pauper-schools, as being removed from the pestilential atmosphere of the workhouse, we Catholics have not much share in the benefit, for we have already* pointed out to our readers that not more than nine or ten children of the 2,296 in the Metropolitan District schools ever see a priest, while it is extremely difficult for the Catholic clergy to obtain admission to the separate schools, at least as far as the London unions are concerned.

Mr. Rudge is the chaplain of the North Sarrey District School, with the name of which the readers of the Workhouse Papers are tolerably familiar. He says:—

“I am most glad to have the opportunity of bearing my testimony to the good effects which have resulted from one of the most wise and merciful legislative enactments for which the present reign has been distinguished—I mean the District Schools Act. I have held the chaplaincy of these schools ever since they were opened in November, 1850; when the children were drafted either from the various workhouses in the district, or from certain establishments for farming pauper children in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. I have, therefore, had unusual opportunities of testing the working of the two systems.

After referring to a former letter as to the previous state of the children, Mr. Rudge proceeds:—

“In the course of the last five years 2,839 pauper children have passed under my charge. The average number of yearly admissions to the school has been 540. The average number removed

* Dublin Review, No. XCVI. p. 295.

by their parents, or by order of the board of guardians, in each year, has been 252. The whole number of children who have completed their training in the school, and been sent to permanent situations, is, up to the present date, 260. Of the whole number admitted into the school since the commencement, only sixteen have been sent back to the workhouses by the managers, from the circumstance of their having reached the age at which they become able-bodied paupers, without having obtained situations. And of these I can confidently assert that at least a moiety owed their failure either to some physical or some mental defect. It has lately formed a part of my duty as chaplain to visit those children who have been sent to places, and to report upon their state to the board of management. I have generally found them giving satisfaction to their employers, and in the enjoyment of fair wages and kind treatment. The number of those who have returned to the school with an expression of the dissatisfaction of their employers is, on the whole, inconsiderable."—p. 369.

It is tranquilly assumed that *all* the children, not only when at school, but even afterwards when in service, are "under his charge." Of these 2,839 children, at a very moderate estimate, 400 were Catholics, whom the labours of the Rev. Mr. Rudge have transformed into Protestants. A single Mortara case can arouse the indignation of the country, but it has not any to spare for four hundred at a single school. This was the state of the school in February 1856. Five years have since elapsed, and another four hundred are to be added to the first. Eight hundred Catholic children have been brought up as Protestants in that one school in the course of ten years—on an average eighty Catholic children a year perverted in the North Surrey District School alone.

To this, as we have said, the Commissioners do not even allude, though it is difficult to conceive how the matter escaped their notice. They therefore suggest no remedy for the evil; but, happily, the recommendations which they make for the rescue of the children who are being ruined in the workhouses are not only not inconsistent with the amendment of the law that we require, but will serve us as a ground upon which we may build our own arguments. What we require, and what alone will effectually remedy the grievance under which we labour, are separate schools. The remedy the Commissioners propose is the compulsory establishment of district or separate schools. All that we need beyond the scheme of the Commissioners is that some plan be devised by which some of the schools

shall be for the exclusive education of Catholic children. The actual powers conferred on the Poor Law Board by the District Schools Act, or the larger powers which the Commissioners propose (p. 378) to confer upon the Central Board are certainly not intended to meet our case and do not do so; but analogous powers, and therefore no novelty in Poor Law Legislation, are all that are necessary. However, this subject of separate Catholic schools for pauper children must not be taken into consideration entirely by itself, and we therefore turn to another portion of the Report, that relating to the "education of vagrants and criminals."

There are four classes of children (if we leave the military and naval schools out of consideration) towards the education of whom the State has recently recognized its obligations. These are children convicted of crime, children in danger of crime, and children who are either inmates of workhouses or who are in receipt of out-door relief. For the criminal children reformatories have been established, of which we have but to remark that they receive from the Commission the high praise that no other "institutions connected with education appear to be in a more satisfactory condition." For the class of children who are in danger of forming criminal habits, but who have not been convicted of worse offences than vagrancy or begging, the Legislature has provided Industrial Schools. Of pauper children, whether receiving indoor or outdoor relief, we have already spoken.

The Industrial Schools Acts are under revision at the very time at which we write, and the law may consequently be consolidated, and its provisions enlarged or altered, as these sheets pass through the press. The Act of 1857 empowers a justice to send any child, whom he convicts of vagrancy, to a duly certified Industrial School, unless the parent gives an assurance in writing that he will be responsible for its good behaviour for twelve months. If there is any school in the county, or any adjoining county, conducted on the principles of the religious denomination to which the child belongs, it is to have the preference to all others. We have already* seen that it is ordered that a book shall be kept for the registration of the various

* Dublin Review, No. XCVI., p. 305.

religions of the children; and ministers of their religious persuasions, "upon the representation of the parent, or in case of an orphan, then of the guardian or nearest adult relative," may visit the children at such hours of the day as the managers shall fix. Lastly, Boards of Guardians may contract with the managers for the maintenance and education of pauper children.

It is clear by the last provision that the Legislature regarded the children who are sent to these Industrial Schools as of the same class as pauper children, and saw no disadvantage in their being educated together. No doubt, speaking generally, they are but one class. The pauper child, if turned out of the workhouse, would be a vagrant, would beg, and would be in danger of becoming a thief. The orphans and deserted children, who form sixty per cent. of the pauper children, would certainly do so, and the parents of the remaining forty per cent. would save but few of them from such a life. Such children, if charged before the justices with vagrancy would come under the Industrial Schools Act. The Commissioners take the same view, in the following exceedingly important passage of their Report:—

"It appears to us that the object which industrial schools are intended to promote is one which should not be left to private individuals, but should be accomplished at the public expense and by public authority. This results from its character. To take a child out of the custody of its parents, and to educate it in an institution over which they have no control, is a proceeding which must be considered as it affects the parent and as it affects the child. As it affects the parent, it is a punishment for the neglect of the most important parental duties. It is always disgraceful, and often severe, for the neglect of parental duty is quite consistent with the presence of strong parental feeling. It is obviously just to add to the disgrace and suffering inflicted by the child's removal the obligation of paying the expense to which the public is subjected in consequence of the parent's neglect.

"As it affects the child, the character of the proceeding is altogether different. It is intended, not for its punishment, for the supposition is that the child has not been convicted of any crime, but for its protection from the consequences of the neglect of its natural protectors. By the act of separating it from those protectors, whatever their character may be, the State puts itself in the place of a parent and assumes parental obligations. Children, therefore, who stand in this position, have a distinct moral right to proper education and superintendence at the hands of the State,

which again has the right to charge the parent with the expense of providing it.

"As we observed in the last part, this is precisely the relation in which the State already stands to indoor pauper children, that is to say, to children who are orphans, or illegitimate, or deserted by their parents. It follows that children who fall within the Industrial Schools Act should be put upon the same footing as indoor pauper children. The only difference between the two classes is, that in the one case the natural protectors of the children are either dead or unknown, while in the other they are judicially declared to be unfit to exercise the authority arising out of their relationship.

"The practical objection to taking this course in the present state of things is that the present workhouse schools are in so bad a condition that there is a strong probability that the children who enter them will be corrupted. We have dwelt upon this subject already, and have recommended the general establishment of district and separate schools. We think that when such schools are established they will form the appropriate places of education for the children liable to be committed to industrial schools. If our recommendation be adopted, they will speedily be found in all parts of the country, and will thus afford to every district the resources at present offered by the industrial schools to a few large towns. We propose, therefore, that all district or separate schools for indoor pauper children be declared by Act of Parliament industrial schools within the meaning of the Industrial Schools Act of 1857."—p. 402-3.

The proposal here made is exactly in principle what we require. Justice and fairness demand that a convenient number of schools should be established, to which the guardians of certain districts should be obliged to send their Catholic children and maintain them up to the age of sixteen; and then these schools should, according to the suggestion of the Commissioners, be declared Industrial, so that children who are under special temptations to crime might be sent to them by justices. For this we should strain every nerve, for such an arrangement is the only one by which we can hope to secure our fair share of the advantages of the Industrial Schools Act, and the Report of the Royal Commissioners distinctly shows how reasonable is the demand we thus make.

Of all times this is the most opportune for us to select for asserting these claims. The recommendation of the Commissioners is very explicit that the Guardians should now be compelled by the Legislature to establish separate

schools, under pain of being included by the Poor Law Board in districts, to the schools of which their children should necessarily be sent. It is the very moment for us to claim that provision shall be made for our wants, so that in the necessary expenditure, that portion which is to be spent in the education of Catholic children may be spent in such a way as to ensure their education as Catholics, and not rather be lavished on the machinery of proselytism. So, too, with the Industrial Schools. The law is now being amended, because it has been found comparatively inoperative. There are in England eighteen certified Industrial Schools, of which only seven contain children detained under magisterial sentence; and of these seven, two have but one child each, and a third school only four. So that there are but four Industrial Schools in the country where children are received under the Act. The Newcastle-on-Tyne school has one hundred children under sentence, "Liverpool, Everton Crescent, St. George's Roman Catholic" has thirty-five, and there are thirty in the two Bristol Schools. So, of 171, the whole number of children under detention, thirty-five are in a Catholic school. It cannot be altogether the fault of the Act of Parliament that more children are not rescued from a life of misery and vice by its provisions, if the Justices of Newcastle and Liverpool can make such excellent use of it.

The use of these figures reminds us that we have promised our readers to return to the statistics of the Report. It is indeed furnished with them, in compliance with the modern demand for figures as well as facts, in great abundance. Those who prefer them "neat," will find them to their heart's content in the last part of the Report, where they occupy more than one hundred and twenty pages by themselves. Most of the same tables also occur in the body of the Report, diluted and prepared for easier digestion. As far as the Catholics are concerned, we see here and there symptoms of the scantiness of the information to which we have already had occasion to advert. Rather ridiculous instances are furnished by the notes on p. 65. "The average salaries in Roman Catholic schools in thirty-five English counties is given as £25, but as the number on which this average is taken is only one, it would mislead." And, again, "In another Roman Catholic district £39 is given, but the average is taken on only two cases." We are said to give the lowest salaries of

any one to our certificated infant school mistresses, viz., £42 10s., while £58 3s. 8d. is the average; but we are not told from how many cases the Commissioners have learnt our practice.

It is not difficult to state the amount expended on the education of the nation by Parliament through the Privy Council. The first grant was in 1839, and its amount was £30,000. This was gradually increased, so that it became in 1846, £100,000; in 1853, £260,000, and in 1859, £836,920, which is the largest grant that has yet been made. The total amount expended during those twenty-one years was £4,378,183 4s. 9½d., the principal expenses being,—

			£.	s.	d.
In building grants	...	...	1,047,648	17	8½
In training teachers	...	...	2,544,280	16	5½
Capitation	...	...	186,230	14	0
Administration (including inspection)	...	...	457,936	9	11
			£4,236,096	18	1

To meet the sum of four millions four hundred thousand pounds, contributed by the state, and paid for out of the taxation of the country, eight millions eight hundred thousand have been raised voluntarily by local contributions. So that in the twenty-one years named, more than thirteen millions of money have been expended on the inspected schools alone for the education of the children of the "Independent Poor." At the close of this period of twenty-one years, there were 9,388 such schools, or about two-fifths of the entire number of existing public schools, containing 1,101,545 scholars, or about half the number now under instruction in the whole country. And the thirty-two existing training colleges are another product of this immense expenditure.*

The system administered by the Committee of Privy Council on education is one that has grown to its present dimensions from small beginnings. At least one of the heavier items of its expenditure may be said to have been almost inadvertently begun. The Capitation Grant was originally intended as an assistance for small places; but a

* Report p. 309.

proposal to Parliament that the larger towns should be provided for out of the local rates, having been rejected, it was made general, and thus in three years from its institution has become the large sum of £61,183, which is, in fact, a contribution to the managers in aid of the expense of the maintenance of the school. This Capitation Grant, the Commissioners think, may grow to £300,000, or even a greater sum; and the extension of the present system to the whole country would probably cost us more than two millions a year, while there is a possibility of a far greater increase.*

A system thus established on no definite plan and increasing in so rapid a manner naturally demanded a full inquiry, and it is very gratifying to find that the Commissioners regard the system as one, though open to many amendments, yet on the whole so excellent, that they have to devise a plan which may extend its advantages to the whole country. This is of the greatest importance to us, who have in it enjoyed a fair share in the help afforded to education by the State, without having been called upon to purchase it by the sacrifice of our religious independence. It is this that has rendered our position in this respect an object of envy to our fellow Catholics in Ireland, who have to contend with all the evils of mixed education.

The Commissioners rightly regard this as one of the great beauties of the system, and they add, what is undeniably true, that "the existing plan is the only one by which it would be possible to secure the religious character of popular education." (p. 310.) Few passages have appeared in modern blue books more deserving of repetition with every emphasis than the following.

"It has been supposed that the object of securing the religious character of education might be equally attained either by restricting the teaching given in the schools to points upon which different denominations agree, or by drawing a broad line between the religious and the secular instruction, and by providing that the religious instruction should be given at particular hours, and by the ministers of different denominations. We do not think that either of these expedients would be suitable to the state of feeling in this country.

"With respect to the plan of restricting the teaching to points

* Report p. 314.

agreed upon, we may refer to the history of the British and Foreign School Society. Udenominal teaching was its distinctive principle, but all the schools, including British and others which are founded on that principle, contain only about 14.4 per cent. of the scholars in public schools, whilst the remaining 85.6 per cent. are in denominational schools. The British schools are for the most part large schools in towns, and are usually established where the various dissenting bodies, not being numerous enough to establish denominational schools, prefer a British school to one connected with the Church of England. Religious communities, when able to do so, always appear to prefer schools of their own to schools on the udenominal principle.

"The British and Foreign School Society is the oldest of all the societies connected with education, and might for a considerable time have been regarded as the representative of all the bodies which were not satisfied with the principles of the National Society; but in the course of the last eighteen years the Wesleyans and the Independents have established boards of their own.

"The plan of drawing a line between religious and secular instruction, and confining the religious instruction to particular hours, would, we believe, be equally unlikely to succeed. The principal promoters of education maintain that such a line cannot be drawn, and that every subject which is not merely mechanical, such as writing and working sums, but is connected with the feelings and conduct of mankind, may and ought to be made the occasion of giving religious instruction. They maintain that the religious influence of the school depends no less upon the personal character and example of the teacher, on the manner in which he administers discipline, upon the various opportunities which he takes for enforcing religious truth, and on the spirit in which he treats his pupils and teaches them to treat each other, than upon the distinctive religious teaching.

"Upon this subject we would direct attention to the following resolution of the Wesleyan Committee of Education in reference to a Bill introduced by Sir J. Pakington:—

"That while it has ever been the fixed rule in Wesleyan schools during the teaching of the catechism, to permit the absence of any child whose parents should object to his being taught such formulary, and to leave all children free to attend on the Sabbath whatever Sunday school and place of worship their parents may prefer, this Committee believes that the Wesleyan community will never consent that the teaching of religion itself in their schools shall be subject to restriction. Their experience shows, that besides the Scripture lesson with which their schools daily open, and in which it is sought to make divine truth intelligible to children of all capacities, an able Christian teacher will find throughout the day, when teaching geography, history, physical and moral science, and the knowledge of common things, frequent

occasion to illustrate and enforce the truths of religion, and that religious teaching may be made to impart life and spirit to the whole process of education.'"—p. 311-12.

On account of the difficulty with respect to religious teaching, the Commissioners are of opinion that the burden of supporting education should not be transferred from the central revenue to the local rates.

"We think that if it were resolved to establish a system under which schools should be founded and supported out of the rates, difficulties would arise as to the religious teaching to be given in them, and as to the authority which the clergy of different denominations should exercise over them, which would probably prevent such a measure from passing through Parliament, and would prevent it from working in an harmonious manner if it did. Our opinion on this subject is founded principally on past experience. Difficulties of this kind, as we have elsewhere observed, prevented the Committee of Council from recommending the foundation of a Normal College in connexion with the State. Similar difficulties defeated the attempt to establish a national system of education in 1839, and to establish a system specially adapted for the factories in 1842. The difficulty as to the Normal Colleges was overcome by the establishment of upwards of 30 Training Colleges connected in the closest way with different denominations. And meanwhile many thousand elementary schools have been established in the course of the last twenty years, almost all of which are specially connected with some one religious denomination, in many cases by foundation deeds, which give legal security for the permanence of the connexion. These facts show that amongst those who really manage popular education, there are deep-seated differences of principle which operate strongly on their minds, and are very unlikely to be removed.

"It may be urged that little has been heard of such differences for some years past, that the parents of the children to be educated are, generally speaking, comparatively indifferent to the subject, and that consequently whatever may have been the case formerly, no serious difficulty would be found at present in providing a common constitution for the schools supported by the rates, and in making arrangements as to the teaching in them which would be acceptable to all. We think this a mistake. It is quite true that for several years little has been heard of religious differences in the management of schools, and we do not anticipate that anything will be heard of them in future so long as the constitution of the schools remains untouched. The quiet which has prevailed arises from the independence of the different denominations and their undisturbed possession of their respective provinces, but there is no reason to suppose that the circumstance of their having occupied

this position for upwards of twenty years would dispose them to exchange it for another. On the contrary, the difficulties would be greater now than they formerly were."—p. 304-5.

And besides, the experience of workhouse schools shows that the rate-payers, or their representatives, would be the worst and most unfit hands to which we could entrust the care of our poor schools. Yet this must necessarily be done if the support of the schools were to be thrown upon the rates. The Commissioners are, however, of opinion that the local rates may bear a portion of the expense without any interference with the present organization of the school management. The following is their proposal. First, the State shall pay "in schools in which a certificated teacher has been actually employed for nine calendar months in the preceding year," containing less than sixty children, not less than 5s. 6d., nor more than 6s. per child; and in schools containing more than sixty children, not less than 4s. 6d., nor more than 5s. per child; and an additional 2s. 6d. per child for every child who has been under a pupil teacher or assistant teacher, allowing thirty children for each pupil teacher and sixty for each assistant teacher. The actual payment within the limits here mentioned will be determined by the Inspector's report of the discipline, efficiency, and general character of the school. This would sweep away all the present complicated scale of payments in augmentation of teachers' salaries, pupil-teachers' allowances, capitation grants, &c.

The Commissioners then propose to institute County and Borough Boards of Education, who shall appoint examiners, being certificated masters of at least seven years standing. These examiners are annually to examine in every school that shall apply for a grant from the county or borough rate, each individual child in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the girls in plain work. The grant is to vary from 21s. to 22s. 6d. for every child who shall have "fulfilled tests" in this examination, and shall have attended school during one hundred and forty days in the preceding year. The present requisite for a capitation grant from Privy Council is one hundred and seventy-six days. Children under seven are not to be examined, but to be paid for at the rate of 20s. per child.

Such is the scheme. It is calculated that the total average cost of educating children in poor schools is about

30s. a head. By this plan it is intended that 10s. at the lowest and 15s. at the highest, or at least one-third, and at most one-half the whole expense should be derived from public sources. We have seen that the Privy Council Grant in 1859 amounted to £836,920 in assisting according to the present system 1,101,545 scholars. The Commissioners estimate the cost of their plan for the education of 1,500,000 children, as, from general taxation, £630,000, and from local taxation £428,400, which latter sum would be raised by a rate of 1½d. on all the rateable property in England. By this calculation the grants for annual maintenance of schools would be drawn equally from the Privy Council and the County or Borough rate, the former retaining the burden of building grants, inspection and the maintenance of the training colleges.

These recommendations, as far as they relate to the Privy Council Office, may be regarded as suggestions for its improvement, even though the rest of the scheme should not be adopted. They would maintain, it is hoped, the quality of education by encouraging schools to employ superior teachers, they would simplify the enormous complication of the business of the office, and they would diminish the rigour and apparent injustice of some of its rules. The plan of introducing the contributions from the county rates would enable many schools in poor districts to obtain assistance that now are precluded from it; it would, it is supposed excite a local interest in the schools, (though this seems to us problematical), and it would, if the proposed system of examination were adopted, improve the teaching where it is most defective at present.

The judgment of the Commission on the present system of Privy Council assistance to education is almost as severe as their proposals of amendment are sweeping, but they seem hardly to be aware how severe they are. This is owing to the still greater severity with which private and unassisted schools are necessarily condemned. The Commission are quite sensible of the immense improvement in education that has been brought about by the Government Grant, but they do not seem to us to have exaggerated the defects of the system, but throughout to have been singularly fair and impartial in their judgments. At present the certificate of the teacher is regarded as a doubtful indication of his professional aptitude. Indeed, one inspector goes so far as to give the preference to the

results produced by teachers holding the lowest certificates. "The preponderance of efficiency is somewhat, though very slightly, in favour of the third or lowest class of certificates." The Commissioners propose that the Inspectors should have the power of raising or lowering the certificate; but we must confess that we do not see how the various degrees of certificates (p. 149) would enter into the plan which we have already described. That plan would restore matters to a more healthy state, by helping, not the schoolmaster personally, but the school and its managers, and leaving the latter to make their own engagements with their teachers, and also leaving the salaries to rise by an increased demand or to fall by a greater competition, as in all other employments.

The Report complains in one respect of the course of what it calls the male training college, (p. 115), and it proposes to borrow the subject of political economy from what, by a not less startling instance of *prosopopeia*, it styles the female syllabus. This is a startling proposition at first sight, on another ground, that our poor children should be taught political economy, of which we ourselves know little or nothing; but, if as we presume, it practically means that a schoolmaster should be able to give a labouring man some idea "of the causes which regulate the amount of his wages, the hours of his work, the regularity of his employment, and the prices of what he consumes," we cannot object. The Commissioners are quite alive to the harm that has been done by a too ambitious and showy style of education on the part of the teachers. They truly say that the failures of certificated teachers are due to the defective education rather than to too high a training. "They arise not from over refinement, but from vulgarity. The use of ambitious language, vain display of knowledge, the overlooking what is essential and elementary, a failure to see what it is that really perplexes a child, are the faults which an educated person avoids, and into which an uneducated person falls." "If it were possible ... to submit the students to a longer course of instruction, embracing fewer subjects, but acquainting them more deeply with those selected, they would probably acquire greater clearness of mind and liveliness of expression, and would so be better fitted for teaching." (p. 132). A diminution of the number of subjects required would be a great boon, even without a longer course of instruction.

Dr. Temple expresses himself well when he says, "I think that it would be better if you could get schoolmasters with less knowledge and more education, which is what is commonly meant by people who ask for what they call a lower standard, but it really is a much higher standard." Though the Commissioners praise the Training College course, or at least recommend but little alteration, they acknowledge that there is far too much of "mere cram" for people who have to spend their lives in teaching poor children to read, write, and cypher, and girls to sew.

The main defect of the schools which the present method of inspection is not calculated to remedy is, that the essential and elementary things are not properly taught, and that the lower classes are sacrificed to the proficiency of the more forward children. These defects the proposed examination in these most necessary parts of education, by which a county or borough examiner is to ascertain and record by name the progress of each individual child, is intended to correct. The fault which teachers are tempted to commit under the pressure of the expectation of the inspector's visit, is much of the character of the religious instruction, which is amusingly described in the following extract.

"'The efforts of the teachers,' says Mr. Foster, 'whom I met with, appeared directed chiefly to the facts of Scripture history, stimulated hereto by the usual tenor of the inspector's examination. A Roman Catholic lady, writing about a school under her management, which she wished me to see, and describing the religious instruction there given as devotional and practical, remarked, in passing, that it did not consist, as in the Protestant schools, of inculcating the exact number of kings that reigned in Israel, or the precise names of Jacob's sons. The animadversion was, I believe, strictly just. Whatever may be the repetition of forms, the real teaching is for the most part neither devotional, nor doctrinal, nor practical, but historical, embracing chiefly the facts, and names, and numbers recorded in the sacred text. An inspector explained to me, that his reason for asking minute questions of this sort was, that if he found the children acquainted with these minutiae, he inferred a general knowledge of Scripture truth. Whether he is right or not, this practice in inspection gives the direction to the daily teaching of the schools.'"—p. 232.

It is certainly most satisfactory to see that the common sense view of the education of the poor is so thoroughly accepted by the Commissioners. The following passages,

taken from various Inspector's Reports, are calculated to do much good.

Mr. Fussell remarks :

"Next in importance to religious instruction we must place those indispensable subjects, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Of these the two former are indisputably the most difficult to teach, and as indisputably the most rarely well taught. This arises, I believe, in no small degree from the inadequate standard which both teachers and children have formed in their own minds respecting them,—they are far too easily satisfied with themselves. A very large proportion of the children do not know what good reading is—they are not taught in what it consists, or in what bad reading consists. In too many cases it would be more true to say that the teachers *hear them read*, than that they teach them reading. Very careful and special instruction should be given to the pupil-teachers in this respect. Few things are more painful to me than to see the energies of a young teacher in his class frittered away after this fashion. A child reads a sentence,—he commits gross faults. 'Read it again,' says the teacher. He reads it again, and, as may be expected, he reads it pretty much as at first. 'Read it again;' and so on. It does not seem to enter into the teacher's conception that his own labour, and the child's too, would be immensely lightened, if he would but tell the child what his faults are, and *why* he has to read it again. A teacher who pursues this plan will never have good reading in his class. The children are baffled, confused, and disheartened; and, as a natural consequence, they subside into stolid indifference. It must never be forgotten that the art of reading is an imitative art, and that no teaching of it can be effective unless the practice of furnishing the children with models of good reading be largely resorted to."—p. 249.

Mr. Fraser is even more graphic.

"Good reading—by which I mean distinct articulation, proper expression, and an intelligent apprehension of the drift of the passage read—is a treat that I was very rarely permitted to enjoy. The children appear to fall into slovenly habits,—indistinctness of sight as well as of speech,—in the lower classes, which become ineradicable. The modern method of discovering the pronunciation of a hard or previously unknown word seems singularly infelicitous. There is a reading lesson in the Third Irish Book, which I was fond of using as a kind of test. It is the story of a congress of birds summoned by a swallow to discuss the proper course to pursue in reference to a field which a farmer was sowing with hemp-seed. It begins easily enough to tempt the children to start glibly, but in the second or third line there comes the adverb "*unanimously*," a long but by no means difficult word to articulate for children who have ever been taught to regard the syllabic arrange-

ment of letters, but upon which the second class invariably, and very often the first class, broke down. There would be first an uncomfortable pause, then a wistful eye cast on the teacher; then, on my request that the word might be spelt, a rapid gabble of the 11 letters of which the word is composed; at the conclusion of this process, the same helpless incompetence to proceed; then the eye once more turned upon the teacher; and finally, in most cases, the frank confession of the latter that it was her habit always to help the children at this point, and that when they had repeated the letters, she gave them the pronunciation of the word. I venture to assert that the girls in the Hereford workhouse were not taught to read in this way. Such teaching will never enable its pupils '*nare sine cortice*.'

"Another phenomenon that you frequently observe in hearing a class read, not perhaps the very highest class in a school, but the second and third classes, and which certainly, I think, indicates the absence of some very important qualifications in the teacher, is that, if you quietly stand by and give the children their head (so to speak), for five minutes, without stoppage or correction of any kind, you will be perfectly amazed, if it is at all a difficult passage, at the quantity of utterly unintelligible gibberish that you will have listened to. I remember once hearing at the inspection of a school, though not in the course of this inquiry, the head girl in the first class read St. Luke, iv. 14, thus:—'And there went a *flame* of him through all the *religion* round about,' with perfect self-satisfaction, and in utter unconsciousness of the absurd blunders she was perpetrating. Such children never can have been accustomed to connect sense and sound, but have simply acquired a mechanical facility of utterance, which is a bar instead of a help to rational progress. A piece of mechanism, when it does get out of gear, plays havoc just in proportion to the speed at which it is going. The unconscious thing believes that its only duty is to go, and whether it is going right or wrong it has no test within itself to discover."—pp. 250-51.

Mr. Foster's remarks are not a little suggestive.

"I met with very few day schools indeed in which it seemed that the words read or repeated from a book, even with apparent ease, conveyed any idea to the mind of the pupil. For instance, a smart little boy read the first verse of the ninth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, 'And he entered into a ship, and passed over, and came into his own city.' I asked, 'What did he enter into?' 'Don't know, thank you, Sir,' replied the boy politely. 'Read it again. Now what did he come into?' 'Don't know, thank you, Sir.' In another school, a girl of about 13 years of age was directed to 'say her geography' to me, and after she had repeated the boundaries of several countries, I asked 'What is a boundary?' 'It's a year's wages.' My question had suggested to her mind the terms on

which the pitmen are in some collieries bound for a year to their employment. Doubtless she did not dream of its connexion with the lesson she had just repeated. These are fair specimens of the usual results of any effort to elicit the children's apprehension of what they were learning—either total silence or an answer perfectly irrelevant. The truth which has been forced upon me in a way it never was before is, that the language of books is an unknown tongue to the children of the illiterate, especially in remote situations. It is utterly unlike their vernacular dialect, both in its vocabulary and construction, and, perhaps, not less unintelligible than Latin generally was to the vulgar in the middle ages. The gulf between is the more impassable wherever, as in the collier villages, there is little or no intercourse with persons of the middle class. Only a very small proportion of the children seem to attain any adequate understanding of the language of books during their school life, and whether they do afterwards or not depends much upon the circumstances of their lot.”—p. 255.

Although we have placed such long passages of the Report before our readers, we cannot withhold the following, which has been very frequently alluded to in various publications since its appearance. We would venture to suggest that the plan of making children from memory write on slates an answer of the catechism, is an excellent method of discovering whether the children have learnt the words correctly, or whether they slur over the answers in so slovenly a manner that they have really pronounced a quantity of gibberish nearly resembling the true answer in sound. Children in our poor schools seldom learn the catechism from the book, and the confused sound made by a number of children pronouncing the same words, will often teach a child, parrot like, something like the following specimen.

“‘My duty toads God is to bleed in him, to fering and to loaf withold your arts, withold my mine, withold my sold, and with my sernth, to whirchp and to give thinks, to pnt my old trast in him, to call upon him, to onner his old name and his world, and to save him truly all the days of my life's end.’

“‘My dooty tods my nabers, to love him as thysel, and to do to all men as I wed thou shall do and to me, to love, onner, and suke my farther and mother, to onner and to bay the Queen and all that are pet in a forty under her, to amit myself to all my gooness, teaches, sportial pastures and marsters, to oughten myself lordly and every to all my betters, to hat no body by would nor deed, to be trew in jest in all my deelines, to beer no malis nor ated in your arts, to kep my ands from pecken and steel, my turn

from evil speaking, lawing and slanders, not to oivet nor desar othermans good, but to lern laber trewly to git my own leaving, and to do my dooty in that state if life and to each it is please God to call men."—p. 256.

The *Times* told us that "pet in a forty," was "put in authority," to which it is quite necessary to add that "to oughten myself lordly and every," stands for "to order myself lowly and reverently." There is no little force in the remark, "When the parents are censured for not prolonging the attendance of their children at school, it rests with those who censure them to show that the most has been made of the attendance already given. If a child of ten years old, who has attended school with moderate regularity for four or five years, can hardly read and write, and cannot cypher to any useful purpose, it is very hard to call upon the parent to keep him at school four years longer, and to tax him with gross selfishness and ingratitude, because he does not choose to forego a large addition to his family income in order to do so. The parent's notion of what education should be may be limited: but, as far as it goes, it is sound. It is no doubt true that it would be most desirable to teach children many other things besides reading, writing, and arithmetic; but if a child is ignorant of these after four years schooling, his parents may well be excused for supposing that the experiment has lasted long enough." (p. 178.) That the standard instruction in ordinary poor-schools cannot be expected to extend beyond these simple things, and the standard usually attainable as well the results to be hoped for as the fruits of all this school training, are clearly put by Mr. Fraser.

"Even if it were possible, I doubt whether it would be desirable, with a view to the real interests of the peasant boy, to keep him at school till he was 14 or 15 years of age. But it is not possible. We must make up our minds to see the last of him, as far as the day school is concerned, at 10 or 11. We must frame our system of education upon this hypothesis; and I venture to maintain that it is quite possible to teach a child soundly and thoroughly, in a way that he shall not forget it, all that it is necessary for him to possess in the shape of intellectual attainment, by the time that he is ten years old. If he has been properly looked after in the lower classes, he shall be able to spell correctly the words that he will ordinarily have to use; he shall read a common narrative—the paragraph in the newspaper that he cares to read—with sufficient

ease to be a pleasure to himself and to convey information to listeners; if gone to live at a distance from home, he shall write his mother a letter that shall be both legible and intelligible; he knows enough of ciphering to make out, or test the correctness of, a common shop bill; if he hears talk of foreign countries, he has some notion as to the part of the habitable globe in which they lie: and underlying all, and not without its influence, I trust, upon his life and conversation, he has acquaintance enough with the Holy Scriptures to follow the allusions and the arguments of a plain Saxon sermon, and a sufficient recollection of the truths taught him in his Catechism, to know what are the duties required of him towards his Maker and his fellow man. I have no brighter view of the future or the possibilities of an English elementary education, floating before my eyes than this. If I had ever dreamt more sanguine dreams before, what I have seen in the last six months would have effectually and for ever dissipated them. In such inspection of schools as time and opportunity allow me to make, I strictly limited myself to testing their efficiency in such vital points as these; never allowing myself to stray into the regions of English grammar, or English history, or physical science, unless I had previously found the ground under the children thoroughly firm, and fit to carry, without risk of settlements, a somewhat lofty and more decorated superstructure."—p. 243-4.

It appears to us to be a great misfortune that the schools for the "independent poor," throughout the country, are not conducted more upon an industrial system. The school hours are too long, the confinement is too great: if the children could, for some hours a day, be well employed in active hard work, as they are in District and Industrial Schools, they would learn more, and when they left school, be not only better instructed, but stronger and more useful. The evidence given before the Commission "tends decidedly to the conclusions:—I. That for children under the age of 12 years, 2½ hours a week is nearly the limit of profitable instruction in studies requiring mental effort. II. That 18 hours a week is often a more useful period of mental effort than 24. III. That 15 hours a week, the utmost that is obtained by the factory children, is, to use the most unfavourable expression, not insufficient. IV. That much may be done in 12 hours a week, or two hours a day, provided that those two hours be two fresh hours in the morning. V. That children who have been educated up to the age of seven in a good infant school can be taught in three years, in a school attendance of from 15 to 18 hours a week, to read well, to write well, and to understand and apply the common rules of arithmetic."—p. 191.

When "children begin to have a money value, as soon as

they can shout loud enough to scare a crow, or can endure exposure to the weather in watching cows in a lane," so that at eight years of age they can earn sixpence a day; why is not an effort made to get them to school for a couple of hours in the morning? So too, in towns, employers would often spare their errand boys for that amount of teaching, and much good would be done in that time under an energetic and intelligent teacher.

By laying stress on the defects of the system now pursued, and on the recommendations of the Commission, we might perhaps leave an impression too unfavourable to the system: but we have not entered into any examination of its merits, or of the good results that it has brought about, or cited the favourable expressions of the Report, for, first, its good qualities are now so widely appreciated, that our readers do not require to be reminded of them; secondly, we may take for granted, that five millions of public money have not been spent in vain; and thirdly, we have turned to the Commission, with a special interest to learn what faults it has to find, and what amendments to propose.

The great deficiency of which the Commission complains, is not in our schools for boys and girls, but in those for infants. It is singular that we should be called upon to repair our foundations in this respect also. The infant schools are inferior to those for older children, and it is much more difficult to find fit persons to conduct them. "The certificated teachers," says Mr. Watkins,

"have one obvious and great disadvantage; they are very young when they enter upon their duties, and they have to deal with very young children. But the younger the children to be trained, the older, within certain limits, should the trainer be. He has more need of experience, of self-knowledge, of discernment in child-nature, and sympathy with child-life. He has before him a more delicate and continuous work than he who acts upon the juvenile boy or girl."—p. 151.

The case is thus stated by the Commissioners.

"Infant schools form a most important part of the machinery required for a national system of education, inasmuch as they lay the foundation, in some degree, of knowledge, and in a still greater degree, of habits which are essential to education, while without them a child may contract habits and sustain injuries which the best school will afterwards be unable to correct and remedy.

"To keep at school a boy who might be earning wages, or a girl

who might help her mother in household work, must always be a sacrifice ; but children under seven can earn little or nothing, and the presence of several of them in a small room required for a variety of other purposes is a considerable inconvenience. Infant schools, therefore, are free from competition with the employers of labour and with the requirements of the family.

"Infant schools are also comparatively cheap, as they are usually taught by mistresses.

"Lastly, it may be observed that the difficulties produced by differences of religious belief can hardly arise in respect of such infant schools as form independent establishments. It is scarcely conceivable that the instruction of children under seven years of age should ever be dogmatic. The power of understanding the peculiarities of doctrine which separate churches and sects is not developed till a much later period.

"On the other hand there are difficulties which impede the establishment of infant schools, especially in rural districts. A village can seldom support two schools, even if they are placed in the same building. The value of infant schools depends almost exclusively on the tact, patience, sympathy, and ingenuity of the teacher ; and the employment is one which requires good and even spirits. It is difficult to obtain these qualifications, and, as we shall show hereafter, there are few institutions in which infant schoolmistresses are trained. Very young children cannot attend any school which is not near their own homes ; and where the population is much scattered this circumstance alone may prevent the establishment of an infant school, as there may not be children enough for the purpose within the limits of attendance. Practically, therefore, it is difficult in rural districts to avoid either leaving infants, as at present, in the dames' schools, or placing them by themselves as the youngest class in the village school. The latter course will become more practicable if, as we shall suggest, every schoolmistress should undergo a course of training in the training college to adapt her to deal with infants."—p. 31-2.

The passage respecting the religious teaching of infants, is the most absurd in the whole Report. That children under seven may not be able to see the difference between the Church of England and the Wesleyans, or Baptists, may be quite true : but in our infant schools a great deal of dogmatic teaching accompanies the sign of the cross, the *Hail Mary*, the *I believe*, and *I confess*.

The Report also declares that we need a very extensive institution of evening schools. We can only spare room for an extract from Mr. Fraser's evidence, which may be practically useful.

"I start with the principle that the development of the night

school, the placing it on a sound and permanent basis, the making it a place where the education, interrupted by the imperative claims of labour at ten, may be not only kept up, but pushed forward till the pupil is fifteen, is or ought to be the paramount object of those who desire to extend the elementary education of the people. I consider that it demands attention more urgently, and will repay attention more largely, even than the day school. I should be prepared to sacrifice, if it were necessary to sacrifice, something of the efficiency of this, if by so doing I could secure the efficiency of that. I think there is a way in which, if not entirely and in all places, yet to a far greater extent than we succeed in doing at present, we may secure this efficiency. The crucial difficulty is to get teachers. *We must get them from the day school.* There is simply no other source open to us. But how get them? Everybody must admit the reasonableness of the rule of the Committee of the Council, that teachers of day schools, who in addition to five or six hours spent in school, have another hour and a half to spend with their pupil-teachers per day, shall not only not be required, but shall not even be allowed, to take part in the instruction of night schools. It would be too great a strain on their physical strength and intellectual vigour if they were. The work of neither school would be done well. I cannot therefore get teachers for my night school, if the day school remains just as it is. I propose that it should not so remain. *I would suspend the day school FOR THE AFTERNOONS of the four, if not the six, winter months; from the beginning of October to the end of March, or certainly from November to February.* My whole staff of teachers, then, whatever its size, masters, mistresses, pupil-teachers, liberated from their two hours' work in the afternoon, having all that time for exercise, recreation, private affairs, would be ready and available for two hours' work from 6.30 to 8.30 in the evening.

"The sacrifice in the real power and usefulness of the day school would be infinitesimal. You would still have your three hours of forenoon work clear. Those three hours, well employed, are enough for most purposes of ordinary instruction. In the majority of workhouse schools (of whose general efficiency I have already spoken), and in industrial schools, the children get no more. Any one who knows much about the inside of schools knows that the atmosphere, the intellectual atmosphere, of the afternoons, is heavy, oppressive, somniferous. I feel pretty sure, that the intellectual condition of schools would not retrograde if, for a third of the year at any rate, all the instruction were condensed into the three hours from nine to twelve (or, better still, perhaps, from ten to one), of the forenoon."

"I am inclined to believe that teachers generally would like the plan. They would be thankful for the five or six hours which they could thus call their own in a winter's afternoon. They would find the burden of their work considerably lightened by being broken by

this interval. They would be sustained by the always pleasurable consciousness of increased usefulness. They would be encouraged by witnessing more permanent fruit of their labours.

"The night school, again, instead of being an additional expense, would be an actual source of income. As no greater demand than at present would be made on the teachers' strength or time, no increase of salary could reasonably be expected; while the fees of the night-scholars—for the school should not be free—would form no inconsiderable addition to the fees of the day-scholars; more than sufficient to defray the cost of lighting.

"The two schools, again, being thus amalgamated into one, as far as the staff of teachers is concerned, might without objection be held in the same room, and use the same class books and apparatus. Under the present system an entirely new "plant," so to call it, is often required for the night-school, to avoid the collision of two co-ordinate but independent, establishments."—p. 47-9.

We have been led away by the interest of the subject that the Report has brought under our notice from the statistical returns it puts before us. We therefore close our summary of the information we have derived from the admirable and most useful volume before us by the insertion, in this place, of a few interesting tables. The class occupied by our children, amongst the poor of the country, is most strikingly shown by the fact that while 66 per cent of our Catholic school children, or two-thirds of the whole number, pay the *lowest* school fee of a penny, somewhat more than half that proportion only in Church of England Schools, and (which is still more remarkable) not more than 17½ per cent. amongst the Dissenters, pay the same fee. And when we come to the higher school fees, the large proportion of the children of Dissenters is very striking. The following table serves almost as well as a religious census, to show the classes of society in which the religious are respectively found in this country. (Report p. 72.)

"CENTESIMAL PROPORTIONS of the TOTAL NUMBER of CHILDREN of each of the under-mentioned CLASSES of RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS paying certain stated FEES.

Denomination or Class of School.	1d. and less than 2d.	2d. and less than 3d.	3d. and less than 4d.	4d.	Over 4d.
Roman Catholic	65·93	25·72	4·92	2·71	·72
Church of England	37·3	45·25	11·51	4·15	1·79
Protestant Dissenters and British Schools ...	17·57	39·96	22·23	15·79	4·45
Average Total	34·6	43·19	13·41	6·5	2·3

In looking at the tables which we leave in our readers' hands, we cannot but cast most wistful glances at the figures that tell us of 20,909 children in Ragged Schools, and 35,303 in those of Workhouses. The Commissioners, we are delighted to see, have no praise for those fearful instruments of proselytism, the Ragged Schools, and they recommend that no further allowance from the parliamentary grant, should be made to them.

Description of School.	Number of Week-day Schools and of Scholars.				Average Number of Scholars in a School.
	Wk.-day Schools, i.e., Depart- ments.	Male.	Female.	Total.	
CLASS I.					
Church of England ...	19,549	624,104	562,982	1,187,086	60.7
British Schools ...	1,131	89,843	61,162	151,005	113.5
Roman Catholics ...	743	41,678	44,188	85,866	115.5
Wesleyan (old connexion)	445	35,867	23,986	59,873	134.5
Congregational ...	388	18,143	15,020	33,163	85.4
Baptist ...	144	5,102	4,286	9,388	65.2
Unitarian ...	54	2,105	1,983	4,088	75.7
Calvinistic Methodist (a) *	44	1,759	1,170	2,929	66.5
Jews ...	20	1,908	1,296	3,204	160.2
Society of Friends (a)	33	1,674	1,352	3,026	91.7
Presbyterian Church, in England (a).	28	1,675	1,048	2,723	97.2
Primitive Methodists (a)	26	643	699	1,342	51.6
Presbyterians, undefined (a)	17	1,528	1,064	2,592	152.4
Methodists, new connex ⁿ (a)	14	1,096	755	1,851	132.2
United Methodist F. Ch. (a)	11	656	520	1,176	107.
Total ...	22,647	827,801	721,511	1,549,312	—
CLASS II.					
Ragged Schools ...	192	10,308	10,601	20,909	108.9
Orphan and Philanthropic	40	2,116	1,646	3,762	94.5
Birkbeck Schools ...	10	1,088	339	1,427	142.7
Factory Schools (a)	115	9,000	8,000	17,000	147.8
Total ...	357	22,512	20,586	43,098	—

(a) These returns are taken from the Census of 1851.

* "Circulars and forms in the Welsh language were issued from the Office of the Education Commission to Calvinistic schools, but the returns were so imperfect that it has been thought advisable to adopt the numbers of the census returns."—p. 80-1.

Description of School.	Number of Week-day Schools and of Scholars.				Average Number of Scholars in a School.
	Wk-day Schools, i.e., Depart- ments.	Male.	Female.	Total.	
CLASS III.					
Workhouse	869	18,313	16,990	35,303	40.6
Reformatory	47	2,198	485	2,683	57.0
Naval (b)	13	1,476	15	1,491	114.6
Military (c)	70	6,852	1,419	8,271	118.1
Total	999	28,839	18,909	47,748	—
CLASS IV.					
Collegiate and superior or richer Endowed Schools (a).	560	32,000	3,000	35,000	62.5

(a) Taken from the Census of 1851.

(b) Not including ships' schools.

(c) Not including regimental schools.

Description of School.	Number of Evening Schools and of Scholars.			
	Schools, i.e., Departments.	Scholars.		
		Male.	Female.	Total.
Church of England - - -	1,547*	39,928	14,229	54,157
Congregational - - -	125	3,748	2,596	6,344
British Schools - - -	108	2,842	1,408	4,250
Roman Catholic - - -	96	3,292	5,121	8,413
Baptist - - -	73	1,854	1,098	2,952
Unitarian - - -	37	950	760	1,710
Wesleyan (old connexion)	21	687	463	1,150
Jews - - -	6	123	182	305
Non-Sectarian - - -	9	654	324	978
Ragged Schools - - -	14	493	214	707
Total - - -	2,036	54,571	26,395	80,966

* "This number of Church of England Evening Schools is estimated. The number of Evening scholars in England and Wales

"The following table gives similar information with respect to Sunday Schools:—

Description of School.	Number of Sunday Schools and of Scholars.			
	Schools, i. e., Depart- ments.	Scholars.		
		Male.	Female.	Total.
CLASS. I.				
Church of England - -	22,236	540,303	552,519	1,092,822
Wesleyan (old connexion)	4,311	224,519	229,183	453,702
Congregational - - -	1,935	128,081	139,145	267,226
Primitive Methodist -	1,493	68,273	68,656	136,929
Baptist - - - - -	1,420	77,153	82,349	159,502
Calvinistic Methodists† -	962	60,025	52,715	112,740
Methodist (new connexion)	336	24,943	26,574	51,517
United Methodist Free Churches - - - -	402	30,540	32,069	62,609
Roman Catholics - -	263	15,768	19,690	35,458
Unitarians - - - -	133	6,940	6,202	13,142
Non-Denominational - -	23	1,537	1,125	2,662
Jews (Sabbath) - - -	2	18	70	88
Total - - - -	33,516	1,178,100	1,210,297	2,388,397
CLASS II.				
Ragged Schools (Sunday } and Sunday evening) }	356	11,625	11,532	23,157
Total - - - -	33,872	1,189,725	1,221,829	2,411,554

was absolutely ascertained by the National Society; but the number of departments or schools was not ascertained; in order, however, to find it with proximate accuracy, the proportion of evening scholars to each evening school existing in the ten specimen districts has been applied to the ascertained number, 54,157."

† "The numbers of the Calvinistic Methodist schools and scholars have been taken from the Census Returns of 1851. Circulars and forms in the Welsh language were issued from the Office of the Education Commission; but the Returns were so imperfect that it has been thought advisable to adopt the numbers of the Census Returns."—p. 81-2.

ART. III.—*Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church.* By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Regius Professor in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. London: John Murray, 1861.

PROFESSOR STANLEY would be sorely puzzled to write his own biography. A profound artist of men and manners, a graphic delineator of the dress which nature puts on in her different latitudes, and of the gorgeous colours—the grim or sombre features—that distinguish it: enough of a philosopher to be able to dive below the surface of events, and to bring to light their hidden connexion or unlooked for parallelism, he would still be at a loss to paint his own portrait, either sober like Raphael, or intoxicated (allegorically, that is) like Fuller. He may have not yet realized his own principles—perhaps indeed he has not yet come to the end of them. Possibly he has never yet looked at them in one group, weighed the force, calculated the proportions, estimated the bearings of each abstractedly, and so determined what their relative effects should be amongst themselves, and upon the whole man. Possibly he may not yet have come to his full growth either as a thinker or a writer; and his instincts tell him that he is daily taking up new matter into his intellectual system, which is to become part of his being. If the venerable Lord Lyndhurst, brought into accidental connexion with the works of St. Augustine, at the close of his long legal and parliamentary career, could be roused into a glowing eulogy of the talents and acquirements of that distinguished Father, with whom he had only then for the first time made acquaintance: what are the effects likely to be produced in a clerical professor, with the rare candour and high-mindedness of Dr. Stanley, who, in the prime of his faculties, and in virtue of his office, is just entering upon a career of study, which, if conscientiously pursued—as it assuredly will be by him—will oblige him to throw himself into the feelings and actions of the saints and martyrs of antiquity, and to live in the writings of SS. Athanasius and Augustine, of SS. Bernard and Thomas Aquinas? Does Dr. Stanley, in his heart, expect to learn nothing from communion with minds like these? And when he has become fully conscious of the actual obliga-

tions of Christendom, past and present, to these its successive champions, its guardians, its interpreters, will he acknowledge in them no more moral weight or value than that of the mere historical witness: no more authority in all that concerns religion, than he is willing to attribute to the mere popular divine, or philosopher, or historian, or public character, of all ages? Will he decide that those who have lived and died for Christ exclusively, are to be deemed to know Christ no better, than those who have merely lived for themselves: that those who have made Christianity their exclusive study and rule of life, are to be supposed no better judges of its genius, its interests, its requirements, than those who have occupied their whole lives in the pursuit of physical science, or of the laws which govern man in his individual or social state? Will he decide that popular instincts avail everything for and against social institutions, but are never to be taken into account, where religion might cite their testimony; that the political yearnings and cravings of the masses are to be studied, sympathized with, and eventually satisfied, as founded in reason; while their religious aspirations are to be spurned as so many fond superstitions? Will the popular doctrine, '*Vox populi, vox Dei*,' be without meaning for Professor Stanley, in explaining religious phenomena, whether past or present?

We will not anticipate what time—what each successive volume—will unfold, let it suffice to have observed that the proverb, "*noscitur a sociis*," affords no guarantee for the future in partnerships of intellect. Arnold, Whately, Newman, and Keble, were once associates; Lacordaire, Montalembert, and Lamennais were fellow-workers. Professor Stanley has appeared on behalf of *Essays and Reviews*, or at least of two papers—perhaps the most important—in that now world-wide series. But a subtle intellect, like that of Professor Jowett, and a practical intellect like that of Dr. Temple, and the warm heart and vivid imagination of Dr. Stanley, will sooner or latter experience their points of divergence. They cannot long be companions in the same train of thought; they cannot weigh men in the same balance; they cannot attach the same importance to events, observances, or speculative principles. One revolution made Fox and Burke the closest of friends, another rent them asunder as the poles. But we must not allow ourselves to be drawn into prophecy, still less into

a hasty criticism of two characters, upon whom we are not now engaged. All that we mean is that Professor Stanley will never be the subtle metaphysician that Professor Jowett is, nor a first-rate schoolmaster like Dr. Temple. He will never be able to abstract himself sufficiently from men and manners to be the first, nor will his physical frame fit him to join in the games of cricket and foot-ball with sufficient "elan" to be the second. Hence, the deeper they plunge into their respective subjects, the wider will be their divergence, when they come to compare notes. Professor Stanley is a little mau, as, we learn from his descriptions, were two of his grandest characters, the Apostle Paul and S. Athanasius. He resembles them in this one further respect, that he is in heart and soul a genuine Christian. He has a genuine love for Christianity, and for the ideal excellencies of its Divine Founder. He has searched history in vain for a religion capable of exalting our nature and adding to the well-being of man, even upon earth, in the same degree. He has studied heroes, ancient and modern, but has never found a perfectly faultless character save One, or any approaching perfection that did not resemble that One. The principles which he holds dearest and most ennobling, he can trace to no other source than to the New Testament. Peace with all men—love towards all men, humanity, active charity, purity of heart, elevation of mind, progress towards something better than we are or can be in the present world—and, conversely, what his own loving nature shrinks from most, war, slavery, distinction of caste, cruelty, selfishness, debauchery, degradation of mind and of man, he can find no where else so emphatically reprobated, or consistently disavowed. Professor Stanley, therefore, cannot fail to have realized that the history of civilization is essentially bound up in that of revealed religion; he may not yet have realized, with M. Guizot, that the obligations of Europe are due, not to mere Christianity, but to the Christian Church. When he is as familiar with the under-currents of medieval history as he is now with the surface; when he has collected his materials for sketching the Lateran Councils as graphically as that of Nicæa, the character of Innocent III. as that of Constantine; when he has sounded the depths of that chaos, from which the Church, and she alone, extricated society between the 7th and the 14th centuries; when he has dived into the inner lives of colossal saints

like St. Anselm and St. Francis, and pondered over the spiritual works of Thomas a Kempis and St. Francis of Sales; when he has duly meditated on the genius of those days that erected so many gorgeous cathedrals, and founded so many princely colleges and universities; then, perhaps, the professor will feel bound to acknowledge that Holy Scripture has been interpreted both by actual events and in living agents, to a degree compared with which all critical interpretations of the letter of the New Testament are beggarly, and all modern realizations of its spirit undeniable shortcomings. His conclusions will differ little from those of Hurter, Ozanam, and Montalembert, or we are much mistaken.

But, to the work in question. Comparing it with his last work on Sinai and Palestine, however characteristic this has been supposed to be of his peculiar genius, we do not hesitate to say that he appears here to infinitely greater advantage. With all his turn for geography, with all his undeniable talent for extricating moral and religious, political and social, considerations out of rocks and woods, plains and rivers, mountains and seas, in the unravelling of the threads, or adjustment of the links, of history, it cannot fail to strike the attentive reader of his works that he is only so far great, as he has brought these topics to bear upon personal or national character—for the same reason that Holman Hunt is great in his splendid picture of “The Finding of our Lord in the Temple”—and from their due grouping and working up, has rendered his portraits so pre-eminently truthful, as well as so doubly graphic.

Professor Stanley would never furnish us with the exact bearings, the latitude and longitude, of every village in Palestine, as Professor Robinson has done; nor should we ever think of quoting him upon climatology in the same breath with Baron Humboldt. On ethnology and philology we might not be disposed to pay much heed to his judgment; and even for the dry facts of ecclesiastical history, such as could only be gained by laborious research, we should apply to Gieseler or Hurter in preference. But, as a biographer, brilliant and truthful at the same time, Professor Stanley stands unrivalled; no man ever succeeded better in catching the salient parts of a character, in penetrating to its inmost feelings and predilections, in dressing it up in the exact costume of its age, and

grouping around it all the associations of country, climate, manners, station, and companionship. May we add with equal impartiality? To be impartial, is to give the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth: and, we say unhesitatingly, that no writer ever made this his aim more conscientiously than he has done, both by diligent investigation and setting forth of all facts bearing upon the subject, and also by bringing out the praiseworthy or else the redeeming features on both sides, whether for or against what may be supposed to be his acknowledged position. He has endeavoured to throw himself unreservedly into the objective phenomena, and to place them precisely in that point of view in which they will be best seen by his audience; to array his "tableau vivant" in its most appropriate costume, grouping, and attitude, and let the characters speak for themselves. He has *endeavoured*—and we say faithfully—but not always succeeded; the atmosphere in which he moves is sometimes too strong for him; sometimes it is that he is led away by his extreme love for parallelisms or unexpected coincidences; sometimes he is unconsciously swayed by the charms of style, and in order to produce rhetorical effect, swells some subordinate fact into exaggerated proportions; sometimes even plays upon words, when he would illustrate things.

As Professor Stanley is one of those rare characters to whom truth is infinitely dearer than his own personal infallibility, and who courts criticism rather than praise; we shall not scruple to dwell upon each one of these failures, as we consider them, in detail, and to refer chapter and verse to the passages in which they occur. To note the weak points of a writer so dazzling, cannot fail to be of interest, and of advantage, too—provided we can establish our case—to the general reader.

1. First, then, it is not enough to collect the whole past, whether of a particular epoch, nation, or individual, into one or more graphic sketches, with scenery so completely drawn to the life, that men and events long forgotten seem to breathe again, and to be re-enacted before our eyes. We must become ourselves parts of the picture. We must abstract ourselves from our own age, from our own ideas, from our own train of associations, from our own superior accomplishments, refinements, and progress in art or science; we must forget all the lessons that we may or ought to have derived from intervening history,

and throw ourselves unreservedly into the circumstances, the feelings, the difficulties, of those times, those characters, that form its subject. The historian who fails to do this himself, who omits to insist upon his readers doing so likewise, is incapable of performing the part of an upright judge; he may be the greatest of painters, but he will be only a hard and overbearing arbiter: and he will encourage the same unfairness on the part of his readers. What might, or what might not, Professor Stanley have been, had he lived in the days of the great Athanasius? and might not the great Athanasius have been greater still, had he flourished in the 19th instead of the 4th century? To sit in judgment, as philosophers, upon any man, we must, in the spirit of the teaching of Bishop Butler, place ourselves, for the time being, in his shoes. It is thus that we shall be led to make the due allowance for a criminal, and it is thus that we shall be best qualified to estimate the genius of a hero, or the saintliness of a Christian bishop. It is the force of these considerations that has induced many military men to place Hannibal before Alexander the Great and Cæsar; and how many thousands have asked themselves the question, some tremblingly, some with the enthusiasm which transcendent genius naturally calls forth, what would have been the career of the first Napoleon, had he been born in these days of locomotion by steam, and electric telegraphs? It is in the comparative neglect of these considerations that Professor Stanley sits in judgment upon the two greatest characters of his present volume, the patriarchs Athanasius and Nicon. Far from placing himself reverently amongst their contemporaries, and looking at them exclusively through the medium of those associations of time and circumstance, which he has himself so graphically thrown around them: he sits palpably in his chair at the Clarendon, Professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Oxford in the 19th century, and before an audience brought together, in part by the express train from London, in part from colleges and halls that have become the prototypes of modern luxury—in terms, of what in any one else, would savour of superciliousness, of what in him is unaffected sympathy—begins by inviting his hearers to take their stand with him upon now-received principles, and then weighs the actions, apportions the merits, expatiates upon the shortcomings, of men long since foremost in the veneration of centuries,

and the love of millions, compared with whom his own fame, for the present at all events, is but as a drop in the sea! To this must be added, we regret to say, one glaring instance of positive unfairness, unless it be involuntary. Speaking of the latter of these two great men, he says, "With the vast field which Nikon had before him, it is mournful to see the power, which might have been concentrated on the reanimation of the whole ecclesiastical system, employed on the correction of minute errors of ritual, which can only be discovered through a microscope. Benedictions with three fingers instead of two,—a white altar-cloth instead of an embroidered one—pictures kissed only twice a year—the cross signed the wrong way—wrong inflections in pronouncing the Creed—these were the points to which he devoted his gigantic energy, and on which, as we shall see, he encountered the most frantic opposition."*

Let the Professor, for a moment, imagine himself the metempsychosis of Archdeacon Paul, and, forgetting all the grand openings that education and enlarged intelligence may suggest to his second self, ask his former self whether he deemed these observances so childish, or these changes in them so trivial; whether, in short, if the patriarch of Moscow, in the 17th century, meditated any reforms at all, it would have been possible, from all that he remembered of that barbarous age and people, to have conceived any other point from which they should commence, and on which, till triumphantly carried, they must of necessity centre. There was a day, when, to comment upon the works of Aristotle, was the highest philosophical employment that Europe knew of: were S. Thomas Aquinas resuscitated in our own age, we very much doubt whether he would study physical science at all in that author. The littleness or greatness of questions that have engrossed former ages, is to be estimated by what former ages thought of those questions, rather than by what we ourselves may think; and every question that has ever been made one of life and death, is to be measured, even in our own estimate, with questions involving similar grave consequences in our own days. Europe has but just emerged

* P. 423-4. We are not unmindful of the remarks which accompany these passages—just enough as far as they go.

from a sanguinary war, to which disputes about the Holy Places formed the prelude. Take, again, what we, inhabitants of the metropolis, or of Oxford, experience, even in these enlightened days, when we visit our friends in some remote country district. We come fresh from clubs, or common rooms, where the topics of conversation are Dr. Livingstone's last discoveries in Central Africa, or Dr. Davis' Mosaics from Carthage: or the controversy between Professor Goldwin Smith and Mr. Froude on the merits of Cardinal Pole, or the political treatises of Alexis de Tocqueville: or the alleged discoveries of minerals in the sunbeams, or the immense wealth that has actually been made from gas-tar, or water: and to our amazement we find that none of these subjects form topics of conversation in our new abode, and when we introduce them, they excite no response, or but little interest. It is on farming, or gardening, the last meet with the hounds, the last battue, the last county election, the last vestry, the last quarter sessions, that all minds are fixed: nothing that concerns the world at large, but only what affects the interests of the local squirearchy, or the domestic economy of the rector's wife. When an age, or when individuals, have nothing better to think or talk about, they will think and talk about the things that are most present to them, and actually before their eyes. We have not yet ceased, as a nation, to preface our most solemn or scientific meetings with familiar dialogues about the weather; and what a fertile subject is dress still, to the fairer part of our community! In the Middle Ages, similarly, they had endless discussions about the tonsure, the habit, the fasts, the austerities, the privileges of the religious; for every one then was, or was going to be, a monk or nun. And what they talked about, they gradually felt about, till they came to regard them as of the first importance; and so, ultimately, questions of orthodoxy, and of heresy, and of life and death, hung upon them; just as in some parts of Europe still, beards and cigars are party-symbols. Happy the age or the country that is above trifles, and yet *is not above worshipping God with humility.*

Still, to form a correct estimate of former ages, we must throw ourselves into their idiosyncrasies. In the career of the great S. Athanasius, nothing occurs which we can even consider of secondary importance. He was neither the reformer nor the champion of rituals; he can never be

charged, even by moderns, with wasting his arguments or his energies upon trifles. Professor Stanley has not done so, we admit; but neither has he drawn marked attention to the circumstance, that emphatically they were the most opposite to trifles, upon which his whole life was spent. "It is by its solitary protest against subservience to the *religious fashion of the age* that the life of Athanasius has acquired a proverbial significance, which cannot be too often impressed on theological students."

Such is the introduction to what are called "his contests with the emperors." A quotation, now tolerably well known, from "Essays and Reviews" follows. The corollary appended, is:—

"This, *whether we agree, or, whether we disagree*, with the objects of Athanasius, is the permanent lesson which his life teaches."—P. 276—7.

We confess our inability to decide whether it is here intended that Professor Jowett should derive lustre from S. Athanasius, or S. Athanasius from Professor Jowett. If mention of "Elijah" favours the former supposition in the next sentence; mention of "the lives of some of the early reformers in the Christian Church," points to the last. Professor Stanley has evidently preferred citing honest old Hooker, in that undoubtedly "splendid" passage to which he refers, for the merits of the saint, to risking any plain-spoken, heart-felt, encomiums of his own. His cold "measure" of the excellence of Athanasius..... "the only one of all the saints of the early Church, who has actually kindled the cold and critical pages of Gibbon into a fire of enthusiasm,..." is, that it is "his rare merit, or *his rare good fortune*, that the centre of his theology was the doctrine of the Incarnation."—p. 293.

We certainly desiderate "the fire of enthusiasm," even such as animated Gibbon, in this passage. According to Gibbon, he battled through life for a single idea, namely, that of the Divinity of our Lord;—a Christian Professor hints that, after all, this may have been his mere good fortune! Can it be the part or the excellence of a biographer to portray principles and actions to the life, but never to let it appear what his own sentiments—his own sincere convictions—are? Is this the art of arts in biography "*nil admirari*?" Perfection, therefore, had not been attained, when the life of the late

Dr. Arnold was composed. We may certainly avoid parading ourselves while describing others; nevertheless we cannot help thinking that there are some characters, even of a remote age, with whom we need not fear, with whom we might feel it for our very credit, to associate ourselves. It is certainly not St. Athanasius who will suffer, if he is but chillingly drawn by his modern biographers; nor need we be at the least pains to undertake his defence. What we regret is, that we should be able to read his life with infinitely more pleasure in the pages of Gibbon, than in lectures especially devoted to the history of the Eastern Church. By both it may be equally well told; but by one only is it unaffectedly admired. Gibbon shrunk from arraigning his hero; our Lecturer does not hesitate to pick holes in the Saint! From Eadmer's life of St. Anselm might have been imbibed a worthier spirit. Truly there are grounds for imagining that the influences of the age press hard upon Professor Stanley; that, as there has been recently exhibited a sensitive repugnance in the masses to be catechised about their faith or religious denomination: so he, sincere Christian though he may be, and we believe is, in his own mind, must nevertheless shrink from avowing himself to be such in his Academical Lectures, and before his pupils. He signed the XXXIX. articles once for all; why volunteer incidental or unnecessary professions of his faith? And so, worshipping Christ in his own heart, he withholds his sympathies from St. Athanasius, and allows his audience to doubt, whether Constantine, or Peter the Great, may not occupy a higher place in his regard.

The age in which we live rightly discountenances opprobrious language in all controversies, especially theological. In the same spirit it is, that promiscuous swearing, so inveterate in the last generation, is now held to be scarce compatible with the manners of a gentleman. And yet we have not come to think with the Quakers, that all oaths are unlawful: neither because death has ceased to be a punishment for all other offences, have we come to the conclusion that it is too grave a penalty for murder. Harsh reproaches, and harsh punishments, are to be measured in all ages, by the occasion that calls them forth, and by the hand that ministers them. When Professor Stanley enumerates—and enumerates for censure, the favourite epithets of St. Athanasius for the Arians—"Devils, anti-

christ, maniac, Jew, polytheist, Atheist, dog, wolf, lion, hare, chameleon, hydra, eel, cuttlefish, gnat, beetle, leech;" and adds, "there may be cases where such language is justifiable" (the implication is that, in the present instance, it is *not* justifiable) "but as a general rule and with all respect for him who uses them, this style of controversy can be mentioned as a warning only, and not as an example" (p. 292.) does he forget what it was that the Arians denied, or the relative position towards them that St. Athanasius occupied? Do not our judges still designate those who revolt from the constitutional supreme authority "traitors," and those who commit felony, "criminals and malefactors?" Will Professor Stanley candidly say, whether he thinks all condemnatory expressions unbecoming in a Christian Bishop towards those who actively oppose the doctrine that Christ is God? Or if it is merely the choice of epithets that he objects to, will he, the eloquent advocate of all geographical and ethnological illustrations, detect no clue to the Athanasian metaphors in oriental fable and oriental imagery? Meanwhile what will be the account that he will give of the following catalogue? "Hypocrites, fools, blind, blind guides, as whited sepulchres, as graves, generation of vipers, serpents;"* for it was thus that Athanasius' master, and ours, publicly stigmatized His enemies during His Teachership upon earth!

There are yet some notable points where Professor Stanley is unconsciously biased by contemporary sentimentalities. He shrinks instinctively from the admission of a miracle, or of a special Providence. We believe sincerely that he is a worshipper of One that is above nature, and can interpose between natural laws and their appointed course, and likewise "for us, and for our salvation, became Man." If we cannot admit the Incarnation without admitting a miracle, how can we refuse credence to subsequent miracles duly authenticated, for the furtherance of those purposes which form the end and object of the Incarnation? On the other hand, it is not always, and it need not be always, by a suspension of the laws of nature, that the Incarnate One benefits or assists those for whom He became man. Oftentimes He

* St. Matt. xxiii. 13-33; St. Luke xi. 40-44.

does but overrule events in their favour, or dispose the hearts of men in their behalf. In numberless instances that are recorded, some of them in His Own Life—some in the lives of His apostles—no more is meant than what most God-serving Christians experience in their own personal history, or in that of their immediate friends. Some have been reclaimed from a career of sin: some restored from a disease believed to be mortal: some preserved from imminent peril by land or by sea: some rescued from death in war, or amongst savages: by what we can only call a special interposition, a direct interference in their behalf, by and through natural laws, on the part of Him Who died to save them.

When the Jews “rose up and thrust Him out of the city, and led Him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast Him down headlong: but He passing through the midst of them, went His way...”* it is not recorded that any miracle intervened, nor need any be inferred beyond what has been just alleged. Yet who can affirm that it was mere accident that He was not killed then; or doubt that the miscarriage of the scheme was due to the interference of a Power unseen—that Power by Whom His death upon the cross had been predetermined? At a subsequent period “no man laid hands on Him, because His hour was not yet come.....”† thus explaining both occurrences.

It might almost provoke a smile to observe the special pains that Professor Stanley is at, to do away with the idea of any such special interposition in behalf of S. Athanasius, when his life was most in jeopardy, and just precisely when his death would have most imperilled the cause for which he fought.

“Through this mass of horrors the two imperial officers and their attendants passed on to the screen before the altar—Athanasius had refused to go till most of the congregation had retired. But now he was swept away in the crowd. In his own version of the story, he is at a loss to account for his escape. But his diminutive figure may well have passed unseen; and we learn, besides, that he was actually carried out in a swoon, which sufficiently explains his own ignorance of the means of his deliverance.”—P. 283.

* S. Luke, iv. 28—30.

† S. John, vii. 30.

Would Professor Stanley have been lowered in the eyes of his enlightened audience, or his own, had he added, "whichever way it was effected, we may well believe that God interposed in behalf of His devoted servant." We repeat, such *thaumatophobia* can only compare with hydrophobia!

It may readily be supposed that he who will refuse to recognize the Providence of God in the career of His saints, will be still more *spiritually near-sighted* where Divine judgments are concerned. Accordingly, the death of Arius has been thus apostrophised.

"It is one of the few occasions in history, where a difficult crisis has been solved by an unexpected death. That the sudden illness and death of the aged Arius was a Divine judgment in behalf of the doctrine which he had opposed, will *now* be held by no one who has any regard to the warnings of Christ Himself against any such inference. That it was the effect of poison, is contradicted by the actual circumstances of his end. Like most ecclesiastical wonders of this kind, it was neither a miracle nor a crime, *it was a natural coincidence, and no more.*"—P. 252.

For that conclusion he had already prepared his hearers in a graphic portrait of that heresiarch—

"He would be handsome but for the emaciation and deadly pallor of his face and a downcast look, imparted by a weakness of eyesight. At times his veins throb and swell, and his limbs tremble, *as if* suffering from some violent internal complaint, the same, *perhaps*, (here note a double hypothesis of the author), that will terminate one day in his sudden and frightful death."—P. 115.

In this inference, built, as we have said, upon a double hypothesis, the professor, for the *thaumatophobia* before mentioned, would fain repose. As a theologian and historian, a sense of duty should have constrained him to do more. In the latter capacity he should have candidly told his audience, that the belief of contemporaries, and of posterity till very recently, was, that Arius, whether *through* natural causes, or otherwise, died "by the visitation of God," as is still the phrase with British juries. In the former capacity he should have thought twice before committing himself publicly to a gloss so transparent upon St. Luke, xiii. 1—5, the only passage to which he can refer. What do we know of the *antecedents* of "those Galileans" whom Pilate slew, or "the eighteen on whom the tower of Siloam fell"? We are not told that they were criminals;

for aught we know to the contrary, they may have been righteous men—like thousands, doubtless, who perished at Mendoza in the late frightful earthquake. But a notorious felon drops down dead suddenly in his prison without any traces of violence on his person. Should those words of our Lord convey “warnings” to a British jury, “against” bringing in what would be their undoubted verdict, “died by the visitation of God?” In fine, though the Professor be unwilling to see the least similarity between the sin of Arius, and the sin of Judas Iscariot, did it never strike him that there was a strange similarity, too strange to be mere “natural coincidence,” between the respective deaths of the heresiarch and of the traitor? On a further contemporary sentimentality, namely, tenderness towards heretics, we shall say a few words presently. We have not quite done with that on which we are now engaged.

The same instinctive shunning of the unseen it is that lies at the root of his unwillingness to recognize anything but the human element in general councils of the Church.

“They are the pitched battles of ecclesiastical history..... Ask, when, and where, and why they were fought. Put before your mind all the influences of the age, which were there confronted and concentrated from different quarters, as in one common focus. See why they were summoned to Nicæa, to Constance, to Trent..... Look at the long procession as it enters the scene of assembly; see who were present, and who were absent.”—p. xlix.

He had, in a preceding page, shown how, in his estimate, the discussion would proceed, though there speaking of what he would consider, not merely as one, but the best of all of them.

“Imagine them, as any one who has ever taken part in any council, or commission, or committee, or conclave of any kind whatever, can and must imagine them; one sacrificing, another insisting on, a favourite expression; a new turn given to one sentence; a charitable colour thrown over another; the edge of a sharp exclusion blunted by one party; the sting of a bitter sarcasm drawn by another.”—p. xlvii.

He sums up all this, freshly, graphically, and instructively drawn, as it is beyond doubt, when engaged upon the history of the first-born and most venerable.

“With every disposition to know these assemblies, with every desire to make allowance for their weaknesses, and to esteem the

results of their labours, it is impossible to understand them rightly, or even do justice to their merits, without remembering throughout, that they were assemblies of fallible men, swayed by the good and evil influences to which all assemblies are exposed."—p. 85.

Here Professor Stanley would do well to ask himself, and as he studies S. Augustine and his age, he will have the amplest means for doing so—so perspicuously does that eagle-eyed Father lay bare the marrow of the question, —whether he is a Pelagian or not; whether he believes, or does not believe, that the Holy Spirit really works in the hearts of Christians, and acts within them as a principle of new life: whether, in short, grace is really given to those who, being baptized, have put on Christ, so that they are able to do something that was previously beyond their natural faculties. We can hardly believe, from the evidence of his sermons, that he considers the gifts of the Spirit to be purely imaginary. But if he attributes real efficacy to them in the individual, how, and upon what principle, can he repudiate all action of the Spirit upon the body politic? S. Paul has covered all his objections, when, speaking of himself and his ministry, he says, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us."*

Professor Stanley would do well to compare the predestination of individuals, which we conclude he admits, with the infallibility of councils; and then observe how one explains the other. Both are true in the abstract, yet both are difficult in their application. To us, at least, it is not antecedently certain who are the individuals that will be saved, and yet we are bound to assume for certain, that there are some who will. Similarly, before any given council has met, and been received by the Church, it is impossible for man to predict its infallibility. Let him not, therefore, so give way to the tendencies of the age, as hastily to repudiate all ideas of the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in the collective Church; for, assuredly, his next step will be to disavow it in his own heart likewise. Let not the exhibition of so great a treasure "in earthen vessels" shake his faith. As to his triumphant assertion that "common sense is, after all, the supreme arbiter and corrective even of œcumenical councils," (p. 177) he has

* 2. Cor. iv. 7. Comp. verse 1.

made strange confusion between the common sense of individuals and the body politic. The common sense "of the whole Christian world" is equivalent to what is more properly termed "the mind of the Church." Nobody doubts *its* prerogatives; it is, in fact, that which every general council is intended to represent, or elicit; and it is a mere play upon words to endeavour to confound it with that practical principle which is our rule and guide in all matters that concern our conduct through life.

Some shallow philosophy remains to be noticed in the following observations respecting both the sessions and decrees of the Nicene Fathers. First of all, he says, "The discussion was based upon the principle of free enquiry, and not of authority."—p. 151. As he had before observed, "the first grand precedent for the duty of private judgment, and the free unrestrained exercise of biblical and historical criticism."—p. 136. What would our Lecturer have his pupils, or his readers, conclude from these hasty deductions, from this imaginary correspondence between ancient and modern practice? It is quite possible that Professor Stanley in common with many moderns, may recognise no difference between bishops and presbyters, or even between laity and clergy; yet he *must* be content to interpret ecclesiastical councils by principles involved in their very essence, and proclaimed loudly, as current, in all contemporary history. Did the Nicene Fathers, in the eyes of their contemporaries, or in their own, meet as private Christians, or as members of the episcopal order; in accidental gatherings, or in solemnly convened synod? Could presbyters, deacons, or laity, *then* have met, either separately or conjointly, for the same objects? Did they vote with bishops upon doctrine, when admitted to hear doctrine discussed by bishops? As well compare deliberations in the Court of Chancery with private study, and private laying down of the law by some country squire; as these formal meetings and discussions of the supreme hierarchy, with the private study of the Bible, such as is asserted to be the prerogative of all Christians in the 19th century. The fallacies of "every man his own lawyer," and "every man his own doctor," have been discredited, because both law and medicine, when trifled with, avenge themselves on the spot. The delusion of "every man his own priest and interpreter of Scripture," is still rampant,

because men may violate the laws of religion and of morality with impunity till the judgment-day. If a terrible explosion attended every perverse rendering of a passage of Scripture, every immoral act, we should probably have fewer heretics and fewer sinners.

But that the bishops, in *their official capacity*, should have arrived at their conclusions by careful examination of Scripture, and by free enquiry, will be wonderful, we should imagine, to no one, who has ever speculated on the rise of all systems of art and science, of government and religion. For, of necessity, every system here upon earth must begin with induction; and induction consists in the analysis of facts or phenomena with a view to their classification, from which, subsequently, general laws are evolved. All this is by no means the work of a moment: and till this has been done there can be no system at all: and unless this has been done correctly, there can be no system that will endure criticism.

But a system once constructed, it is not with the foundations, but with the superstructure that we are concerned. We only recur to the foundations when the house is in danger, or has to come down. Consequently there will be two distinct periods in the history of all systems, when the inductive principle will be at work—at their commencement and at their decline. Its application is out of place when they have become systems, however they may rest upon it throughout. Its first application moreover was to build up: its last will be to change or overthrow. When the science of chemistry was in its infancy, men made experiments with oxygen, hydrogen, and nitrogen, till their true nature was laid bare. Were their properties still under dispute, how could they form the basis of a fresh series of investigations? Geology began with distinctions between stratified and unstratified rocks: to assail these distinctions would be to sap at the roots of the Devonian system of Sir H. de la Becke, and the Silurian system of Sir R. Murchison. Similarly, when Christianity was young, it was necessary that her first principles should be inductively tested and established, not indeed by the mass of mankind—for whose general benefit it was nevertheless designed—but by those whose business and profession it was to make it their exclusive study. Thus the Nicene Fathers studied the Bible, just as Aristotle studied logic and metaphy-

sics, just as Justinian studied jurisprudence, just as Galen medicine, just as Bacon physical science. Subsequent Councils accepted the decisions of the Nicene Fathers, and added to them; and meanwhile from these and from the commentaries of the Fathers upon Scripture generally, was framed a system of theology that was looked up to by students of revelation with the same reverence that students of philosophy regarded Aristotle: students of civil law the pandects: students of medicine the works of Galen: students of physical science the *Novum Organon*. The Fathers studied the Bible, being engaged upon first principles. Ecclesiastical writers, as was natural, during the middle ages studied the Fathers, to the comparative neglect of criticism of the Scriptures. For it is destructive to all systems to be perpetually questioning first principles.

Professor Stanley should be the first to see through his own superficialism. Induction in the hands of the Fathers was constructive: in the hands of moderns it has been destructive. The object of the Fathers in their criticisms upon the Bible was to build up a system: the object of moderns in their criticisms upon the Bible has been to destroy all system.

Once more—the Professor is led on by a plausible ardour for fairness, to undertake the defence of heresiarchs like Arius, or of false prophets like Mahomet. This is also a favourite sentimentality with moderns. The French, since their conquest of Algeria, especially, have laboured to white-wash Mahomet, to please the Arabs: and German authors have started the idea, that as the writings of heretics exist only, for the most part, in the quotations made from them by their opponents, there are grounds for supposing that they have been unfairly represented. In one or two cases, this is said to have been proved. Into the remoter of these two classes, we do not propose to enter. On some future occasion, possibly, we may enquire separately into the merits of the 8th Lecture, should we ever deal with Mahometanism as a whole; meanwhile, we recommend to all those who have a love for Holy Scripture, the perusal of that exquisitely drawn contrast between it and the Koran, which they will find there, no less effective in the cause of truth, than creditable to the writer. But when Professor Stanley endeavours to

whitewash Arius, and extenuate his heresy—when he thus appeals for equity towards heretics in his Preface—

“We may still lament that the story of the lion is so often told by the man: that the lives and opinions of heretics can be traced only in the writings of the orthodox: that the clergy have been so often the sole historians of the crimes of the laity. But we shall have learned at least to know that there is another side, even when that side has been torn away or lost.”—p. lv.

we cannot resist offering him some suggestions respecting heretics and their writings generally, especially why these last have not been preserved. Where, indeed, lies the fault, we ask, upon the broadest principles? And we reply, unhesitatingly, because they do not contain truth but error! In all the history of the world, there is no one fact more grand or more sublime, than the oblivion which attends error of all kinds, and the immortality that attends truth. Why are the writings of Plato still venerated throughout the world: and why have those of his adversaries, the Sophists, been buried in the grave? Why do the Sceptics of the Academy only live through Cicero, by whom they are refuted? Why do men read and admire still Juvenal and Persius, forgetting Sotades and Ausonius? In all four, there is gross obscenity, but in the two former, it is only introduced to be stigmatized. The writings of Julian, and of Porphyry, live, but who reads them? Three centuries hence, who will read Hume, Rousseau, or Voltaire? But there will be no age of the world that will tire of the writings either of St. Austin, or of Chateaubriand, of Bossuet, or Butler. Were the writings of all the false philosophers, of all the immoral writers, of all the heretics, that have ever come into existence, still extant, would they be read generally? Why have they perished, but because they were forgotten, as soon as their authors and abettors had ceased to live? Why were they forgotten, but because they did not contain truth? What has truth to do with it? It is the natural food of the mind of man, and upon it men live. Lies themselves must counterfeit truth, in some form or other, to go down with him: as soon as his stomach discovers them, it rejects them.

And now one word about wilful heretics. Why are they to be considered otherwise than on a par with malefactors, or to receive more equitable treatment? Will any body

take the trouble to search the archives of justice, and if he finds there no records of the defence of the prisoner, but only the sentence passed upon him, or the charge of the judge that condemned him, will he contend that "there is another side, even when that side has been torn away or lost?" Whether we decide that heretics are to be corporally punished like malefactors or not—a point into which we need not here be led,—it is unquestionable that their crimes are exactly parallel throughout. For a heretic is not necessarily a man of no religion, or no moral excellence; neither is a malefactor one who has broken every commandment in the Decalogue. Yet a murderer is hung rightly, though he may never have committed a theft, or been guilty of the sin of blasphemy, or of adultery; neither should we shrink from condemning a heretic, though he may have broken but one, and that not the most important article in the Creed. Redeeming points may be pleaded equally, for the heretic and the murderer, but these will neither justify murder, nor heresy, nor earn exemption from punishment for the offender. For we live in a system of laws, not all of them of Divine original, whether in our ecclesiastical, or our social state: and the breach of them should not be tolerated in one state more than the other, or society will suffer, in one or other respect. Human and artificial are the laws that punish forgery, smuggling, dealing without license, gambling; artificial are the distinctions between manslaughter and justifiable homicide: burglary and petty thefts: with the one exception of murder, all penalties enforced by law, for the infringement of law, were devised by man. Are they the less to be put into execution? and are all those offences against society, which society alone considers injurious to its well-being, to be pardoned, because they are not proscribed in the New Testament: or conversely, will society consent to punish every crime that is there proscribed, as breaches of the civil code? Admit, therefore, for the sake of the argument, that the Nicene Creed is a human composition, and contains a great deal in it that is not to be found in the Bible—what then? Has Christian society no right to have laws of its own, to reduce what it believes to a formula, logically arranged under heads—and should a deliberate contravener of a single article in that Creed escape punishment, or avoid censure, because he has not

broken them all, or because he has only broken one of secondary importance? Because a man has not committed murder, is he to be acquitted for forgery?—because he has not incurred the extreme penalty that the law awards, is he therefore to get off scot free? There are some crimes that we are disposed to view more leniently than others: but should we not regard it a dark sign of the times, if we saw grave authors rushing into print to defend or extenuate, not forgery, nor petty larceny, but the crime of murder? Even so it is a dark sign indeed, when one like Professor Stanley, “*ex cathedrâ*,” shrinks from the responsibility of condemning him who denied the Divinity of the Son of God—of the Founder of our Faith! May he learn in time not to confound mawkish sentimentality with the love of justice and of truth!—may he learn rigid justice, while not forgetting humanity.

And now we have done with our criticism for the most part; so let us part from him with this one question. In going through those numerous points of similarity and divergence, between East and West, on which we are about to extract from him largely, did it never strike him?—and if it did, will he not be candid enough to own it?—that of all what have been called the developments of doctrine in the Roman Catholic Church, against which the Church of England has seen fit to protest, there is not one which the Eastern Church, in its broadest sense, *notwithstanding its free circulation of the Scriptures, and its use of the vernacular in the liturgy*, does not hold, maintain, and inculcate, in some form or other, though it may be with more latitude, and less exactitude. Honour to the Virgin, and to the Saints—prayers for the dead—belief in purgatory—confession—belief in what she now calls transubstantiation. On all these points, Constantinople is with Rome, rather than Canterbury: so that it is not a controversy between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, upon these points, but between the Church of England, and all branches of the universal Church, East and West. The one vital point in which Constantinople makes common cause with Canterbury is, that both refuse to submit to the jurisdiction of the Pope. It is well that the actual situation of all parties should be proclaimed and appreciated.

We merely refer to the parallelisms of pp. 313-14, and 470, because, in our opinion, they are exaggerated, or too

fine drawn. Dr. Sewell once preached a sermon from the text "Who hath believed our report?" (Isaiah liii. 1.), in which he compared the rise of every fresh discovery in science with the rise of Christianity; the crosses of philosophy with the one cross of Christ. According to him, every great chemist or geologist, underwent martyrdom, though not for Christ, and the reason of it all was, that the world was cruciform! Such is the imaginative character of the first of these: the second is a mere play upon words: "The Reformation rent away sects and nations," not because "the established churches of Europe *would* not change enough;" but precisely as in the other case, because they *had* changed too much. Modern innovations formed the gravamen in both cases; the Professor has been misled by a trope of rhetoric of his own moulding.

A slip of the pen probably caused him to write "*Catholic* canonization" (p. 256), for he had elsewhere shewn that Constantine was a saint, not of the Catholic, but of the "*Orthodox Church*." And when in page 361. he denied any antagonism between the Church of Russia to the other Churches of the East, a slip of memory caused him to forget that the Church of Russia was content to recognize both the orders and the baptism of Mr. Palmer, while the Synod of Constantinople declined to recognize either the one or the other. Does he not know, further, the feelings with which the arrival of the first Russian bishop at Jerusalem was hailed by the Greek convent there, till then, master of the situation? And did he never hear Greeks talk at Athens about the Church there belonging to the Russians?

Similarly, when he says, page 333, "In many Western Churches, the man is the exception amongst the worshippers; in all Eastern Mosques, the exception is the woman;" he had forgotten that women, in the religion of Mahomet, have no place assigned for them in any mosque, and can only enter some mosques on sufferance.

We turn now with infinite satisfaction to the more pleasing task of exhibiting some of the most striking passages of a writer so truly dramatic, and, when not unconsciously swayed by prejudices that are too strong for him, so candid, so full of information, so loving, so pure-minded. We regret much that we can find space only

for such as are most instructive, and must leave our readers to peruse some of those that are most brilliant and original, for themselves. There is even considerable amusement to be found in these pages; and we have enjoyed a good laugh over many of the quaint incidents of the life of Nikon, as told by the canny Archdeacon; and the anecdotes with which the reforms of Peter the Great are interspersed.

We begin, therefore, with a selection from the first Lecture on "the Characteristics of the Eastern Church;" and certainly never was "breath" spent to better purpose upon "dry bones." In other hands it would have been a dull subject indeed; in these, we cannot afford room for enough of it.

"The distinction which has been most frequently remarked is that of the speculative tendency of the Oriental, and the practical character of the Western Church. This distinction is deep-seated in the contrast long ago described by Aristotle between the savage energy and freedom of Europe, and the intellectual repose and apathy of Asia. It naturally finds its point and expression in the theology of the two Churches. Whilst the Western prides itself on the title of the 'Catholic;' the Eastern claims the title of the 'Orthodox.' 'The East,' says Dean Milman, 'enacted creeds, the West discipline.' The first decree of an Eastern Council was to determine the relations of the Godhead. The first decree of the Pope of Rome was to interdict the marriage of the clergy. All the first founders of theology were Easterns. Till the time of Augustine, no eminent divine had arisen in the West; till the time of Gregory the Great, none had filled the Papal chair. The doctrine of Athanasius was received, not originated, by Rome. The great Italian Council of Ariminum lapsed into Arianism by an oversight. The Italian language was inadequate to express the minute shades of meaning for which the Greek is admirably fitted. Of the two creeds peculiar to the Latin Church, the earlier, that called 'the Apostles,' is characterised by its simplicity and its freedom from dogmatic assertions; the latter, that called the Athanasian, as its name confesses, is an endeavour to imitate the Greek theology, and by the evident strain of its sentences, reveals the ineffectual labour of the Latin phrases, 'persona' and 'substantia,' to represent the correlative, but hardly corresponding words by which the Greeks, with a natural facility, expressed 'the hypostatic union.'.....

"The Athanasian Controversy of Constantinople and Alexandria, is, strictly speaking, *theological*; unlike the Pelagian, or the Lutheran, controversies, it relates not to man, but to God.

"This fundamental contrast naturally widened into other cognate differences. The Western theology is essentially logical in form, and based on law. The Eastern is rhetorical in form, and based on philosophy. The Latin divine succeeded to the Roman advocate. The Oriental divine succeeded to the Grecian sophist. Out of the logical and legal elements in the West, have grown up all that is most peculiar in the scholastic theology of the middle ages, the Calvinistic theology of the Reformation. To one or both of these causes of difference may be reduced many of the divergences which the theological student will trace in regard to dogmatic statements, or to interpretations of Scripture, between Tertullian and Origen, between Prosper and Cassian, between Augustine and Chrysostom, between Thomas Aquinas and John Damascenus..... A single instance illustrates the Eastern tendency to a high theological view of the doctrine of the Trinity, combined with an absence of any precision of statement in regard to mediation or redemption. In the Western liturgies direct addresses to Christ are exceptions. In the East they are the rule. In the West, even in Unitarian liturgies, it is deemed almost essential that every prayer should be closed, 'through Jesus Christ.' In the East, such a close is rarely, if ever, found. One vestige of this Oriental practice is retained by the English Prayer-book in the collect attributed to S. Chrysostom."—pp. 24 29.

Under the head of monasticism, he continues:—

"It is this Oriental seclusion which, whether from character, or climate, or contagion, has to the Christian world been far more forcibly represented in the Oriental than in the Latin Church. The solitary and contemplative devotion of the Eastern monks, whether in Egypt or Greece, though broken by the manual labour necessary for their subsistence, has been very slightly modified either by literary or agricultural activity..... As a general rule, there has arisen in the East no society like the Benedictines, held in honour wherever literature or civilization has spread; no charitable orders, like the Sisters of Mercy, which carry light and peace into the darkest haunts of suffering humanity. Active life is, on the strict Eastern theory, an abuse of the system."—p. 30.

In what follows he advances into the general subject more fully.

"Another important difference between the two Churches was one which, though in substance the same, may be expressed in various forms. The Eastern Church was, like the East, stationary and immutable; the Western, like the West, progressive and flexible. This distinction is the more remarkable, because at certain periods of their course, there can be no doubt that the civilization of the

Eastern Church was far higher than the Western. No one can read the account of the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders of the thirteenth century, without perceiving that it is the occupation of a refined and civilized capital by a horde of comparative barbarians. The arrival of the Greek scholars in Europe in the fifteenth century, was the signal for the most progressive step that Western theology has ever made. And in earlier ages, whilst it might still be thought that Rome, not Constantinople, was the natural refuge of the arts of the ancient classical world, the literature of the Church was almost entirely confined to the Byzantine hemisphere.....

"The straws of custom show which way the spirit of an institution blows. The primitive posture of standing in prayer still retains its ground in the East. Organs and musical instruments have never penetrated into its worship. Jewish ordinances still keep their hold on Abyssinia. Even the schism which convulsed the Russian Church nearly at the same time that Latin Christendom was rent by the German Reformation, was not a forward, but a retrograde movement, a protest, not against abuses, but against innovation. The calendars of the Churches show the eagerness with which, whilst the one, at least till a recent period, placed herself at the head of European civilization, the other still studiously lags behind it. The 'new style,' which the world owes to the enlightened activity of Pope Gregory XIII., after having with difficulty overcome the Protestant scruples of Germany, Denmark, and Switzerland, and last of all, (with shame be it said), of England and Sweden, has never been able to penetrate into the wide dominions of the old Byzantine and the modern Russian empires, which still hold to the Greek calendar, eleven days behind the rest of the civilized world."—pp. 31-3.

Proceeding to the sacraments, he says :—

"The Latin doctrine, on this subject, is by Protestants so frequently regarded as the highest pitch of superstition—by Roman Catholics as the highest pitch of reverence of which the subject is capable—that it may be instructive to both to see the contrast between the freedom and reasonableness of the sacramental doctrine as held by the highest Roman doctors, compared with the stiff, the magical, the antiquarian character of the same doctrine as represented in the East."

Of baptism—

"There can be no question that the original form of baptism, the very meaning of the word, was complete immersion in the deep baptismal waters ; and that, for at least four centuries, any other form was either unknown, or regarded as an exceptional, almost a monstrous case. To this form the Eastern Church still rigidly adheres, and the most illustrious and venerable portion of it, that

of the Byzantine Empire, absolutely repudiates and ignores any other mode of administration as essentially invalid. The Latin Church, on the other hand, doubtless in deference to the requirements of a northern climate, to the change of manners, to the convenience of custom, has wholly altered the mode, preferring, as it would fairly say, mercy to sacrifice; and (with the two exceptions of the cathedral of Milan, and the sect of the Baptists), a few drops of water are now the Western substitute for the three-fold plunge into the rushing rivers, or the wide baptisteries of the East."

Of confirmation.

"In the first age of the Church it was customary for the Apostles to lay their hands on the heads of the newly baptized converts, that they might receive the 'gifts of the Spirit.' The 'gifts' vanished, but the custom of laying on of hands remained. It remained, and was continued, and so in the Greek Church is still continued, at the baptism of children as of adults. Confirmation is, with them, simultaneous with the act of the baptismal immersion. But, the Latin Church, whilst it adopted or retained the practice of admitting infants to baptism, soon set itself to remedy the obvious defect arising from their unconscious age, by separating, and postponing, and giving a new life and meaning to the rite of confirmation. The two ceremonies, which, in the Eastern Church are indissolubly con-founded, are now, throughout Western Christendom, by a salutary innovation, each made to minister to the edification of the individual, and completion of the whole baptismal ordinance."

Of Extreme Unction.

"In like manner the East retained, and still retains, the apostolical practice mentioned by S. James—for the sick to call in the elders of the Church, to anoint him with oil, and pray over him, that he may recover.....

"But the Latin Church, seeing that the special object for which the ceremony was first instituted, the recovery of the sick, had long ceased to be effected, determined to change its form, that it still might be preserved as an instructive symbol. And thus the 'anointing with oil' of the first century, and of the Oriental Church, has become, with the Latins, the last, the Extreme Unction of the dying man, a ceremony, doubtless, to our notions, useless, perhaps superstitious, but on the whole more reasonable than the mere perpetuation of a shadow, when the substance is departed."—pp. 33.5.

He now takes a wider, and still more interesting range.

"There is yet another more general subject, on which the widest difference, involving the same principle, exists between the two communions, namely, the whole relation of art to religious worship.

Let any one enter an Oriental church, and he will at once be struck by the contrast which the architecture, the paintings, the very aspect of the ceremonial, present to the churches of the West. Often, indeed, this may arise from the poverty or oppression under which most Christian communities labour whose lot has been cast in the Ottoman empire ; but, often the altars may blaze with gold, the dresses of the priest stiffen with the richest silks of Brousa, yet the contrast remains. The difference lies in the fact, that art, as such, has no place in the worship or in the edifice. There is no aiming at effect, no dim religious light, no beauty of form or colour, beyond what is produced by the mere display of gorgeous and barbaric pomp. Yet it would be a great mistake to infer from this absence of art, indeed, no one who has never seen it could infer, that this involves a more decided absence of form and of ceremonial. The mystical gestures, the awe which surrounds the sacerdotal functions, the long repetitions, the severance of the sound from the sense, of the mind from the act, both in priest and people, are not less, but more remarkable than in the Churches of the West. The traveller, who finds himself in the interior of the old cathedral of Malta, after having been accustomed for a few weeks or months to the ritual of the convents and churches of the Levant, experiences almost the same emotion as when he passes again from the services of the Roman Catholic, to those of the reformed Churches.”—pp. 36-7.

This is extremely well put, and we can attest the justice of it by personal experience. The least travelled Protestant would not find half the difficulty in really following a High Mass abroad, that we did in only attempting to follow a Greek service. But strongly recommending the perusal of the whole Lecture, though not necessarily endorsing it all, we must bring these citations to a close.

“The variety, the stir, the life, the turmoil, the ‘*drive*,’ as our American brethren would call it, is, in every western Church, contrasted with the immobility, the repose, the inaction of Greece, of Syria, and of Russia. It is instructive for the staunch adherents of the Reformation to feel that the Latin Church, which we have been accustomed to regard as our chief antagonist, has, after all, the same elements of Western life and civilization, as those of which we are justly proud ; that, whatever it be, as compared with England or Germany, it is, as compared with Egypt or Syria, enlightened, progressive, in one word, Protestant. It is instructive for the opponents of the Reformation to see that in the Eastern section of the Christian Church, vast as it is, the whole Western Church, Latin and German, Papal and Lutheran, is often regarded as essentially one ; that the first concessions to reason and freedom, which involve by necessity all the subsequent stages, were made long

before Luther, in the bosom of the Roman Church itself; that the Papal See first led the way in schism from the parent stock in liberty of private judgment; that some of the most important points in which the Latin is now distinguished from the Greek Church, have been actually copied and imported from the new Churches of the Protestant West. To trace this family resemblance between the different branches of the Occidental Church, is the polemical object of an able treatise by a zealous member of the Church of Russia; to trace it in a more friendly and hopeful spirit, is a not unworthy aim of students of the Church of England.....

"And we, too, with all our energy and life, may learn something from the otherwise unparalled sight of whole nations and races of men, penetrated by the religious sentiment which visibly sways their minds, even when it fails to reach their conduct, which, if it has produced but few whom we should call saints or philosophers, has produced, through centuries of oppression, whole armies of confessors and martyrs. We may learn something from the sight of a calm strength reposing 'in the quietness and confidence' of a treasure of hereditary belief, which its possessor is content to value for himself, without forcing it on the reception of others. We may learn something from the sight of churches, where religion is not abandoned to the care of women and children, but is claimed as the right and the privilege of men; where the Church reposes, not so much on the force and influence of its clergy, as on the independent knowledge and manly zeal of its laity."—pp. 55-9.

We are surprised, alike by the length of our citations, and by the little way we have made, notwithstanding, in the volume. We would fain have made larger extracts from the different Lectures, illustrating the Council of Nicæa, its principal characters—the part taken by them—their coming, their going, their feasting with the Emperor. There is, perhaps, nothing new in the narrative, but it has never been put together so well or so attractively. Nor is the biography of Constantine other than a masterpiece in point of style. Commending all these to our readers, we think that the following description of the rendezvous cannot but tempt them to pass beyond the threshold.

"Beneath us lay the long inland lake, the Ascanian Lake, which, communicating at its Western extremity by a small inlet with the Sea of Marmora, fills up almost the whole valley; itself a characteristic of the conformation of this part of Asia Minor. Such another is the lake of Apollonius, seen from the summit of the Mysian Olympus. Such another is the smaller lake, seen in traversing the plain on the way from Broussa.

"At the head of the lake appeared the oblong space enclosed by

the ancient walls, of which the rectangular form indicates, with unmistakable precision, the original founders of the city. It was the outline given to all the Oriental towns built by the successors of Alexander and their imitators. Antioch, Damascus, Philadelphia, Sebaste, Palmyra, were all constructed on the same model, of a complete square, intersected by four straight streets, adorned with a colonnade on each side. This we know to have been the appearance of Nicæa, as founded by Lysimachus, and rebuilt by Antigonus. And this is still the form of the present walls, which, although they enclose a larger space than the first Greek city, yet are evidently as early as the time of the Roman empire; little later, if at all, than the reign of Constantine. Within their circuit all is now wilderness; over broken columns, and through tangled thickets, the traveller, with difficulty makes his way to the wretched Turkish village of Is-nick, which occupies the centre of the vacant space. In the midst of this village, surrounded by a few ruined mosques, on whose summits stand the never-failing storks of the deserted cities of the East, remains a solitary Christian church, dedicated to 'the repose of the Virgin.' Within the church is a rude picture commemorating the one event which, amidst all the vicissitudes of Nicæa, has secured for it an immortal name.

"To delineate this event, to transport ourselves back into the same season of the year, the chestnut woods then, as now, green with the first burst of summer, the same sloping hills, the same tranquil lake, the same snow-capped Olympus, from far, brooding over the whole scene, but, in every other respect, how entirely different! will be my object in this Lecture."—pp. 94-5.

Our last, and perhaps most gorgeous extract, must be the portrait of Peter the Great; we have no space left for Vladimir, Ivan the Terrible, or the Russian Church in its early, middle, or reforming age. With him, we bid adieu to Professor Stanley, and in hope to meet again. Only, let him not be ashamed of confessing the faith of Christ crucified before men, or of owning true fellowship with His saints. 'This even Peter the Mighty did not think beneath him.

"Look at him, as he presents himself in the gallery of the portraits of the Czars. From Ivan the Terrible, each follow each in grotesque barbaric costume, half Venetian, half Tartar, till suddenly, without the slightest preparation, Peter breaks in amongst them, in the full uniform of the European soldier. The ancient Czars vanish, to appear no more, and Peter remains with us, occupying henceforward the whole horizon. Countenance, and stature, and manner, and pursuits, are absolutely kept alive in our sight. We see the upturned look, the long black hair falling back from his fine forehead, the fierce eyes glancing from beneath the overhanging

brows, the mouth clothed with indomitable power. We gaze at his gigantic height, his wild rapid movements, the convulsive twitches of his face and hands, the tremendous walking-staff, almost a crow-bar of iron, which he swings to and fro as he walks, the huge Danish wolf-dog and its two little companions, which run behind him. We are with him in his Dutch house amidst the rough pieces of wood which he has collected as curiosities, the tools, the lathe, the articles of wood and ivory that he has turned. No dead man so lives again in outward form before us, as Peter in St. Petersburg. But not in outward form only. That city represents to us his whole Herculean course, more actually Hercules-like than any of modern times, and proudly set forth in his famous statue erected by Catherine II.....

.....“What must the man have been, who, born and bred in this atmosphere, conceived, and by one tremendous wrench, almost by his own manual labour and his sole gigantic strength, executed the prodigious idea of dragging a nation, against its will, into the light of Europe, and erecting a new capital and a new empire amongst the cities and the kingdoms of the world? St. Petersburg is, indeed, his most enduring monument. A spot up to that time without a single association, selected instead of the holy city, to which even now every Russian turns as to his mother; a site which, but a few years before, had belonged to his most inveterate enemies; won from morass and forest, with difficulty defended, and perhaps even yet doomed to fall before the inundations of its own river; and now, though still Asiatic beyond any capital of the West, yet, in grandeur and magnificence, in the total subjugation of nature to art, entirely European. And the change from Moscow to St. Petersburg is but a symbol of the revolution effected in the whole empire by the power of Peter. For better, for worse, he created army, navy, law, dress, amusements, alphabet, some in part, some altogether, anew. Much that was superficial, much that was false, much that broke out under his successors into frightful corruption and depravity, at least of the higher classes, came in with the Western civilization. But whatever hopes for the world or the Church are bound up with the civilization of the West, did penetrate into Russia, through Peter, and through no one else.”—pp. 453-6.

- ART. IV.—1. *Catalogue of the Antiquities of Stone, Earth, and Vegetable Materials, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.* By W. R. Wilde, M. R. I. A. With Illustrations. 8vo. Dublin: Gill. 1857.
2. *Catalogue of the Antiquities of Animal Materials and Bronze, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.* By W. R. Wilde, M. R. I. A. With 373 Illustrations. 8vo. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co. 1861.

A CATALOGUE is commonly the driest and least interesting of all literary compositions. Few catalogues, indeed, can claim a place in the ranks of literature properly so-called; their merit seldom rising beyond the mechanical accuracy of the copyist, or at best the servile fidelity of the compiler: and their traditionary fate, when once they have served the passing purpose for which they were designed, has been to be thrown aside and forgotten for ever.

The few marked exceptions to this ordinary fortune of their class have been indebted for their exemption mainly to the taste and ability of their authors. For, even where the intrinsic merit of the collections described might in itself have sufficed to create an interest in their details, this interest must necessarily have proved transient, unless in so far as the description was made to convey a permanent and systematic lesson, whether it was in the department of history, of antiquities, or of art. And of all these subjects, the one which is most dependent for its permanent interest on the skill of the compiler, is undoubtedly that of antiquities.

The time is not very remote indeed, when, in the estimation of the world, the study of antiquities was but another name for solemn trifling, if not for pedantic credulity. Sir Walter Scott's *Monkbarns* was an average, and perhaps a favourable, specimen of the class; and that ponderous scholarship, the humorous and characteristic exhibition of which forms the great charm of this inimitable picture, may be regarded as fairly representing the notions which our fathers entertained of the learned lore to the accumulation of which the lives and energies of a class which, if not very practical, was at least undeniably enthusiastic, were devoted.

There is one view of the study of antiquities, however, the importance of which has come to be better understood, and the true nature and value of which are now more fairly appreciated :—we mean their bearing on the social, literary, and religious condition of the people to whom they belong. Men have ceased to form collections of antiquities for the mere antiquities' sake ; and museums are no longer regarded as retreats in which to while away an unoccupied hour, or even to indulge a learned curiosity. The selection and classification of strictly national remains are now regarded as second in importance only to the preservation of the objects themselves ; and the very meanest, and intrinsically the least precious relic of a past time—a rude fragment of stone, or a coarse scrap of pottery—may have its value in the eyes of the antiquarian, far above objects of the most costly material and the most skilful and elaborate artistic execution.

The Museum of the Royal Irish Academy has been fortunate in at least this respect. The Catalogue of its contents, so far as it has progressed, is complete in its enumeration, is methodical in its arrangement, is scientific in its explanations, and is copious in the illustrations and analogies from other collections, whether of our national antiquities or of the remains of kindred races, as literally to leave nothing to be desired at least in these particulars.

The collection itself has been formed under many disadvantages. Although the Royal Irish Academy, from the period of its formation, occasionally received donations of ancient objects of interest discovered from time to time in Ireland, it was not until after many years that a regular depository for their safe custody was established. Very many of the objects originally presented to the Academy are said by Mr. Gilbert* to have been embezzled. Others were deposited in the museum of Trinity College, and it was not until the year 1839 that the project of a regularly organized collection, illustrative of the history of the people of Ireland, and especially of the Celtic race, was seriously entertained, or at least was practically initiated. At so late a period, it need hardly be said, that the harvest of antiquities had been actually gathered in by pri-

* History of Dublin, iii. 240.

vate enterprise, or prodigally wasted by the ignorance or cupidity of the chance discoverer; and little was left for the scientific collector beyond the scanty gleanings of a thrice-exhausted field.

For the general purposes of science polite literature and antiquities, the formation of the Irish Academy dates so far back as 1785. The list of original members, together with many curious particulars of the origin of the association, will be found in Mr. Gilbert's work, which is a repository of all that is most interesting in the history of our capital and its public institutions. The collection of manuscripts may be said to have commenced from the very foundation of the Academy. The well-known "Book of Ballymote" was presented in the very first year by the Chevalier O'Gorman. In 1787 the "Book of Leacan" was obtained through the Abbe Kearney, of the Irish College, Paris; and in 1789, Colonel Vallancey purchased for a few pounds the celebrated "Leabhar Breac," or "Speckled Book." The Library of Kirwan (president of the Academy from 1799 till 1816)—the only considerable acquisition of the Academy for a long series of years, was almost exclusively philosophical and modern; but in the year 1831, through the exertions of Dr. Petrie, the autograph original of the "Annals of Ireland," by the "Four Masters," was happily secured; and a few years later a large collection of Irish MSS., (including the original "Leabhar na-H-uidhri," a compilation of the 12th century,) which had been formed by Messrs. Hodges and Smith, was purchased for a sum of about thirteen hundred pounds, partly raised by private subscription, partly by a special government grant for the purpose.

The first impulse to the formation of a collection of specimens of ancient Irish art, however, was given, about the year 1839, by the opportunity which presented itself of securing as a first instalment, two massive gold torques, which had been found at Tara. These precious relics were purchased by a number of private subscribers and presented to the Museum. The late lamented Professor M'Cullagh, about the same time, presented the celebrated Cross of Cong—a sacred relic, we must say, for which, as for all others of its class, we should fervently desire a more appropriate depository, than can be found in a scientific Museum. The first very considerable accession, however, at least as regards extent, was the collection of the late Dean Dawson, of

St. Patrick's, which, in 1842, was purchased by subscription, chiefly among the members of the Academy. In the year 1844 the council, encouraged by the spirit thus manifested, purchased the collection of the well-known Major Sirr; and the numerous entries in Dr. Wilde's catalogue, under more recent dates, will show that this spirit has not fallen away. Few years have passed without several interesting acquisitions.

And this, it need hardly be said, has been accomplished in the face of much apathy and indifference, and even a large share of positive discouragement. It was commenced under all the disadvantage of the most complete scepticism as to the possibility of success, upon the part even of the members of the Academy themselves. It was not alone that by the general public it was considered hopeless at the present day to recover any noteworthy relics of ancient Irish art or civilization. The learned themselves doubted, and even denied, that any such specimens had ever existed in Ireland. When Dr. Petrie first addressed the Irish Academy with the view of stimulating the members to undertake some systematic effort for the recovery and preservation of the remains of the ancient art of the country, he was met with an expression of undisguised incredulity. "Surely, sir," he was asked even by such a man as Dr. Brinkley—"surely you do not mean to tell us that there exists the slightest evidence to prove that the Irish had any acquaintance with the arts of civilized life before the arrival in Ireland of the English!" And Dr. Petrie adds that the scepticism implied in the remark of Brinkley was very obviously shared by almost all the members who were present at the meeting.*

But a more hopeful, as well as a more enlightened spirit soon succeeded. From public sources but little pecuniary aid has been obtained; but through the instrumentality of more than one public body considerable service has been rendered in the gradual formation of the collection of the museum as it now stands. To the Commissioners of Public Works, the Shannon Commissioners, the Directors of the Ordnance Survey, and even to the directors of some of the Irish railways, the collection is indebted for several, if not very costly, at least very interesting and important

* Gilbert's *History of Dublin*, iii. p. 241.

relics of ancient Ireland. By a very judicious arrangement recently made, a fund is placed at the disposal of the council, wherewith to engage the services of the constabulary throughout Ireland in securing for the Academy any objects of interest which may be discovered, or at least notifying their discovery to the secretary; and although the fund is trifling, yet it cannot be doubted that by judicious management, such as the untiring zeal and great intelligence of the present secretary will secure, it may be made the instrument of much permanent good. The enlightened interest on the part of the public in the project which these facts evince, as well as the many evidences of individual liberality supplied by the donations recorded in Dr. Wilde's catalogue, give a reasonable ground to hope that the success which has attended the labours of the last thirty years will continue to bear its fruits in the labours of the coming generation; and that, late as the public collectors of Irish antiquities have been in entering the field, their energy and intelligence, and zeal, will more than counterbalance the disadvantage with which they were obliged originally to contend.

But if anything were needed as an additional stimulus to the interest already manifested in the subject of our national antiquities, it would certainly be found in such works as the catalogue now before us. It is not merely that for the branch of the subject to which it has extended, it forms a most complete and most convenient repertory of the antiquities of the Royal Irish Academy. It is not merely that it brings together whatever is best and most valuable, whether in speculation or in fact, of all that has been written regarding them by the scholars of our own or of foreign countries. In these respects it is true Dr. Wilde's work is all that could be desired. But this, although a very important one, is the least merit of Dr. Wilde's catalogue. He has had the rare good fortune, even in the merely descriptive part of his work, to be circumstantial without proving tedious, and to preserve accuracy of detail without falling into dryness. And hence no visitor of the museum can desire a more faithful or more scientific guide to all that is most noteworthy in its contents. But Dr. Wilde's work, while it fulfils all these conditions of a good catalogue, belongs to a very different order of literature. In the few words which we bestowed upon it at its first publication, we described it as a "complete Encyclopædia of Irish

antiquities, rather than a description of the contents of a single collection." As regards the literary structure of the work, it would be much more just to describe it by its higher character. It is strictly a work on the antiquities of Ireland, embodying a descriptive catalogue of the antiquities of the Irish Academy. The catalogue, although it is perfect in all its details, is not only the subordinate portion of the volume, but its peculiar features are so merged in the general interest of the entire, that it loses altogether the dry and technical character which usually belongs to such compilations. To those who are acquainted with Dr. Wilde's earlier publications, it is unnecessary to speak of the learning, the ingenuity, the taste, and scholarship, by which they are all characterized; but we may say with truth that in no other of his works are these qualities more agreeably exhibited. By the skilful distribution of his materials, the judicious selection of topics, and the copiousness and felicity of his illustrations, not from Irish literature alone, but from that of all the races with which Ireland can claim affinity of origin or traditional intercourse, he has so interwoven theories with facts, the descriptive details with the didactic expositions, that the catalogue of the Academy becomes in his hands a chain upon which to bind together almost all that has been collected or theorised by the most learned scholars of our own or of foreign countries.

We may take an example from his treatment of one of the objects in the Catalogue of the Antiquities of Stone, Earthen, and Vegetable Materials—the well-known Ogham stones, or pillar stones marked with Ogham characters, two of which he selects for description and illustration. The first of these was found, with three other similarly inscribed stones, built into the walls of a dwelling-house in the County of Kerry, to which it is believed they had been removed from the souterrain of a neighbouring rath. There were originally two very rudely executed crosses on opposite sides of it, but a portion, bearing the upper member of one cross and some Ogham strokes, has been broken off. The lines are cut in for about one-eighth of an inch in depth, and run from an inch to three-and-a-half inches in length.

The same fate had befallen a large proportion of the inscribed stones hitherto discovered. Of those preserved in the Academy, one formed the lintel of a doorway of a

small circular building in the rath of Gortnagullanagh, in the County of Kerry. Another formed a portion of a fireplace in an old house at Martramane, in the same county. In illustrating this curious relic, Dr. Wilde takes the opportunity of explaining all that is certain as to the nature and origin of the Ogham writing. But, before we proceed to this part of the subject, it may be useful to transcribe Dr. Graves's account of the Ogham character, which is quoted by Dr. Wilde:—

"The Ogham alphabet consists of lines, or groups of lines, variously arranged with reference to a single stem-line, or to an edge of the substance on which they are traced. The spectator, looking at an upright Ogham monument, will in general observe groups of incised strokes of *four* different kinds:—(1) groups of lines to the left; (2) others to the right of the edge; (3) other longer strokes crossing it obliquely; and (4) small notches upon the edge itself. The characters comprised in class (1) stand respectively for the letters B, L, F, S, N, according as they number 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 strokes; those in (2) for H, D, T, C, Q, or CV; those in (3) for M, A, NG, ST, or ZR; and those in (4) for the vowels, A, O, U, E, I. Besides these twenty characters, there are five others occurring less frequently, and used to denote diphthongs and the letters P, X, and Y. In some instances the Ogham strokes are cut upon a face of the stone, instead of being arranged along an edge. In such cases an incised stem-line, or an imaginary line passing through the shortest, or vowel strokes, takes the place of the edge.

"Ogham inscriptions, in general, begin from the bottom, and are read upwards, from left to right. Almost all those which have been deciphered present merely a proper name with its patronymic, both in the genitive case. The monuments appear, for the most part, to have been sepulchral in the first instance. But there is reason to suppose that they were used to indicate the proprietorship of land, either standing as boundary stones, or buried in crypts, as evidences to be referred to in cases of disputes arising.

"By far the greater number of the Ogham inscriptions discovered in Ireland have been found in the counties of Kerry and Cork. A few have been noticed in Wales* and Scotland, and one in Shetland.

* Some of the stones discovered in Wales deserve special notice. One in particular is of such interest that we think our readers will be gratified by the following brief account extracted from the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, from which Journal it has been transferred (with an illustrative wood engraving,) to the *Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archæological Society*.

"Within the precincts of the abbey of St. Dogmael's, near Cardi-

Though several of the proper names occurring in the Irish Ogham monuments are to be met with in our annals and pedigrees, we doubt whether any of them have been yet so positively identified as to fix the time of the individuals whose memory it was intended thus to preserve.”—p. 137-8.

gan, is preserved a long narrow slab of porphyritic greenstone, such as is found on the ridge of the Preseleu Hills, semi-columnar in form, and rhomboidal in section. It is about 7 feet in length, tapering upwards from rather more than 12 to 9 inches in breadth, with an average thickness of about 7 inches. The surfaces are all smooth, without any lichen adhering to them; and, did not other stones of this kind from the same hills offer the same appearance, it might be supposed to have been once artificially polished. Such, however, is not the case; this peculiar kind of igneous rock does not decompose readily; its greenish base, and the dull white, squarish crystals with which it is filled, resist the effects of weather and of vegetation with remarkable pertinacity. The stone in question is probably in as sound condition, with certain exceptions, as when it was first brought down from its native hills.

“Stones of this kind are prized all over Pembrokeshire, from the circumstance of their peculiar form and hardness making them useful as gate-posts; every farmer is glad to get them from Preseleu; and the very stone of which we are now treating shows, by two holes drilled into its surface, that it has been made to do this piece of agricultural duty in worse times, archæologically speaking, than the present.

“Not only as a gate-post, however, but also as a bridge, has it been made serviceable to the daily wants of generations now dead and gone; for it was so used over a brook not far from its present locality, and had acquired a sort of preternatural reputation, from the belief of the neighbourhood that a *white lady* glided over it constantly at the witching hour of midnight. It was fortunate, perhaps, that this should have been the case; for the superstitious feeling of the neighbours not only tended to preserve it from injury, —no man nor woman touched it willingly after dark,—but this very tradition, added to its peculiar form, probably led to its ultimate rescue.

“A gentleman who is the present owner of the property on which St. Dogmael’s Abbey stands, the Rev. H. J. Vincent, vicar of that parish, found the stone covered with a thick coat of whitewash, in a wall adjoining his house, where it was perhaps placed after its removal from the brook. When the wall was taken down, with the view of effecting some improvements, the stone fell, and was unfortunately broken in two. It was then carefully conveyed to the spot where it now rests. Before it fell, its inscribed face and edge were

An animated controversy prevailed among the last generation of Irish scholars as to the date of the introduction of the Ogham writing. Charles O'Connor, of Belanagar, although by no means unsceptical, at least in maturer

uninjured. Luckily they had been turned downwards by whoever placed it, in ignorance of its value, across the brook.

"The inscription had been previously known; for that exact observer, Edward Lhwyd, had drawn the lettered surface most carefully, and his original sketch still exists. He had also remarked some of the notches on its edge, and had recorded a few in his drawing, but had not said anything about them in any of his notes. His sketch was not known to exist until 1859, when it was found, by the writer of this paper, at Oxford. But several years previously the writer had ascertained that one edge of the stone was covered with Oghamic characters, such as he had discovered at the same period on stones in other parts of the same district, and he pointed them out to Mr. Vincent, who at once perceived their archaeological value. For several subsequent years he took careful drawings and rubbings of this stone, communicating them at the same time to Professor Graves, of Trinity College, Dublin, and to Mr. Westwood. The former, who has made the study of Oghams almost his own peculiar science, by his skill in working out the occult alphabet (well known to the readers of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, from a review of his learned memoir on that subject), at once read off these Oghamic strokes, according to the system previously arranged from Irish monuments of the same description, and found that it corresponded very nearly with the inscription on the face of the stone.

"We say *very nearly*, for one important mark, equivalent to *a*, was apparently wanting; if that were found, the professor's alphabet and theory would be completely correct. He therefore advised the writer to re-examine the stone more minutely; this was done, and the professor's conjecture was found to be correct: but more of this hereafter. Professor Graves then declared this stone to be the equivalent of the famous Rosetta stone of the Egyptian hieroglyphic discoveries, because it contained the same inscription in two distinct characters, one of the Romano-British type, the other of that occult Oghamic class which has been so much controverted, so much theorized upon, and so little understood. All that remained was to ascertain who might have been the personage commemorated, and what the date of his existence, as well as the palæographic character of the inscription.

"The Rev. Robert Williams, M. A., of Rhydyroesau, on being appealed to, immediately observed (as Lhwyd had also done) that *OVNOTAMVS* was the proper Latinized equivalent of *CVNEDDAF*, the

years, as to the pretensions of Irish antiquarians, regards the Ogham writing as of the Pagan time, and is of opinion that it continued in use till about the time of the arrival of St. Patrick and the Roman missionaries.* Soon after this period the Roman alphabet became known ; but

British king, who is said to have flourished in the fourth century ; but nothing could be then, nor has been since, elicited concerning *SAGRANVS*, here mentioned. If we are to assume that the *Cunotamus* here mentioned is really the *Cunedda* of early Welsh History, and if we are to consider the dates assigned above as tolerably correct, we can then evidently fix a period *before* which this stone could not have been sculptured, viz., the end of the fourth century. But the evidence we possess is not sufficiently weighty, the authenticity of its basis is not sufficiently proved, to allow of our assenting to it implicitly. We must call in the aid of the palæographer to obtain other means of approximation. Mr. Westwood, on being consulted as to the apparent date of this inscription, judging from its palæographic characteristics, has given the following opinion :—

“ The Latin portion of the *Sagranus* inscription offers but few peculiarities. It is entirely composed of Roman letters of a rather narrow form, varying in height, some in the upper line being nearly six inches high ; those forming the word *RIX* in their much narrower form, in the bars of the *r* appearing on the left side of the upright stroke, in the upper bar being rather oblique, with the end elevated, and in the upright stroke of the *L* elevated a little above the adjoining letters, approach the *rustic* form. The first letter, *s* is ill formed, with the lower half larger than the upper, agreeing in this respect with the initial *s* in the *Paulinus* inscription, published in this Journal, ii., Third Series, p. 249. The third letter, *a*, formed of a semicircle, with a short oblique tail, scarcely extending below the line ; and the *x* in the second line, with the first and last strokes splaying outwards, are the only ones which offer any peculiarity, and in these respects they agree with many of the oldest Roman monuments.

“ Hence, were we not guided by the formula, the comparative rudeness of the letters, and the fact of the inscription being carved lengthwise along the stone, we might refer this inscription to the Roman period, so complete is the absence of those minuscule forms of letters which occur in most of the Welsh inscriptions, and of which an instance may be seen in the *Euolenus* stone, *ante*, p. 56, and which indicate a later period, when, as in most of the Glamorganshire stones, scarcely any of the letters retained the capital Roman form. Under these circumstances I think we are warranted in assigning a date to the present inscription not long after the

* Dissertation prefixed to O’Flaherty’s *Ogygia*, pp. xxxviii., xxxix.

the Ogham continued to be used for monuments and public inscriptions down to a much later date. On the contrary, Ledwich holds that the Ogham was a secret alphabet invented in the middle ages, and was "nothing but a stereographic or steganographic contrivance common to the

departure of the Romans, whilst the writing still remained unmodified by a communion either with the Irish or Anglo-Saxon scribes.

"J. O. WESTWOOD.

"*Oxford, February, 1860.*"

"Mr. Westwood, on examining the inscription itself, has thus given it as his opinion that the palæographical character of the letters is such as corresponds to the period when the British prince mentioned above is supposed to have flourished. We think, therefore, that the full value of these facts will not fail of being appreciated. We have here a stone which we may, upon palæographical grounds, consider of the fourth or fifth century; and it bears names which may be assigned to British princes, who are said to have flourished at that very period. The Romano-British inscription on its face is translated on its edge into the occult Oghamic alphabet, with a few literal variations, such as would be natural for an Irish translator to make. The Oghams, therefore, are either contemporaneous with the inscription, or not long posterior to it; and thus may both be pretty fairly considered as fixed in date between the extreme limits of a century, viz., A.D. 400—A.D. 500.

"We now proceed to explain the inscriptions themselves. That in Romano-British capitals, all easily decipherable, runs thus:—

SAGRANI FILI CVNOTAMI

That in Oghamic characters, read *from the bottom upwards, and from left to right* (for such is Professor Graves's theory), runs thus:—

SAGRAMNI MAQI CVNATAMI

"It was to be expected that an Irish translator would, according to the analogy of inscriptions in his own country, use the word MAQ or MAC (the equivalent of the Cymric MAB) for the Latin FILIVS,—and so we find it.

"A various reading is occasioned by the introduction of M in the first word, and by the substitution of A for o in the last. These are not philological difficulties; the analogies of the Erse and the Cymric tongues easily account for them. The only real difficulty lay in the absence of the Oghamic mark for A between those standing for M and Q. This occurred just at the point where a crack had unfortunately taken place. To most observers it would have seemed as if this mark did not exist; but, by following up the hint given

semi-barbarians of Europe in the middle ages, and very probably derived from the Romans.”*

On this much disputed question it is not possible, with the present incomplete knowledge of the Ogham monuments still actually in existence, to arrive at a certain conclusion. Dr. Wilde, still quoting Dr. Graves, thus sums up:—

“ ‘ Whether the ancient Irish, before the Christian era, possessed a primitive alphabet, differing essentially from that in use in other parts of Europe, is a question which has been debated by scholars with great earnestness. Those who maintain the affirmative, appeal to the concurrent authority of the most ancient Irish manuscript histories, according to which an alphabet, called Ogham, was invented by the Scythian progenitors of the Gaelic race, and was introduced into Ireland by the Tuatha De Danaan, about thirteen centuries before the birth of Christ. They also refer to the oldest Irish Romances, which contain frequent allusions to the use of Ogham, either for the purpose of conveying intelligence, or in sepulchral inscriptions on pillar-stones erected in honour of distinguished persons. Finally, they point to existing monuments of this very kind, presenting inscriptions in the Ogham character; and

by Professor Graves, and by use of a magnifying glass, the existence of a small circular depression on the edge—*cut in twain by the crack*—was satisfactorily established. All the other characters were so distinct as to admit of no doubt. The true reading of Professor Graves’s alphabet was verified; and not only so, but the date of a specific example was closely approximated to.

“ We need not stop to point out the archaeological interest which this stone possesses; it seems to be one of the earliest in Wales of the Romano-British type; and its probable date will henceforth help us in conjecturing the age of other inscriptions, in which the same palæographic characteristics are met with.

“ It remains only to add that, with the concurrence of our Association, the Rev. J. H. Vincent, who is one of our Local Secretaries for Pembrokeshire, is about to take steps for removing the stone, either to the interior of the parish church, or to some other place where it will be more certainly preserved than it now can be,—reclining, as it does, amid mantling ivy—‘half embraced and half retiring’—against a mossy, fern-grown bank in his own beautiful garden.”—pp. 230-4.

Another similar bilingual stone found at Llanfechan, Cardiganshire, is described (from the *Archæologia Cambrensis*) in the *Kilkenny Archæological Society’s Proceedings* just issued, pp. 303-4.

* *Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 331.

argue from their rudeness, and other circumstances, that they must be ascribed to a remote and Pagan period.

“Those, on the other hand, who dissent from this hypothesis, allege that the legendary accounts of the invention of the Ogham bear all the marks of fiction; and they contend that the nature of this alphabet, in which the vowels and consonants are separated, furnishes internal evidence of its having been contrived by persons possessing some grammatical knowledge, and acquainted with alphabets of the ordinary kind. As regards the testimony of romantic tales, they impugn its authority by questioning the antiquity of these compositions, which, at most, prove the belief prevailing at the time when they were written as to the use of letters in a much earlier age. Lastly, they assert that a considerable number of the existing Ogham monuments are proved by the emblems and inscriptions which they bear to belong to Christian times. A decisive instance has been noticed in the case of a monument standing in the churchyard of Minard, near Dingle, in the county of Kerry. This stone, inscribed with crosses, and bearing the name *MANIANI*, must have been erected long after the introduction of the Christian religion and the Latin language into Ireland. This controversy cannot be brought to a satisfactory termination until the manuscript authorities bearing upon the subject have been discussed, and the inscriptions on the monuments carefully deciphered.”—pp. 136-7.

With regard to the Christian origin of some of the Ogham stones no possible doubt can be entertained. Both the stones selected by Dr. Wilde for illustration, actually present the Christian symbol. The first to which we have already alluded, and of which the accompanying woodcuts* present opposite views, is marked with a cross upon one side, and the names inscribed in Ogham letters, are names otherwise known in annals of a Christian period.

The inscriptions are thus deciphered:—

“Fig. 107, *NOCATI MAQI MAQI RET* [π], i. e. [The stone] of Nocat, the son of Mac Reithe. Fig. 108, *MAQI MUCCI UDDAMI*, i. e. [The stone] of Uddam, son of Mogh. The names Mac Retti and Mac Mucci appear on several Ogham monuments in the county of Kerry; the former is supposed to be the same as Mac Reithi, which occurs in an ancient southern pedigree in the Book of Lecan. It is to be observed that Ogham inscriptions, like the most ancient monumental inscriptions in Wales and Cornwall, very generally present proper names in the genitive case. The crosses on this monument

* Printed by permission from the original blocks.

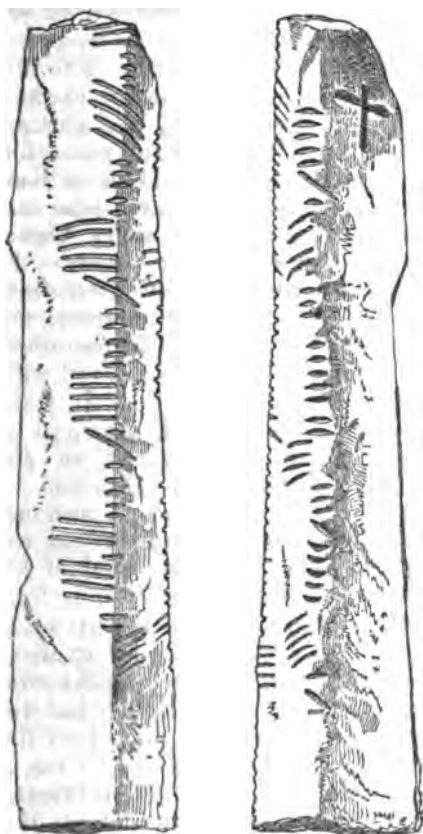


Fig. 107. No. 11. Fig. 108. No. 11.

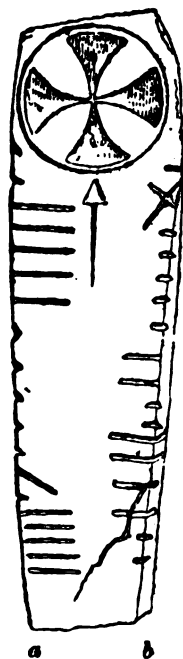


Fig. 109. No. 1.

appear to have been executed by a hammer or punch, and not by a cutting tool,—a style of workmanship characteristic of the earliest inscribed stones in this country.’”—p. 135.

Another stone also figured by Dr. Wilde bears a cross of a more peculiar form, and one the age of which may be approximately derived from contemporaneous documents. It was “presented to the academy by the late Richard Hitchcock, Esq., a gentleman who devoted himself with much zeal and success to the search after monuments of this kind. It formerly stood in the churchyard of Aglish, in the parish of Minard, county of Kerry; but was re-

moved by Mr. Hitchcock, who apprehended that if suffered to remain there, it might be destroyed, being frequently moved from place to place in the churchyard. The cross within a circle, of which this stone presents an instance, is found on the other Ogham monuments, and certainly belongs to a very early period. Crosses of the same form are found amongst the illuminations of the Book of Kells. Dr. Graves reads the inscriptions as follows:—(a) MAQI MAQI (b) APILOGDO. Here, as in almost every Ogham inscription, we meet the word MAQI—MAICC—FILII. 'The proper names have not been with certainty identified.' Many of the Ogham stones bear similar devices, and, indeed, it would appear that but one single monument with an Ogham inscription has yet been discovered which exhibits even the appearance of a pagan relic. It stands in an artificial cave near the castle of Dunloe, in the County of Kerry, where it was discovered in 1838 by the workmen of Mr. Mahony, of Dunloe. In constructing a sunk fence they broke into a subterranean chamber or gallery, the sides of which are of rude stones, without any kind of cement, and the roof of long stones laid horizontally. An Ogham inscription is found upon an upright stone which stands in the centre of the cave and is evidently designed to support the roof, as also on four of the longitudinal roof-stones, upon which the situation of the characters is such as to show plainly that they had been inscribed before the stones were placed in their present position. Nevertheless, it would seem, to say the very least, quite uncertain whether even this monument be really pagan. Dr. O'Donovan, whose judgment, if he found himself warranted in pronouncing definitively, we should unhesitatingly accept as final, visited the Dunloe cave and examined the inscriptions, in 1841. He bears the clearest testimony to the genuineness of the Ogham writing; but as to the pagan character of the monument itself, he declares his inability to decide. The question can only be set at rest (if even thus) by a detailed examination of all existing and available specimens of these inscribed pillar-stones throughout the country.

It would be easy, by a simple resumé of Dr. Wide's catalogue, to compile an instructive essay on the general subject of Irish Antiquities. But our object, in the present notice, is rather to call the attention of our readers to the work itself, and, by exciting an interest regarding it, to

promote the circulation of a volume which cannot fail to create a taste for this truly national study. This object will be best attained by a few miscellaneous extracts from the work, accompanied by some specimens of the illustrations with which it is lavishly interspersed.

The consideration of the Ogham writing naturally leads to that of the cognate profession of scribe, which, in Ireland, was held in high honour from the earliest times. Dr. Wilde has given an illustration, copied by Mr. Albert Way, from an illuminated copy of Giraldus Cambrensis, in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps, which we are tempted to transfer to our page, as a very characteristic specimen of the illustrations of this interesting volume. The woodcut represents a scribe seated on a



Fig. 179.

bird-cage chair, "such as existed in many parts of the country until very lately; before him is a desk, which supports the work he is engaged on, and underneath is the inscription, 'The Scribe writing the marvellous Kildare Gospels.' The person is probably an ecclesiastic, as the top of the head is shaved. He wears a short jacket of greenish brown, fringed round the lower edge; the trousers are light brown; and from beneath the desk hangs a short drapery of a green hue, probably a fold of his cloak. The right hand holds a pen, and in the left is what appears to represent a knife, with which he keeps the page in its place. In each of the figures the braccæ fit tight to the ancles; and the shoes or buskins, which are long and pointed, rise high over the instep, like those seen in the fresco discovered at Knockmoy. 'The Irish, like the Gauls,' says Lynch, 'wore shoes with long, slender, conical tops, and only one sole, for the greater celerity in running.'—Cambrensis Eversus, chap. xiii.

"Sir James Ware says—'A frieze cloak, with a fringed or shagged border, was the outward garment of the Irish, and this they wore almost down to the ankles.' And his commentator, Harris, adds—'The Irish mantle, with the fringed or shagged border sewed down the edges of it, was not always made of frieze or such coarse materials, which

was the dress of the lower sort of people ; but, according to the rank or quality of the wearer, was sometimes made of the finest cloth, bordered with a silken or fine woollen fringe, and of scarlet and other various colours. Many rows of this shagg or fringe were sewed on the upper part of the mantle, partly for ornament, and partly to defend the neck the better from the cold, and along the edges runs a narrow fringe of the same sort of texture."

On the entire subject of ancient Irish costume, indeed, Dr. Wilde is especially interesting, and the illustrations are at once most characteristic and selected with such discrimination, as to leave no portion of the subject unrepresented. A very curious specimen of the later Irish costume is a figure of the well-known Diarmaid Macmurchugh, copied from the same MS. of Giraldus, upon which we have already drawn for the costume of the scribe. He appears in the familiar tunic and short trews of the period, and is armed with the long handled hatchet or battle-axe,



Fig. 195.

for the blade of which there are many parallels among the specimens in the museum. "It does not resemble the gallows-axe of later times ; but is that known by the name of the *Sparthe* — a '*sparthe de Hibernia*,' such as 'Gentle Mortimer' had in his armoury at Wigmore Castle, in 1322." Dr. Wilde conjectures that as Macmurchugh was at this time an ally of the English, the portrait may possibly have been taken from the life. "The hair is sandy ; the tunic or short coat (*inar*) is of a brown colour, fastened round the waist with a belt, and bound tightly to the wrists with bands, that were probably ornamented. The tight-fitting trews are green. Of this memorable Irish character, Giraldus elsewhere says: 'Dermon Mac Morogh was a tall man of stature, and of a large and great bodie, a valiant and a bold warrior in his nation ; and by reason of his continuall halowing and crieng, his voice was hoarse: he rather choce and decided to be feared than to be loved ; a great oppressor of his

nobilitie, but a great advancer of the poore and weake. To his own people he was rough and greevous, and hateful to strangers; he would be against all men, and all men against him.”

But the reader will be more interested by the earlier and more unmistakeably national costumes. Dr. Wilde has judiciously selected his specimens from the celebrated “Book of Kells,” as probably supplying the oldest representations of strictly Irish costume now extant. In other early manuscripts, and, indeed, in most of the illustrations of this one, the subjects were almost exclusive ecclesiastical or monastic. But the figures which he has selected from the Book of Kells, are all lay figures, and are taken from among the purely ornamental illustrations of the MS; from subjects introduced evidently for the sole purpose of decoration or of filling the space at the end of a paragraph or line, or from the ornamental initials which occur throughout the book. In the latter case, the very necessities of space thus arising, have introduced a certain grotesqueness of attitude, but the costume appears to be in all respects the same. We submit a few specimens.

The subjoined figures are from two illuminated initials.



Fig. 190.



Fig. 191.

They are thus described by Dr. Wilde:—

“Fig. 190, from folio 200, is evidently that of a soldier, armed with a spear and round target, and placed either in the act of receiving an enemy, or compressed by the artist to suit the space on the page unoccupied with writing. The head-dress is yellow, with a mitred edge along the brow, as occurs on many other human heads in that work. The coat is green; the breeches, which

come down below the knee, are light blue, picked out with red; and the beard and moustache brown. The legs and feet are naked. The shield is yellow; and the spear-head blue, exactly resembling some of those of iron in the Academy's Collection, in which the cross rivets project considerably beyond the socket. A line of red dots surrounds the outline of the figure—as is usual in the Book of Kells, and as may be seen in many of the initial letters, especially those used in this Catalogue, which are all copied from that work. At folio 201 there is a sitting figure, in the act of drinking from a circular goblet (Fig. 191), wearing a sort of turban, principally yellow, with a flesh-coloured border; the cloak is dark red, bound with yellow; the tunic blue, with a yellow border and green sleeve; the feet are naked, and partially concealed by the letters, which shows that the illumination was made after the text had been completed."—pp. 298 9.

Some of Dr. Wilde's specimens from the same source are equestrian. At first sight, from the singularly grotesque attitudes it might appear that they are purely fancy sketches; but, from the uniformity of the details which is traceable throughout, it is clear that in all substantial particulars the costume at least is meant to be represented in all seriousness.



Fig. 192.



Fig. 193.

"Figure 192, from folio 89, shows the ancient short cloak remarkably well, and, from a careful examination of both figures, it would appear that the horses were also clothed or caparisoned. The cap is yellow, fitting tightly to the head, and hanging down behind—or this head-dress may represent the natural hair. The cloak is green, with a broad band of bright red, and a yellow border; the breeches green; the leg covered, but the foot naked. The cover of the horse is yellow, but the head, tail, and such portions of the right legs as appear, are green. The word over which it is placed is engraved, to show the position of the illumination. Fig. 193 occurs on folio 255; the parchment has been injured underneath the cloak, but a sufficiency of the colour remains to show that it was green; the cap is yellow."—pp. 299, 300.

From these and the similar specimens, which the MSS. contain, we gather, that in the Irish costume of this early date "the lower limbs were clad in tight-fitting garments, generally blue, that reached a little below the knee, like the modern breeches; the legs and feet were naked,—the braccæ or chequered pantaloons not being then the fashion,—and the body was covered with a light tunic, with sleeves reaching as far as the wrist. The cloak, however, was the chief and most highly decorated garment. It is also manifest that the costume of the Irish was, at that period, both picturesque in shape and highly coloured."

Dr. Wilde, however, has drawn upon every other available source; on the annals and other ancient records, both in manuscript or print; comparative philology, or an examination of the roots, precise meaning, derivations, and affinities with other languages, of the Irish terms employed to express different articles of dress; the illuminations in ancient books; the figure carvings on our stone crosses and shrines; a few drawings, maps, frescoes, and engravings;—and some sepulchral monuments."

Even the Scriptural subjects carved upon the ancient crosses, are skilfully turned to account for the purpose of illustrating the Irish costume of the several periods at which they were produced. It is not merely that by an anachronism such as those which, in the Dutch and Flemish artists, have afforded so much amusement, the Scriptural personages may sometimes be presumed to be represented according to the national associations of the sculptor; but it occasionally happens that on the crosses are figures, subjects, and scenes which clearly represent personal or historical incidents, perhaps connected with the occasion upon which they were erected. This is very remarkably the case with one of the magnificent crosses of Monasterboice, in the county of Louth. On the west side of this most interesting monument is a series of subjects plainly forming a regular sequence. "The history which these sculptures are intended to commemorate evidently commences in the lowest entablature, where an ecclesiastic in a long cloak, fastened with a brooch, and holding a staff in his hand, stands between two figures, either soldiers or robbers, each armed with a long Danish sword, and dressed in a tight jerkin and trunk hose, plaited round the thigh, and ending above the knee. Both have long moustaches, and their head-dresses consist of close caps

falling behind, not unlike the present Neapolitan cap. Some of these resemble, in a remarkable manner, the illuminations figured in the Book of Kells, previously described. In the compartment over this, the same personages are represented as students, each with a book, but the soldiers have assumed the ecclesiastical garb, although they retain the moustache. In the top compartment, the figures are again repeated, all in long flowing dresses; the central one—then, perhaps, aged, or at the point of death—is represented giving his staff to one, and his book to the other of his former assailants.”

Another very curious illustration of costume is derived by Dr. Wilde from a large book-cover formed of the blade-bone of a whale, and elaborately carved with quaint devices. On the surface is displayed a shield with the device of the Geraldines, underneath which is represented the curious group engraved here.



Fig. 200.

The above group “represents five figures engaged in some sort of game; each is clothed with a short jerkin or tunic, made full, and plaited below the waist, with slashed sleeves, which are also striped and parti-coloured. They also wear striped and plaited vests, and two of them have knee-breeches. All may have been intended to be so clad; but there are three not so highly finished as the two others. They have all long, flowing hair; two are bare-headed; two wear round hats with up-turned brims, and the fifth is crowned with a peculiar head-dress, possibly belonging to the game, and decorated with three feathers. The external figures are represented in the act of throwing rings or quoits, and the central one is armed with a short, straight sword.”

A most curiously exact representation of the Irish costume of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has been put together, and is exhibited in one of the illustrations, from the various sources described in the following extract, which, although long, is too interesting to be abridged.

"In 1824, a male body, completely clad in woollen garments of antique fashion, was found in a box, six feet beneath the surface, in the parish of Killery, county of Sligo. In 1843 the dress of a female, also in the costume of some centuries back, was dug out of a bog in the county of Tipperary, and in 1847 a woollen cap was discovered in the county of Kerry. From these articles, all of which are in an astonishingly perfect state of preservation, and placed in the first compartment of the southern gallery of the Museum, we can form a very good idea of our ancient dress and manufactures of about the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. No weapon was discovered near the body in the county of Sligo, but a long staff lay under it; and attached to the hand by a leather thong was said to have been a small bag of untanned leather, containing a ball of worsted thread, and also a small silver coin, which was unfortunately lost. The head-dress, which soon fell to pieces, is said to have been a conical cap of sheep-skin, probably the ancient *barread*. So perfect was the body when first discovered, that a magistrate was called upon to hold an inquest on it. In the accompanying figure, drawn from a photograph of a person clad in this antique suit (except the shoes, which are too small for an adult of even medium size) we are enabled to present the reader with a fair representation of the costume of the native Irish of about the fifteenth century. The cloak or mantle, composed of brown soft cloth, closely woven with a twill (but not so fine as that in the coat), is straight on the upper edge, which is nine feet long, but cut into nearly a segment of a circle on the lower. In the centre, where it is almost four feet across, it consists of two breadths, and a small lower fragment; the upper breadth is fifteen, and the lower twenty inches wide. It is a particularly graceful garment, and is in a wonderfully good state of preservation.

"In texture, the coat consists of a coarse brown woollen cloth or flannel, with a diagonal twill, or diaper. In make it is a sort of frock or tunic, and has been much worn in the sleeves. The back is formed out of one piece, extending into the skirt, which latter is two feet long, and made very full all round, by a number of gussets, like the alashed doublets of Spanish fashion. It measures eight feet in circumference at the bottom. Gussets, broad at the top, are also inserted between the back and breast, below the arm-pits, and meet the gores of the skirt gussets at the waist. It is single breasted, and has fourteen circular buttons ingeniously formed out of the same material as the coat itself, and worked with woollen thread. The breadth of the back is eighteen inches,

which was probably the width of the cloth. The collar is narrow, as in some of the most fashionable frock-coats of the present day. The sleeves consist of two portions joined at an angle across the elbow, below which it is open like that of the modern Greek or Albanian jacket, and has twelve small buttons extending along the outer flap. Where the sleeve joins the back, a full gusset is inserted, and the cuff consists of a slight turn-in, an inch and a half wide. The inside and lower portion of each sleeve has been much worn, and is patched with a coarse felt-like material of black and orange plaid, similar to that in the trousers found on the same body. All the seams of this garment are sewn with a woollen thread of three plies.

"The trousers or trews are of a coarser material than the coat, and consist of two distinct parts, of different colours and textures. The upper is a bag of thick, coarse, yellowish-brown cloth, nineteen inches deep, doubled below, and passing for some way down on the thighs. It is sewn up at the sides, and made full behind. The legs are composed of a brown and orange yellow (or saffron colour) plaid, in equal squares of about an inch wide, and woven straight across; but each leg-piece has been cut bias, so as to bring the diagonal of the plaid along the length of the limb, and it is inserted into a slit in the front of the bag, extending inwards and upwards from the outer angle. The legs are as narrow as those of a pair of modern pantaloons, and must have fitted the limbs tightly; they are sewn up behind, with the seam outside, while in the bag portion the seams are inside. Below, the legs are scooped or cut out both over the instep and the heel, the extremities coming down to points at the sides. The angle in front is strengthened by an ingenious piece of needle-work like that used in working button-holes. It is said that these ends were attached behind to the uppers of the shoes, Nos. 16 and 17, described at page 291. All the sewing in this garment was also effected with woollen thread, but of only two plies. These close-fitting trousers are evidently the ancient Celtic *braccæ* or chequered many-coloured lower garment, the *triubhais* or *truis*, now drawn from nature, and explaining by the way they were attached to the sacculated portion above, and the shoes below, many hitherto unaccountable expressions in Giraldus, especially when he says, 'The Irish wear breeches ending in shoes, or shoes ending in breeches.' Archdeacon Lynch, in his *Cambrensis Eversus*, writing in 1662, says on this subject, 'The breeches used by the Irish was a long garment, not cut at the knees, but comprising in itself the sandals, the stocking, and the drawers, and drawn by one pull over the feet and thighs. [They] cover the groin, but not sufficiently, if the long skirts of the tunic were not wrapped over them.'—pp. 326-9.

From these interesting fragments some idea may be formed of Dr. Wilde's general treatment of the subject of

costume, as a branch of national antiquities. The ingenuity with which he has gathered together from the most dissimilar, and even incongruous sources, scraps and fragments of information bearing more or less remotely on the subject, or suggestive of some theory or conjecture which might be employed in illustrating it, is a rare example of the almost instinctive felicity with which the mind of a cultivated scholar is enabled to seize on all the minutiae, however scattered and obscure, of the subject with which he has to deal; to borrow from each, light for the illustration of its fellows, as well as of the common whole; and to combine all into one connected picture, exhibiting, almost in their completeness, all, even the smallest details of the subject.

Much interest and curiosity were excited some years since by the reproduction, as objects of fashionable *bijouterie*, of some of the antique patterns of the Irish brooch, and of the Irish mantle and hair pin. In specimens of these objects the Museum of the Academy is very rich; and although the present portion of Dr. Wilde's Catalogue does not comprise the precious metals, nevertheless, the examples selected are exceedingly curious, and present a very large variety.

Of the pins, we confine ourselves to one or two specimens. The following is selected for the grotesqueness of its design.



This curious relic is of bone, and was found in a field near Newbridge, in the county of Kildare. It is extremely well carved, and the figure may call to mind the grotesque imaginations in which the architects of some of the mediæval buildings were wont to indulge. Several pins of similar material and of equally excellent workmanship, though of less fanciful design, have been found in the county of Westmeath, and are still remarkably fresh and well preserved.

We purpose, however, to place before the reader specimens which may more strictly be described as of a purely national design and character; and with this view we turn rather to the objects in bronze, a very favourite material in the ornamental arts, whether sacred, or profane, in Ireland.

Fig. 214.

No. 13.

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Of the bronze *ring-pins*, Dr. Wilde has figured no fewer than fourteen.

10

The following are characteristic specimens.



Fig. 453.
No. 126.



Fig. 454.
No. 422.

Each of these is the representative of a class. The first, which has several fellows in the Museum, "illustrates the decorated shank, central elevation, and cleft head, with recurved spires, like that seen in the pommels of some Danish swords; it is 10½ inches long, and the portion here drawn is the natural size."



Fig. 455. No. 195.

The second may remind the ecclesiologist of the peculiar form of the corona of the ancient Irish monumental cross. The third "represents, of the true size, the largest of a series of *hammer-headed pins*, that appear to be of a special and peculiarly Irish pattern. Each has a central aperture, with a pectinated set of jewel-holes, generally five, above the flat semicircular enamelled face. The elevated cast decoration within the margin is usually of the bird pattern, and only rises to the level of the enamel."

The following specimens, however, are more interesting, as exhibiting in a very marked manner, the well-known scroll pattern which is common in the illustrative art of Ireland from the seventh century downwards.



Fig. 464.
No. 302.

In these examples, the ring, which is a common feature of all, "assumes the form of a coin or flattened disk, with a notch at top to allow it free play in the loop. In some specimens the disk of the coin-pin is quite smooth and plain; but in others, as in that here represented, it is highly ornate, and decorated with a uniform pattern."

This curious and characteristic pattern, however, as indeed in general the richness and variety of the designs, is displayed to far greater advantage in the larger ornament which was in use for fastening the cloak, or the folds of the over-garment, and which is usually



Fig. 465.
No. 326.

known as the *Ring-brooch*. The elaborate and exquisitely finished trinket known as the *Tara Brooch* is a familiar example of this class. The following, though not uncommon in collections, are less popularly known.



Fig. 469, No. 344.



Fig. 470, No. 346.

We are tempted to add another example of this curious and peculiar scroll-work, as well for the superior beauty of its execution, as because it may in some sense be regarded as a memorial of one to whom antiquarian science, both in Ireland and in England, is deeply indebted—the late lamented J. M. Kemble. The brooch figured here was, in his opinion, the finest specimen of bronze workmanship in the collection of the Academy. One of his last works, before his fatal illness, was a careful drawing of this rare and curious object.



Fig. 476, No. 476.

It was found in the *crannóg* (or insular mound surrounded by bog,) of Ardakillen, near Strokestown, in Roscommon. "The decoration on the enlarged ends partakes of the Celtic trumpet-pattern, a miniature facsimile of those curious bosses of thin sheet brass already referred to, and like them hammered or punched up from behind; while the central connecting curved strap, decorated with a raised intertwinement, like that seen on some of our sculptured crosses, and in the illumination of ancient manuscripts, would appear to have been cast. The exceedingly thin ornamented plate in front is fastened by eight rivets to a stout flat plate, behind, which also overlaps the edges of the strap. The flat pin is hinged behind."

We are unwilling to forestall by further specimens the interest with which our readers will enjoy a personal examination of the contents of this most admirable work: but we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of introducing one further illustration, which presents in a single group a large variety of the wind-instruments preserved in the Academy, many of which have given occasion to much discussion.

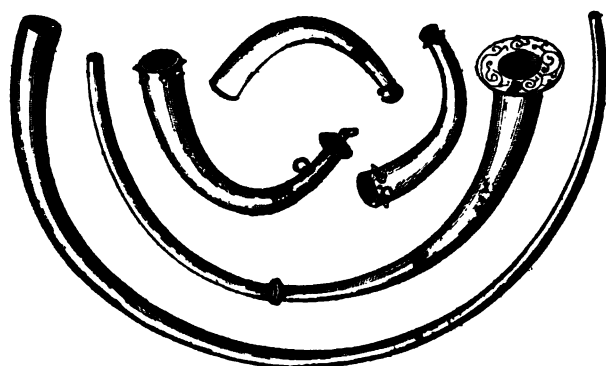


Fig. 524. No. 2. Fig. 525. No. 11. Fig. 526. No. 12.
 Fig. 527. No. 8. Fig. 528. No. 9.

For the description of these various instruments, for the ingenious processes by which some of them were constructed, and especially for the manner in which certain among them were used, we must refer to Dr. Wilde's own most interesting pages. From some of them, strange as it may appear, it is impossible, by any hitherto devised effort, to extract a musical sound. And it has come to be regarded as certain that their use was rather as speaking-trumpets, to be employed as a means of transmitting signals of command in the uproar of battle, or through the distant windings of the chace.

In closing our Notice of this portion of Dr. Wilde's Catalogue, we cannot forbear expressing our earnest hope that he may before long be induced to extend his labours to the objects in the precious metals, and especially to the sacred antiquities, in which the Museum is peculiarly rich. Dr. Wilde, in alluding to the subject of costume, expresses an earnest wish that Dr. Petrie, whom he truly describes as the one man qualified to produce a monograph on the sculptured crosses of Ireland worthy of so various and so noble a theme, could be induced to undertake the subject of ancient Irish costume, in so far as it is illustrated by these sculptures. While we cordially join in this wish, we cannot help adding, that we shall be greatly disappointed if, with the materials which this present catalogue either contains or indicates, Dr. Wilde himself will not undertake the *whole subject* of Irish costume, as illus-

trated from all the various sources of information of which he is so clearly master. Such a work would take its place with the highest class of antiquarian literature in our own or any other European language.

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- ART. V.—1. *Recollections of a Detective Police Officer.* By "Waters." London : J. & C. Burn_& Co. Ave Maria Lane. 1856.
2. *Same.* Second Series. London : W. Kent & Co. Paternoster Row. 1859.
3. *Diary of an Ex-Detective.* Edited by Charles Martel. London : Ward & Lock, 158, Fleet Street. 1859.
4. *The Detective's Note-Book.* Edited by Charles Martel. London : Ward & Lock, 158, Fleet Street. 1860.
5. *The Irish Police Officer.* Comprising the Identification and other Tales, founded upon remarkable trials in Ireland. By Robert Curtis, County Inspector of the Irish Constabulary. London : Ward & Lock, 158, Fleet Street. 1861.

THE omniscient Ruler looking down from above searches every corner of the rolling earth, and with mingled pity and contempt views the efforts made by the guilty man to cloak his crime.

The black curtain of the night—the solitude of the lonely waste—the thickest walls—the securest doors—avail nothing for concealment from that penetrating glance which searches not only the acts but the innermost thoughts of men. The malefactor may exhaust his ingenuity to weave around him, as he fondly hopes, an impervious web of mystery ; he may accumulate precaution upon precaution, and heap falsehood upon falsehood—in an instant, at the appointed hour, the web is rent asunder, and the truth as beheld from the first by the all-seeing Eye, is now uncovered to the general gaze by the Omnipotent arm.

So wills the fierce avenging sprite,
 'Till blood for blood atones ;
 Aye, though he's buried in a cave,
 And trodden down with stones,
 And years have rotted off his flesh,
 The world shall see his bones !

The range of *human* vision, is however, limited, and the war of human wits is waged on more equal grounds. A solitary wretch contends against the united vigilance and penetration of a host of foes, and single-handed, frequently conquers in the fight. Uneducated and untrained in all save guilt, and in that, alas! too finished an adept—ignorant, brutal, and depressed, he baffles every effort that refined intelligence, superior skill, and the strength of a righteous cause, can bring to bear against him, and finally succeeds in preserving from the grasp of the law that existence which the sting of remorse has, in many instances, rendered an intolerable burthen.

No! lesson, surely, can be more powerful to teach man the fallibility of his own judgment, than the success so frequently attending these efforts on the part of guilt to baffle and mislead. What more stern warning against rash conclusions! How frequently have we seen a chain of circumstances pointing, apparently, with irresistible force to some particular conclusion, suddenly disjoined and scattered by the eliciting of a new fact by which the pursuit is instantly led away into a wholly different direction!

Most of us in our own persons, at some period of our lives, must have winced under the sharp infliction of an unjust accusation, and seen a number of circumstances of a perfectly innocent character, marshalled against us as conclusive of our guilt; and when all were stated and arrayed, felt our very belief in our innocence staggered, by the powerful effect produced on even our own informed minds. We have then felt how clear our guilt must have appeared to others who, unable to read the secrets of hearts, judged from the facts before them; and the bitterness of our feeling of injustice has been moderated, and our wounded self-esteem solaced if not cured, by the reflection.

As we have advanced in life our experience of the world and the results of observation and reflection, have taught us still greater tolerance of such apparent injustice. We are, under such circumstances, partaking merely of the common lot, and suffering the effects of the general infirmity of Human Nature, which condemns us on such proofs, as we in our turn would think a full justification to ourselves for concluding another guilty. Thus indeed does the judge often, equally with the accused, become the victim

of circumstances, and probably in many instances suffer more in mind when convinced of his mistake than the supposed criminal has done from the injustice done him ; and amongst men of right feeling, few would be found who would not prefer to have suffered from the unjust accusation than to have been the prosecutor of the injustice, no matter how fully every principle of human law and natural equity might have warranted the presumption of guilt.

Providence, in its wisdom, has seen fit to limit man's mental vision, and has made many things mysterious to him. It has allowed the hand of the assassin to cut short many a virtuous and valuable life, and permitted the crime to pass, in this world at least, undetected and unpunished, and has even permitted the criminal to pass through life without one "compunctious visiting," one qualm of conscience. Mocking, as it were, the wisdom of man, it has suffered life to be taken away in the broad glare of noon, in the middle of a crowded city, in the heart of a skilfully-trained police, without the faintest clue to trace the murderer, and on the other hand it has given to the criminal the silence of midnight, the solitude of the forest or plain, the absence or deep repose of man, and every aid, as it were, to concealment and escape, and suddenly without a stir on the part of human justice, has laid a denouncing finger on the guilty head, and pointed it out to the world, where most unsuspected and unsought.

One slays his victim almost in the face of the ministers of justice, and escapes without haste or rapid flight. Another adopts numerous precautions, and exhausts ingenuity in devising plans of concealment, and is detected with his victim's blood warm upon his hands.

How powerless are the most elaborate devices for concealment when the hand of heaven is raised to expose the guilt ! everything appears perfect, nothing seems to have been neglected, but just at the proper moment, some apparently trifling omission or commission, some seemingly unimportant safeguard omitted, is disclosed, leading like the clue of silk to the inmost recesses of the labyrinth.

Let us not be taken, however, as suggesting the total inutility of human investigation in circumstances of mysterious guilt. On the contrary, we believe that in most instances a key to the whole complication is available, when sought for in a spirit of logical and philosophical enquiry.

This is not the spirit in which such enquiries are pursued in this country. The detection of crime is committed to persons of inferior education and imperfect training, who pursue their investigations after a certain fashion which they seldom in the least improve. There is no responsible and superior head charged with the task and whose reputation for sagacity and skill is at stake on each occasion, and consequently many crimes escape detection, and the system continues imperfect and inefficient.

Some time ago Mr. Charles Dickens gave us in the pages of "Household Words" a series of narratives communicated to him, as he tells us, by certain astute London detectives. We are bound, of course, to accept these narratives as principally, if not wholly founded upon fact, though at the time at which we read them, it struck us that there was more delicate and refined detective reasoning power exhibited by the officers than we should have been disposed to think they possessed. In truth we think that the every day expression of the policeman in the witness-box, "from information which I have received," is the key to the whole system, which depends almost entirely for its support upon the aid of informers. The haunts and associates of each notorious criminal are well known to the police, and let but circumstances once fasten suspicion on an individual, and persevering enquiries, aided by pecuniary inducements, will soon satisfy the officer if his suspicions are well founded. It is true even in the case of crimes committed by persons whose lives are not devoted to crime, that the modern detective is generally at fault. This seems to be the case in the Road Murder, which was evidently not the work of a regular criminal. Here was a mystery the only chance of solving which, lay in the application to the peculiar circumstances of the case, of certain well-known rules familiar to persons experienced in the detection of crime. We shall presently see how in other cases the truth has been elicited through the application of such rules by the superior intelligence of an acute observer seizing upon apparently an unimportant fact.

Just now books of narratives of detectives and ex-detectives are all the fashion. Diaries, note-books, and confessions issue from the press in shoals, and one would naturally expect to find amongst them a complete disclosure of an ingenious and successful system. With, however, one or two exceptions, there is evidently no

reality in any of these productions, which are as poor, and occasionally as vulgar in style, as they are commonplace and uninteresting in narrative.

Were the brilliant but unfortunate Edgar Allan Poe now living and disposed to take advantage of the hunger for such productions, what a series of thrilling and exciting inventions would he not produce!

In addition to his high poetic genius he possessed a most extraordinary power of eliminating conclusions from almost imperceptible premisses; of reconciling incongruities and applying facts.

His story of the Gold Beetle is a striking illustration.

Legrand is a decayed gentleman of good family who tries to hide his mortification at the loss of fortune in a hut built upon a little island about nine miles distant from Charleston, South Carolina. His sole companions in solitude are an attached negro and a Newfoundland dog. He solaces his time chiefly by devotion to enquiries in Natural History, and in the course of his rambles meets with and attempts to secure in his fingers a rare scarabæus or beetle, which, with its wings of burnished gold, gives the title to the story. The little animal resents this liberty with a vigorous bite, and Legrand is forced to order the negro to secure the prize, which the latter effects by grasping it with a piece of paper which he finds lying on the ground, near at hand. Legrand, returning home, meets with an officer, stationed at a neighbouring fort, who, like himself, is devoted to natural history, and lends him, at his urgent request, the beetle. The same evening the narrator of the story, which is told in the first person, visits Legrand at his hut, and is informed by the latter, with some exultation, of the discovery of the beetle, which Legrand endeavours to describe, and of which he eventually makes a sketch upon a piece of paper, or as it subsequently turns out to be, parchment, which he takes from his pocket, and which is the piece in which the negro secured the insect on its first discovery. Just as the narrator, whom we may call the author, is about to inspect the sketch, he is interrupted by the dog entering the hut and fawning upon him, and when, after a little while he resumes his examination of the parchment, he thinks he can trace upon it not a sketch of the scarabæus, but the figure of a skull. Some little discussion hereupon ensues, upon what Legrand at first imagines is his friend's mistake, but he is eventually himself appar-

ently struck on examining the paper, and hastily puts it away in his desk. The friends part, and a month after, the old negro calls upon the author and expresses his fears that Legrand his master is not in his right mind, and eventually hands the author a letter in which his presence at the hut the same evening on important business is requested. On going down to the wharf, the author observes lying in the bottom of the boat which is to convey himself and the negro to the island, three spades and a scythe, all apparently new. To the enquiries of the author as to what use Legrand can possibly have for these implements the negro is unable to reply. They reach the hut, and the author is struck by the excited and nervous appearance of Legrand, for whose mental sanity he becomes concerned when the beetle is produced, and stated to be the index to limitless gold and fortune. Legrand then proceeds to acquaint the author, who views with sadness these apparent symptoms of incipient madness in his friend, that it is necessary to take an immediate excursion into the mainland, and accordingly the two friends, accompanied by the negro, and followed by the dog, set off upon their voyage of discovery. Legrand appears, at all events, capable of leading the way, and the party at last reaches a secluded spot of wild and rugged aspect, and on which stand several trees of great height. Legrand forces the negro, carrying the beetle attached to a piece of string, to ascend one of these trees—a tulip tree of towering height, and to go out to the extremity of one of its arms. At the extremity of this limb of the tree, the negro finds, nailed to the branch, a human skull, through the left eye of which Legrand orders him to drop the gold beetle. The negro obeys, or seems to obey, and Legrand proceeds to clear with the scythe the spot upon which the beetle has fallen, and then having extended a line from this point some fifty feet from the tree, with the reluctant aid of his friend and Jupiter begins to dig deeply into the earth. After considerable labour, Legrand appears at last to be convinced of the fruitlessness of his toil, and resigns the task of further labour with an air of sad disappointment. The party turns towards home, when, suddenly, Legrand turns upon the negro, and in a seeming frenzy, takes him by the throat, and calls upon the affrighted creature to tell him which is his *left* eye, the negro promptly indicates his *right*, and his master forthwith appears to be endowed with new life, and ex-

presses his joy by frantic gestures. He leads the party back to the tree, and, allowing for the distance between the spot at which the beetle originally fell, and that which it would have touched had it been dropped through the left eye of the skull, describes a new line, and selects a spot distant several yards from the first, and, aided by the negro and the author, a new attempt is made, rewarded at last by the discovery of a vast treasure.

The explanation of the apparently strange proceedings of Legrand is thus subsequently given.

“‘You remember,’ said he, ‘the night when I handed you the rough sketch I had made of the scarabæus. You recollect also, that I became quite vexed at you for insisting that my drawing resembled a death’s-head. When you first made this assertion, I thought you were jesting; but afterwards I called to mind the peculiar spots on the back of the insect, and admitted to myself that your remark had some little foundation in fact. Still, the sneer at my graphic powers irritated me, for I am considered a good artist, and therefore, when you handed me the scrap of parchment, I was about to crumple it up, and throw it angrily into the fire.’

“‘The scrap of paper, you mean,’ said L.

“‘No; it had much of the appearance of paper, and at first I supposed it to be such, but when I came to draw upon it, I discovered it at once to be a piece of very thin parchment. It was quite dirty, you remember. Well, as I was in the very act of crumpling it up, my glance fell upon the sketch, at which you had been looking, and you may imagine my astonishment when I perceived, in fact, the figure of a death’s-head just where it seemed to me I had made the drawing of the beetle. For a moment I was too much amazed to think with accuracy. I knew that my design was very different in detail from this, although there was a certain similarity in general outline. Presently I took a candle, and seating myself at the other end of the room, proceeded to scrutinize the parchment more closely. Upon turning it over, I saw my own sketch upon the reverse, just as I had made it. My first idea, now, was mere surprise at the really remarkable similarity of outline, at the singular coincidence involved in the fact that, unknown to me, there should have been a scull upon the other side of the parchment, immediately beneath my figure of the scarabæus, and that this scull not only in outline, but in size, should so closely resemble my drawing. I say the singularity of this coincidence, absolutely stupified me, for a time. This is the usual effect of such coincidences. The mind struggles to establish a connection—a sequence of cause and effect—and, being unable to do so, suffers a species of temporary paralysis. But, when I recovered from this stupor, there dawned upon me gradually, a conviction which startled me even

far more than the coincidence. I began distinctly, positively, to remember that there had been no drawing upon the parchment when I made my sketch of the scarabæus. I became perfectly certain of this ; for I recollected turning up first one side and then the other, in search of the cleanest spot. Had the scull been then there, of course I could not have failed to notice it. Here was indeed a mystery which I felt it impossible to explain ; but, even at that early moment, there seemed to glimmer faintly, within the most remote and secret chambers of my intellect, a glow-worm like conception of that truth which last night's adventure brought to so magnificent a demonstration. I arose at once, and putting the parchment securely away, dismissed all further reflection until I should be alone.

“ When you had gone, and when Jupiter was fast asleep, I betook myself to a more methodical investigation of the affair. In the first place, I considered the manner in which the parchment had come into my possession. The spot where we discovered the scarabæus, was on the coast of the main land, about a mile eastward of the island, and but a short distance above high-water mark. Upon my taking hold of it, it gave me a sharp bite, which caused me to let it drop. Jupiter, with his accustomed caution, before seizing the insect, which had flown towards him, looked about him for a leaf, or something of that nature, by which to take hold of it. It was at this moment that his eyes, and mine also, fell upon the scrap of parchment, which I then supposed to be paper. It was lying half buried in the sand, a corner sticking up. Near the spot where we found it, I observed the remnants of the hull of what appeared to have been a ship's long-boat. The wreck seemed to have been there for a very great while ; for the resemblance to boat timbers could scarcely be traced.

“ Well, Jupiter picked up the parchment, wrapped the beetle in it, and gave it to me. Soon afterwards we turned to go home, and on the way met Lieutenant G——, I showed him the insect, and he begged me to let him take it to the port. Upon my consenting, he thrust it forthwith into his waistcoat pocket, without the parchment in which it had been wrapped, and which I had continued to hold in my hand during his inspection. Perhaps he dreaded my changing my mind, and thought it best to make sure of the prize at once : you know how enthusiastic he is on all subjects connected with Natural History. At the same time, without being conscious of it, I must have deposited the parchment in my own pocket.

“ You remember that when I went to the table for the purpose of making a sketch of the beetle, I found no paper where it was usually kept. I looked in the drawer, and found none there. I searched my pockets, hoping to find an old letter, when my hand fell upon the parchment. I thus detail the precise mode in which

it came into my possession; for the circumstances impressed me with peculiar force.

“No doubt you will think me fanciful, but I have already established a kind of *connection*. I had put together two lengths of a great chain. There was a boat lying upon a sea-coast, and not far from the boat was a parchment—not a paper—with a skull depicted upon it. You will of course ask ‘where is the connection?’ I reply that the skull or death’s-head is the well known emblem of the pirate. The flag of the death’s-head is hoisted in all engagements.

“I have said that the scrap was parchment, and not paper. Parchment is durable—almost imperishable. Matters of little moment are rarely consigned to parchment; since, for the mere ordinary purposes of drawing or writing, it is not nearly so well adapted as paper. This reflection suggested some meaning—some relevancy—in the death’s-head. I did not fail to observe, also, the form of the parchment. Although one of its corners had been, by some accident, destroyed, it could be seen that the original form was oblong. It was just such a slip, indeed, as might have been chosen for a memorandum—for a record of something to be long remembered and carefully preserved.’

“But,” I interposed, ‘you say that the skull was not upon the parchment when you made the drawing of the beetle. How then do you trace any connection between the boat and the skull, since this latter, according to your own admission, must have been designed (God only knows how or by whom), at some period subsequent to your sketching the scarabæus?’

“Ah, hereupon turns the whole mystery; although the secret, at this point, I had comparatively little difficulty in solving. My steps were sure, and could afford but a single result. I reasoned, for example, thus: when I drew the scarabæus, there was no skull apparent upon the parchment. When I had completed the drawing, I gave it to you, and observed you narrowly until you returned it. You, therefore, did not design the skull, and no one else was present to do it. Then it was not done by human agency. And, nevertheless, it was done.

“At this stage of my reflections, I endeavoured to remember, and did remember, with entire distinctness, every incident which occurred about the period in question. The weather was chilly (oh, rare and happy accident!) and a fire was blazing upon the hearth. I was heated with exercise, and sat near the table,—you, however, had drawn a chair close to the chimney. Just as I placed the parchment in your hand, and as you were in the act of inspecting it, Wolf, the Newfoundland dog, entered, and leaped upon your shoulders. With your left hand you caressed him and kept him off, while your right, holding the parchment, was permitted to fall listlessly between your knees, and in close proximity to the fire. At one moment I thought the blaze had caught it, and was about

to caution you, but before I could speak, you had withdrawn it, and were engaged in its examination. When I considered all these particulars, I doubted not for a moment that heat had been the agent in bringing to light upon the parchment, the skull which I saw depicted upon it. You are well aware that chemical preparations exist, and have existed time out mind, by means of which it is possible to write upon either paper or vellum, so that the characters shall become visible only when subjected to the action of fire. Zaffre, digested in aqua regia, and diluted with four times its weight of water, is sometimes employed: a green tint results. The regulus of cobalt, dissolved in spirit of nitre, gives a red. These colours disappear at longer or shorter intervals, after the material written upon cools, but again become apparent upon the reapplication of heat.

“I now scrutinized the death's-head with care. Its outer edges—the edges of the drawing nearest the edge of the vellum—were far more distinct than the others. It was clear that the action of the caloric had been imperfect or unequal. I immediately kindled a fire, and subjected every portion of the parchment to a glowing heat. At first, the only effect was the strengthening of the faint lines in the skull; but, upon persevering in the experiment, there became visible, at the corner of the slip, diagonally opposite to the spot in which the death's-head was delineated, the figure of what I at first supposed to be a goat. A closer scrutiny, however, satisfied me that it was intended for a kid.”

“‘Ha! ha!’ said I, ‘to be sure, I have no right to laugh at you—a million and a half of money is too serious a matter for mirth—but you are about to establish a third link in your chain—you will not find any special connection between your pirates and a goat—pirates, you know, have nothing to do with goats; they appertain to the farming interest.’”

“‘But I have just said that the figure was not that of a goat.’”

“‘Well, a kid, then—pretty much the same thing.’”

“‘Pretty much, but not altogether,’ said Legrand.

“‘You may have heard of one Captain Kidd. I at once looked upon the figure of the animal as a kind of punning or hieroglyphical signature. I say signature, because its position on the vellum suggested this idea. The death's-head at the corner, diagonally opposite, had, in the same manner, the air of a stamp, or seal. But I was sorely put out by the absence of all else—of the body to my imagined instrument—of the text for my context.’”

“‘I presume you expected to find a letter between the stamp and the signature.’”

“‘Something of that kind. The fact is, I felt irresistibly impressed with a presentiment of some vast good fortune impending. I can scarcely say why. Perhaps, after all, it was rather a desire than an actual belief. But do you know that Jupiter's silly words, about the beetle being of solid gold, had a remarkable

effect upon my fancy ? And then the series of accidents and coincidences—these were so very extraordinary. Do you observe how mere an accident it was these events should have occurred upon the sole day of all the year in which it has been, or may be, sufficiently cool for fire, and that without the fire, or without the intervention of the dog at the precise moment in which he appeared, I should never have become aware of the death's-head, and so never the possessor of the treasure ?

“ ‘But proceed—I am all impatience.’

“ ‘Well, you have heard, of course, the many stories current—the thousand vague rumours afloat, about money buried, somewhere upon the Atlantic coast, by Kidd and his associates. These rumours must have had some foundation in fact. And that the rumours have existed so long and so continuous, could have resulted, it appeared to me, only from the circumstances of the buried treasure still remaining entombed. Had Kidd concealed his plunder for a time, and afterwards reclaimed it, the rumours would scarcely have reached us in their present unvarying form. You will observe that the stories told are all about money-seekers, not about money-finders. Had the pirate recovered his money, there the affair would have dropped. It seemed to me that some accident—say the loss of a memorandum indicating its locality—had deprived him of the means of recovering it, and that this accident had become known to his followers, who otherwise might never have heard that treasure had been concealed at all, and who, busying themselves in vain, because unguided, attempts to regain it, had given first birth, and then universal currency to the reports which are now so common. Have you ever heard of any important treasure being unearthed along the coast ?’

“ ‘Never.’

“ ‘But that Kidd’s accumulations were immense, is well known. I took it for granted, therefore, that the earth still held them ; and you will scarcely be surprised when I tell you that I felt a hope, nearly amounting to certainty, that the parchment so strangely found involved a lost record of the place of deposit.’

“ ‘But how did you proceed ?’

“ ‘I held the vellum again to the fire, after increasing the heat ; but nothing appeared. I now thought it possible that the coating of dirt might have something to do with the failure ; so I carefully rinsed the parchment by pouring warm water over it, and, upon having done this, I placed it in a tin pan, with the skull downwards, and put the pan upon a furnace of lighted charcoal. In a few minutes, the pan having become thoroughly heated, I removed the slip, and to my inexpressible joy, found it spotted in several places, with what appeared to be figures ranged in lines. Again I placed it in the pan, and suffered it to remain another minute. Upon taking it off, the whole was just as you see it now.’

“ ‘Here, Legrand, having reheated the parchment, submitted it

to my inspection. The following characters were rudely traced, in a red tint between the death's-head and the goat :

53†††305))6* ; 4826)4†.; 806* ; 48†8¶60))85;1†(::†*
 8†83(88)5*†;46(;88*96*?;8)*†(;485);5*+2;*†(;4956*2(
 5*—4)8¶8*:4069285);6†8)4††;1(†9;48081;8:8†1;48†8
 5;4)485†528806*81(†9;48;(88;4(†?34;48)4†;161;;188;†?;

“ ‘But,’ said I, returning him the slip, ‘I am as much in the dark as ever. Were all the jewels of Golconda awaiting me upon my solution of this enigma, I am quite sure that I should be unable to earn them.’

“ ‘And yet,’ said Legrand, ‘the solution is by no means so difficult as you might be led to imagine from the first hazy inspection of the characters. These characters, as any one might readily guess, form a cipher ; that is to say, they convey a meaning ; but then, from what is known of Kidd, I could not suppose him capable of constructing any of the more abstruse cryptographs. I made up my mind at once that this was of a simple species—such, however, as would appear, to the crude intellect of the sailor, absolutely insoluble without the key.’

“ ‘And you really solved it ?’

“ ‘Readily ; I have solved others of an abstruseness ten thousand times greater. Circumstances, and a certain bias of mind, have led me to take interest in such riddles, and it may well be doubted whether human ingenuity can construct an enigma of the kind which human ingenuity may not, by proper application, resolve. In fact, having once established connected and legible characters, I scarcely gave a thought to the mere difficulty of developing their import.

“ ‘In the present case—indeed in all cases of secret writing—the first question regards the *language* of the cipher ; for the principles of solution, so far especially as the more simple ciphers are concerned, depend upon and are varied by, the genius of the particular idiom. In general, there is no alternative but experiment, (directed by probabilities), of every tongue known to him who attempts the solution, until the true one be attained. But, with the cipher now before us, all difficulty was removed by the signature. The pun upon the word ‘Kidd’ is appreciable in no other language than the English. But for this consideration I should have begun my attempts with the Spanish and French, as the tongues in which a secret of this kind would most naturally have been written by a pirate of the Spanish main. As it was, I assumed the cryptograph to be English.

“ ‘You observe, there are no divisions between the words. Had there been divisions, the task would have been comparatively easy. In such case I should have commenced with a collation and analysis of the shorter words, and had a word of a single letter occurred, as

is most likely, a or I, for example, I should have considered the solution as assured. But, there being no division, my first step was to ascertain the predominant letters, as well as the least frequent. Counting all, I constructed a table, thus :

Of the characters	8	there are	33
"	"	;	26
"	"	4	19
"	"	†)	16
"	"	*	13
"	"	5	12
"	"	6	11
"	"	†1	8
"	"	0	6
"	"	92	5
"	"	:3	4
"	"	?	3
"	"	¶	2
"	"	—.	1

" 'Now, in English, the letter which most frequently occurs is e. Afterwards, the succession runs thus: *a o i d h n r s t u y c f g l m w b k p q x z*. *E* predominates so remarkably, that an individual sentence of any length, is rarely seen, in which it is not the prevailing character.

" 'Here, then, we have, in the very beginning, the groundwork for something more than a mere guess. The general use which may be made of the table is obvious; but in this particular cipher we shall only very partially require its aid. As our predominant character is 8, we will commence by assuming it as the e of the natural alphabet. To verify the supposition, let us observe if the 8 be seen often in couples—for e is doubled with great frequency in English—in such words, for example, as 'meet,' 'fleet,' speed,' sneer,' 'been,' 'agree,' &c. In the present instance, we see it doubled no less than five times, although the cryptograph is brief.

" 'Let us assume 8, then, as e. Now, of all *words* in the language, 'the' is most usual; let us see, therefore, whether there are not repetitions of any three characters, in the same order of collocation, the last of them being 8. If we discover repetitions of such letters, so arranged, they will most probably represent the word 'the.' Upon inspection we find no less than seven such arrangements, the characters being ;48. We may, therefore, assume that ; represents t, 4 represents h, and 8 represents e—the last being now well confirmed. Thus, a great step has been taken.

" 'But, having established a single word, we are enabled to establish a vastly important point; that is to say, several commencements and terminations of other words. Let us refer, for example, to the last instance but one, in which the combinations 48 occurs—not far from the end of the cipher. We know that the ;

immediately ensuing is the commencement of a word, and of the six characters succeeding this 'the,' we are cognizant of no less than five. Let us set these characters down, thus, by the letters we know them to represent, leaving a space for the unknown.

t eeth.

"Here we are enabled at once to discard the 'th,' as forming no portion of the word commencing with the first t; since, by experiment of the entire alphabet for a letter adapted to the vacancy, we perceive that no word can be formed of which this th can be a part. We are thus narrowed into

t ee,

and, going through the alphabet, if necessary, as before, we arrive at the word 'tree,' as the sole possible reading. We thus gain another letter, r, represented by (, with the words, 'the tree,' in juxtaposition.

"Looking beyond these words, for a short distance, we again see the combination ;48, and employ it by way of termination to what immediately precedes. We have thus this arrangement:

the tree ;4(†?34 the

or, substituting the natural letters, where known, it reads thus:

the tree thr †?3 h the.

"Now, if in place of the unknown characters, we leave blank spaces, or substitute dots, we read thus:

the tree thr . . . h the,

when the word 'through' makes itself evident at once. But this discovery gives us three new letters, o, u, and g, represented by †? and 3.

"Looking now, narrowly, through the cipher for combinations of known characters, we find, not very far from the beginning, this arrangement:

83(88, or egree,

which, plainly is the conclusion of the word 'degree,' and give us another letter, d represented by †.

"Four letters beyond the word 'degree,' we perceive the combination

;46(;88.

"Translating the known characters, and representing the unknown by a dot, as before, we read thus:

th . r tee,

an arrangement immediately suggestive of the word 'thirteen,' and again furnishing us with two new characters i and n, represented by 6 and *.

"Referring now to the beginning of the cryptograph, we find the combination,

53†††.

"Translating, as before, we obtain,

. good,

which assures us that the first letter is A, and that the first two words are 'A good.'

" 'It is now time that we arrange our key, so far as discovered, in a tabular form, to avoid confusion. It will stand thus :

5	represents	a
†	"	d
8	"	e
3	"	g
4	"	h
6	"	i
*	"	n
‡	"	o
(	"	r
;	"	t

" 'We have, therefore, no less than ten of the most important letters represented, and it will be unnecessary to proceed with the details of the solution. I have said enough to convince you that ciphers of this nature are readily soluble, and give you some insight into the *rationale* of their development. But be assured that the specimen before us appertains to the very simplest species of cryptograph. It now only remains to give you the full translation of the characters upon the parchment, as unriddled. Here it is :

" 'A good glass in the bishop's hostel in the devil's seat forty-one degrees and thirteen minutes northeast and by north main branch seventh limb east side shoot from the left eye of the death's-head a bee line from the tree through the shot fifty feet out.'

" 'But,' said I, 'the enigma seems still in as bad a condition as ever. How is it possible to extort a meaning from all this jargon about 'devil's seats,' 'death's-heads,' 'bishop's hotel's' ?

" 'I confess,' replied Legrand, 'that the matter still wears a serious aspect, when regarded with a casual glance. My first endeavour was to divide the sentence into the natural divisions intended by the cryptographer.'

" 'You mean, to punctuate ?

" 'Something of the kind.'

" 'But how was it possible to effect this ?

" 'I reflected that it had been a point with the writer to run his words together without divisions, so as to increase the difficulty of solution. Now, a not over acute man, in pursuing such an object, would be nearly certain to overdo the matter. When in the course of his composition, he arrived at a break in his subject, which would naturally require a pause, or a point, he would be exceedingly apt to run his characters, at this place, more than usually close together. If you will observe the MS., in the present instance, you will easily detect five such cases of unusual crowding. Acting upon this hint, I made the division thus :

" 'A good glass in the bishop's hostel in the devil's seat—forty-one

degrees and thirteen minutes—northeast and by north—main branch seventh limb east side—shoot from the left eye of the death's head—a bee-line from the tree through the shot fifty feet out.'

"'Even this division,' said I, 'leaves me still in the dark.'

"'It left me also in the dark,' replied Legrand, 'for a few days; during which I made diligent inquiry in the neighbourhood of Sullivan's Island, for any building which went by the name of the 'Bishop's Hotel;' for, of course, I dropped the obsolete word 'hostel.' Gaining no information on the subject, I was on the point of extending my sphere of search, and proceeding in a more systematic manner, when one morning it entered into my head quite suddenly, that this 'Bishop Hostel' might have some reference to an old family of the name of Bessop, which, time out of mind, had held possession of an ancient manor-house, about four miles to the northward of the island. I accordingly went over to the plantation, and re-instituted my inquiries among the older negroes of the place. At length, one of the most aged of the women, said that she had heard of such a place as Bessop's Castle, and thought that she could guide me to it, but that it was not a castle nor a town, but a high rock.

"'I offered to pay her well for her trouble; and after some demur, she consented to accompany me to the spot. We found it without much difficulty, when, dismissing her, I proceeded to examine the place. The 'castle' consisted of an irregular assemblage of cliffs and rocks—one of the latter being quite remarkable for its height as well as for its insulated and artificial appearance. I clambered to its apex, and then felt much at a loss as to what should be next done.

"'While I was busied in reflection, my eyes fell upon a narrow ledge in the eastern face of the rock, perhaps a yard below the summit upon which I stood. This ledge projected about eighteen inches, and was not more than a foot wide, while a niche in the cliff, just above it, gave it a rude resemblance to one of the hollow-backed chairs used by our ancestors. I made no doubt but here was the devil's seat alluded to in the MS., and now I seemed to grasp the full secret of the riddle.

"'The 'good glass,' I knew, could have reference to nothing but a telescope; for the word glass is rarely employed in any other sense by a seaman. Now, here I at once saw, was a telescope to be used, and a definite point of view, admitting no variation from which to use it. Nor did I hesitate to believe that the phrases, 'forty-one degrees and thirteen minutes,' 'and northeast and by north,' were intended as directions for the levelling of the glass. Greatly excited by these discoveries, I hurried home, procured a telescope, and returned to the rock.

"'I let myself down to the ledge, and found that it was impossible to retain a seat upon it except in one particular position. This fact confirmed my preconceived idea. I proceeded to use the

glass. Of course, 'the forty-one degrees and thirteen minutes' could allude to nothing but elevation above the visible horizon, since the horizontal direction was clearly indicated by the words, 'northeast and by north.' This latter direction I at once established by means of a pocket compass; then, pointing the glass as nearly at an angle of forty-one degrees of elevation as I could by guess, I moved it cautiously, up or down, until my attention was arrested by a circular rift or opening in the foliage of a tree that overtopped its fellows in the distance. In the centre of this rift I perceived a white spot, but could not at first distinguish what it was. Adjusting the focus of the telescope, I again looked, and now made it out to be a human skull.

"Upon this discovery I was so sanguine as to consider the enigma solved; for the phrase, 'main branch, seventh limb, east side,' could refer only to the position of the skull upon the tree, while 'shoot from the left eye of the death's-head,' admitted also of but one interpretation, in regard to a search for buried treasure. I perceived that the design was to drop a bullet from the left eye of the skull, and that a 'bee-line,' or, in other words, a straight line drawn from the nearest point of the trunk through 'the shot,' (or the spot where the bullet fell), and thence extended to a distance of fifty feet, would indicate a definite spot—and beneath this point I thought it at least possible that a deposit of value lay concealed.

"All this,' I said, 'is exceedingly clear, and although ingenious, still simple and explicit. When you left the Bishop's Hotel, what then?'

"Why, having carefully taken the bearings of the tree, I turned homeward. The instant that I left the 'devil's seat,' however, the circular rift vanished; nor could I get a glimpse of it afterwards, turn as I would. What seems to me the chief ingenuity in this whole business, is the fact (for repeated experiments have convinced me it is a fact) that the circular opening in question is visible from no other attainable point of view than that afforded by the narrow ledge upon the face of the rock.'

"In this expedition to the 'Bishop's Hotel' I had been attended by Jupiter, who had, no doubt, observed, for some weeks past, the abstraction of my demeanour, and took especial care not to leave me alone. But on the next day, getting up very early, I contrived to give him the slip, and went into the hills in search of the tree. After much toil, I found it. When I came home at night my valet proposed to give me a flogging. With the rest of the adventure, I believe you are as well acquainted as myself.'

"I suppose,' said I, 'you missed the spot, in the first attempt at digging, through Jupiter's stupidity in letting the beetle fall through the right instead of through the left eye of the skull.'

"Precisely. This mistake made a difference of about two inches and a half in the 'shot,'—that is to say, in the position of

the peg nearest the tree; and had the treasure been beneath the 'shot,' the error would have been of little moment; but, 'the shot,' together with the nearest point of the tree, were merely two points for the establishment of a line of direction; of course the error, trivial in the beginning, increased as we proceeded with the line, and by the time we had gone fifty feet, threw us quite off the scent. But for my deep-seated impressions that treasure was here somewhere actually buried, we might have had all our labour in vain.'

"'But your grandiloquence, and your conduct in swinging the beetle—how excessively odd! I was sure you were mad. And why did you insist upon letting fall the beetle instead of a bullet, from the skull?'

"'Why, to be frank, I felt somewhat annoyed by your evident suspicions touching my sanity, and so resolved to punish you quietly, in my own way, by a little bit of sober mystification. For this reason I let it fall from the tree. An observation of yours about its great weight suggested the latter idea.'

"'Yes, I perceive; and now there is only one point which puzzles me. What are we to make of the skeletons found in the hole?'

"'That is a question I am no more able to answer than yourself. There seems, however, only one plausible way of accounting for them—and yet it is dreadful to believe in such atrocity as my suggestion would imply. It is clear that Kidd—if Kidd indeed secreted this treasure, which I doubt not—it is clear that he must have had assistance in the labour. But, this labour concluded, he might have thought it expedient to remove all participants in his secret. Perhaps a couple of blows with a mattock were sufficient, while his coadjutors were busy in the pit; perhaps a dozen—who shall tell?'

In "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," "The Mystery of Marie Roget," and "The Purloined Letter," the same striking characteristics are exhibited. The peculiar character of that extraordinary analytical skill which Poe appears to have so largely possessed, is thus described by himself in "The Murders in the Rue Morgue."

"The mental features discoursed of as the analytical, are in themselves but little susceptible of analysis. We appreciate them only in their effects. We know of them, among other things, that they are always to their possessors, when inordinately possessed, a source of the liveliest enjoyment. As the strong man exults in his physical ability, delighting in such exercises as call his muscles into action, so glories the analyst in that moral activity which *disentangles*. He derives pleasure from even the most trivial occupations, bringing his talent into play. He is fond of enigmas,

of conundrums, of hieroglyphics; exhibiting in his solutions of each a degree of acumen which appears to the ordinary apprehensions preternatural. His results, brought about by the very soul and essence of method, have, in truth, the whole air of intuition.

"The faculty of re-solution is possibly much invigorated by mathematical study, and especially by that highest branch of it which, unjustly, and merely on account of its retrograde operations, has been called, as if *par excellence*, analysis. Yet to calculate is not in itself to analyse. A chess-player, for example, does the one, without effort at the other. It follows that the game of chess, in its effects upon mental character, is greatly misunderstood. I am not now writing a treatise, but simply prefacing a somewhat peculiar narrative by observations very much at random; I will therefore take occasion to assert that the higher powers of the reflective intellect are more decidedly and more usefully tasked by the unostentatious game of draughts than by all the elaborate frivolity of chess. In this latter, where the pieces have different and *bizarre* motions, with various and variable values, what is only complex is mistaken (a not unusual error) for what is profound. The *attention* is here called powerfully into play. If it flag for an instant, an oversight is committed, resulting in injury or defeat. The possible moves being not only manifold, but involute, the chances of such oversights are multiplied; and in nine cases out of ten, it is the more concentrative rather than the more acute player who conquers. In draughts, on the contrary, where the moves are *unique*, and have but little variation, the probabilities of inadvertence are diminished, and the mere attention being left comparatively unemployed, what advantages are obtained by either party are obtained by superior acumen. To be less abstract, let us suppose a game of draughts where the pieces are reduced to four kings, and where, of course, no oversight is to be expected. It is obvious that here the victory can be decided (the players being at all equal) only by some *recherché* movement, the result of some strong exertion of the intellect. Deprived of ordinary resources, the analyst throws himself into the spirit of his opponent, identifies himself therewith, and not unfrequently sees thus, at a glance, the sole methods (sometimes, indeed, absurdly simple ones,) by which he may seduce into error or hurry into miscalculation.

"Whist has long been noted for its influence upon what is termed the calculating power; and men of the highest order of intellect have been known to take an apparently unaccountable delight in it, while eschewing chess as frivolous. Beyond doubt there is nothing of a similar nature so greatly tasking the faculty of analysis. The best chess-player in Christendom *may* be little more than the best player of chess; but proficiency in whist implies capacity for success, in all those more important undertakings where mind struggles with mind. When I say proficiency, I mean that per-

section in the game which includes a comprehension of all the sources whence legitimate advantage may be derived. These are not only manifold, but multiform, and lie frequently among recesses of thought, altogether inaccessible to the ordinary understanding. To observe attentively is to remember distinctly; and, so far, the concentrative chess-player will do very well at whist, while the rules of Hoyle (themselves based upon the mere mechanism of the game) are sufficiently and generally comprehensible. Thus, to have a retentive memory, and to proceed by 'the book,' are points commonly regarded as the sum total of good playing. But it is in matters beyond the limits of mere rule that the skill of the analyst is evinced; he makes in silence a host of observations and inferences. So, perhaps, do his companions; and the difference in the extent of the information obtained, lies not so much in the validity of the inference as in the quality of the observation. The necessary knowledge is that of *what* to observe. Our player confines himself not at all; nor because the game is the object does he reject deductions from things external to the game. He examines the countenance of his partner, comparing it carefully with that of each of his opponents. He considers the mode of assorting the cards in each hand, often counting trump by trump, and honour by honour, through the glances bestowed by their beholders upon each. He notes every variation of face as the play progresses, gathering a fund of thought from the differences in the expression of certainty, of surprise, of triumph, or of chagrin. From the manner of gathering up a trick he judges whether the person taking it can make another in the suit. He recognizes what is played through feint, by the air with which it is thrown upon the table. A casual or inadvertent word; the accidental dropping or turning of a card, with the accompanying anxiety or carelessness in regard to its concealment; the counting of the tricks, with the order of their arrangement; embarrassment, hesitation, eagerness, or trepidation—all afford to his apparently intuitive perception, indications of the true state of affairs. The first two or three rounds having been played, he is in full possession of the contents of each hand, and thenceforward puts down his cards with as absolute a precision of purpose as if the rest of the party had turned outward the faces of their own.

"The analytical power should not be confounded with simple ingenuity; for while the analyst is necessarily ingenious, the ingenious man is often remarkably incapable of analysis. The constructive or combining, by which ingenuity is usually manifested, and to which phrenologists (I believe erroneously,) have assigned a separate organ, supposing it a primitive faculty, has been so frequently seen in those whose intellect bordered otherwise upon idiocy, as to have attracted general observation among writers on morals. Between ingenuity and the analytic ability there exists a difference far greater indeed than that between the fancy and the

imagination, but of a character very strictly analogous. It will be found, in fact, that the ingenious are always fanciful, and the truly imaginative never otherwise than analytic."

The "Purloined Letter" illustrates, in a striking manner, the necessity of opposing to the devices of skill and intellect, some portions of like skill and intellect. An ordinary individual, pitted against the unscrupulous minister, would have judged of his adversary's mode of action by his own standard, and would of course have failed in obtaining the least clue to the discovery of the letter. The Chief of the Police acted with considerable skill and foresight according to his intelligence, but he was no match for the superior intellect of the Minister, and he failed.

"The Mystery of Marie Roget" would almost appear to have been written by one who had heard of the Road murder, and who wished to teach those charged with the detection of crime, that the most intricate and inexplicable riddle may be solved by the application of the proper rules.

While we are fully impressed with the sense of the duty which is cast upon those charged with the administration of justice to strain every nerve, and adopt every legitimate means for the detection of the criminal, we cannot but feel the conviction, produced by the history of all great crimes, that in this peculiarly, human investigation is powerless until the decree of the Almighty, for the exposure and apprehension of the offender, has passed the great seal of heaven. We then wonder in how apparently a simple manner, or for how seemingly a trivial matter, a man who had long revelled in crime and laughed at every effort to fix his guilt upon him, is suddenly thrown down, his disguises stripped off, and his past career part by part unravelled until the whole horrid history stands confessed before all. A man is arrested for a petty larceny, and searched, and upon him is found some trifling article, some scrap of writing, something of peculiar construction and appearance,—remarks hardly to be called enquiry are made by his captors and replied to and enlarged upon by spectators; these remarks are carried to and fro, gradually gaining consistency and form, and are eventually developed into a charge, perhaps of murder, subsequently undisputably proved.

It is doubtless the frequent occurrence of striking cir-

cumstances such as these that has given almost universal currency to the saying, "Murder will out"—a saying which, like many others of popular origin, is more to be wished true, than really true.

We all remember the thrill of horror which ran through the whole community when some twenty-five years ago the newspapers announced the discovery, in the Edgeware Road, London, of the trunk of a human body, dismembered of the arms, legs, and head, and tied up in a sack. A labouring man, passing on his way to work, found the sack with its horrible contents, and induced by curiosity to open it, gave the alarm, and the remains were conveyed to the workhouse, where an inquest was held.

At first the impression prevailed that this ghastly trunk had been the subject of medical study, but the evidence of surgeons who were called in to examine it placed beyond doubt the fact that the mutilation had not been effected by a skilled hand.

The most energetic and anxious measures failed to discover the slightest clue to the mystery, and for a time it seemed that it was destined to pass into the great ocean of eternity undiscovered and unexplained.

On the 6th of January, following the finding of the sack and its contents, a bargeman experienced a difficulty in closing the gates of one of the locks of the Regent's Canal, near Stepney, owing to an obstruction caused by some intercepting substance, and having procured an instrument called a hitcher, which is a pole with a hook fastened to its end, he drew out at length, to his great horror, a human head.

It was much disfigured, the jaw bone having been broken, one of the eyes knocked out, and one of the ears slit, as if an ear-ring had been violently torn away. It was at once conjectured that this head belonged to the trunk which had been found on the 28th of the preceding month, in the Edgeware Road.

On the 2nd of February, nearly a month after, a young man at work in an osier ground at Camberwell, saw lying upon the ground, an old sack, through a hole in which protruded a human knee, and which being opened was found to contain the legs and feet of a human being. No doubt now existed that these members belonged to the body and head which had been previously found, and so

indeed it at once appeared when they were matched together.

No trace, however, could be obtained of the perpetrator of the horrid mutilation, and the head having been preserved in spirits, and the other parts secured against rapid decomposition, the whole continued to be exhibited to public gaze, in the hope that some portion might be identified.

Crowd after crowd viewed the ghastly sight, some moved by curiosity, and some, who had friends missing, urged by a real desire to satisfy their doubts, but none recognised in the remains those of relative or acquaintance.

A Mrs. Blanchard, the proprietor of a small broker's shop in Goodge Street, had an intimate friend, a widow, named Hannah Browne, whose brother, William Gay, with his wife, lived with Mrs. Blanchard, as an assistant in her business. Mrs. Browne had been known to have been much in the company recently of one James Greenacre, a man of no character or position, but who was possessed of considerable self-confidence and some ability, and who passed amongst his acquaintances as a person of some substance.

Mrs. Browne and Greenacre were known amongst their mutual friends, to be about to marry one another, and the wedding day was actually fixed for Christmas Day, 1836, and on the eve of that day they had been seen to enter a hackney coach and known to drive to Greenacre's house. From thenceforth nothing was ever seen or heard of the unfortunate woman.

Whilst no suspicion seems to have been awakened in the minds of Mrs. Browne's more intimate friends, one of those mysterious impulses which Providence uses for its own ends, stirred up the wife of William Gay to beg of her husband to go and view the mutilated remnants, and he having been at last prevailed upon to do so, recognised immediately the head as that of his unfortunate sister. This discovery at once pointed suspicion at Greenacre, he was arrested, and bit by bit the whole iniquitous proceeding was unravelled. Greenacre was tried and found guilty, and before his execution confessed that he had murdered Mrs. Browne on the Christmas-eve upon which she had accompanied him to his house. That they had reproached each other for mutual deception as to their property and means, and that he, enraged beyond control, had struck her upon

the head with a heavy piece of wood which happened to be at hand, and had cut her throat while she was in a state of partial insensibility; and that he had then dismembered the body and distributed the parts in the different places in which they were eventually found.

In this monstrous and striking instance no portion of the discovery was owing to the skill or activity of the police. From the first they appeared powerless. The successive discoveries of the parts of the body, gave them no new intelligence, suggested no course of enquiry or action, and had it not been for the promptings of Mrs. Gay, the manifest interposition of Providence, the whole awful and horrible catastrophe would have been at the present day a profound mystery.

So it happened with the Waterloo Bridge discovery, which, up to the present time, is shrouded in apparently impenetrable darkness.

Here again mutilated portions of a human body have been found, evidently not separated by the practised or even the 'prentice hand of a medical enquirer. We have now, as alleged, an improved police, electric wires, rapid communication, bright street lamps, and other aids to discovery which were wanting some few years ago; and yet not the faintest gleam even of suspicion has been fixed on any one in connexion with this event. There are materials for the exercise of skilful enquiry, in the carpet-bag, the rope, the clothes found with the body, the description of the person carrying the bag, as given by the toll man, and other minor circumstances, but in vain. As in the instance of the Road Murder, pursuit is baffled, and for the present, at all events, eluded. This last, indeed, offers peculiar inducements for the exercise of the inductive and constructive faculty, if it exists at all amongst our police, but they have made nothing of the materials, and seem actually to have wholly neglected to avail themselves at all, of a great part, and public confidence in their sagacity and long-headedness is justly shaken.

Providence, in its wisdom, has not yet thought fit to raise its hand in these cases, as it has so strikingly done in Greenacre's, and still more strikingly in that of Corder.

This case, indeed, exhibits the direct interposition of Heaven for the detection of crime in a manner almost unparalleled.

William Corder was the son of a respectable farmer at

Polstead, in Suffolk, and having formed an illicit connexion with a young girl named Maria Marten, after evading for some time a previous promise to marry the unfortunate girl, at last he consented to fix the day for the marriage. On the pretence of securing greater secrecy, a matter upon which he laid considerable stress, Corder induced Maria Marten to meet him in a barn, known by the name of the Red Barn, attached to his father's farm buildings. From thenceforth Maria was never seen alive, and Corder, when questioned by her parents, assured them that she was safe, but at a distance for the sake of secrecy. The meeting in the Red Barn took place in May, and up to the September following. Corder succeeded in satisfying the enquiries of the Martens after their daughter. In September, on the plea of failing health, Corder quitted Polstead, and transmitted letters to his mother and the Martens, dated from the Isle of Wight, but bearing the London post-mark.

The circumstance of no letter being received from the daughter herself at last alarmed the minds of her parents ; then vague suspicions strengthened and at last assumed the shape of great uneasiness.

Nearly twelve months after the disappearance of Maria, her mother, in the month of March, 1828, dreamed three times successively that her daughter had been murdered and buried in the Red Barn, and she persuaded her husband to obtain permission to examine the Red Barn, and he having himself dug up the ground at the particular spot indicated by her as having been seen in her dreams, discovered the body of his daughter far advanced in decomposition. Not so far, however, as to prevent the examination made by a surgeon, from satisfying him, and through him others, that the body was that of a murdered person, while the remains of the clothing and some peculiarities in the teeth, enabled the father to identify the body of Maria Marten.

The fact of the mother's dream is beyond doubt or cavil, and that it was the sole means of detecting the commission of the crime is equally certain. Corder was traced to London, arrested, tried, and convicted, and before his execution confessed, though not with entire candour, his guilt.

In this, as in the case of Greenacre, the finger of heaven is distinctly seen directing the course of events. Green-

acre had ample time to escape to a foreign country, where pursuit would never reach him. Corder had nearly twelve months allowed him for escape, yet both are found at hand when called upon to answer for their crimes. In Green-acre's, an undefined sense of uneasiness prompted Mrs. Gay to urge her husband to go view the remains of Hannah Brown; in Corder's, a more direct and definite communication led to the discovery of the body of the murdered woman, and eventually of her murderer.

In many of these revolting cases of murder, in which dismemberment and attempted destruction of the victim's remains have been resorted to, the very attempt at entire concealment has been the means of leading to detection. The sceptic who affects to disbelieve the existence of an All-powerful, All-seeing, and All-disposing Power, will find it difficult to account for the apparently strange and trivial manner in which the first inklings of discovery have, as it were, oozed out, and how one little circumstance leads on to another, opening up gradually a clearer view of things, ripening surmise into suspicion, and making suspicion certainty.

The time which so often elapses between the commission of a murder and its discovery, appears, by Providential interposition to be seldom availed of by the criminal for the purpose of escape; it is indeed remarkable how commonly this is so.

In the year 1760, Theodore Gardelle, a portrait painter, lodged in the house of a Mrs. King, in Leicester Fields, London.

Early upon the morning of the 19th of February 1761, Gardelle requested the female servant of the house to go upon some errand for him. Mrs. King, her mistress, objected, as she said there would be no person to open the street door in her absence. The servant, apparently desirous of obliging Gardelle, replied, "that Mr. Gardelle would come down to the parlour to answer the door," which shortly after he did at her request, and she left the house upon his message, taking the key of the door with her.

She returned shortly after, and was addressed by Gardelle, who told her that he had in her absence received her mistress' orders to dismiss her, and he paid her her wages. The servant girl accounted, in her own mind, for this sudden dismissal, by concluding that some improprie-

ties had taken place between Gardelle and Mrs. King, who was not a woman of much character, and that, ashamed to meet her servant, she had adopted this means of getting rid of her.

This occurred upon a Thursday, and from that time until the Thursday following, nothing further of any note transpired. During this interval of a week, Gardelle remained in the house, which was also during a portion of the time occupied by a man named Pelsey, the servant of a Mr. Wright, who had lodgings in the house. A woman named Pritchard was engaged as charwoman, and with Gardelle and Pelsey continued in the house, expecting the return of Mrs. King, who, Gardelle alleged, had gone for a short time into the country. Pelsey enquired occasionally of Gardelle during the week we have referred to, when Mrs. King might be expected to return, and Gardelle on one occasion, irritated at being so frequently questioned replied, "that he knew nothing of Mrs. King, who had given him a deal of trouble, but that he should hear of her on the Wednesday or Thursday following." These words were prophetic.

Mrs. Pritchard, the charwoman, the water having failed in the cistern, had recourse to the water-tub in the back kitchen for a supply, and observing that the water flowed but very slowly from the tub, she got upon a ledge, and putting her hand into the tub, felt something soft, which she pressed down with a poker and thus procured water.

She mentioned the circumstance to Pelsey, but so little suspicious was either of them that anything was wrong, that nothing was done for a day or two, and when at length they examined the contents of the tub, they found them to consist of the blankets, sheets, and quilt belonging to Mrs. King's bed. These, after inspecting them, they replaced in the tub, and the next morning seeing Gardelle coming out of the wash-house, in which the tub was placed, they took steps towards inquiring after Mrs. King, and having communicated with the police, Gardelle was arrested, the house was searched, and the horrible certainty was established that Mrs. King had been murdered, and cut into innumerable pieces, which had been distributed in different parts of the house.

The fact was subsequently disclosed, partly by inspection of the house, partly by the account furnished by Gardelle, after his conviction of the crime, that during the

week from Mrs. King's disappearance, to the discovery of the murder, Gardelle was daily occupied in disposing of the body, which, having dismembered, he scattered through the premises, burning the bones in his own room, and throwing into the cock-loft the flesh which he had stripped from them.

All through this week, too, many persons visited the house, some of them acquaintances of Gardelle, and who remained for some time at each visit; on one occasion several of them supped with Gardelle, who must have made extraordinary efforts, during the hasty intervals allowed him, to complete his frightful task. Had he, as he readily might have done, induced Pelsey to leave the house, offering as a reason the excuse that Mrs. King had requested him (Gardelle) to join her in the country, and to close the house in their absence, he would have had the most ample opportunity of effecting his escape from the country. In fact, so little was the interest which any one appeared to take in Mrs. King, so isolated from affection or regard does she appear to have been, that months might have elapsed before any attempt to enter the house would, probably, have been made, and even at the last, the most likely person to enforce an entrance would have been the landlord, seeking his rent.

The murder of Mr. Paas, by James Cook, of Leicester, in the year 1832, excited an amount of horror and astonishment, as great as the crime itself was atrocious and shocking.

Mr. Paas was a respectable London trader, who manufactured the brass tools used by bookbinders in the ornamenting and lettering of books. He was in the habit of making his trade journeys in person, and in the course of business visited in the month of May 1832 the town of Leicester. James Cook was a bookbinder in that town, but newly started in trade, having succeeded to the business of his deceased master, and he became a customer of Mr. Paas, and his debtor to the extent of some £25. At the time we have indicated, the usual term of credit had expired, and Mr. Paas called upon Cook for the purpose of obtaining a settlement of the account. This he did not receive fully on the occasion of his call in the after part of the day, and he was requested by Cook to return in the evening. Paas, in the interval, enquired from a customer after the solvency of Cook, and mentioned that he had

waited upon him in the afternoon, and had been requested to call again. It was subsequently established that Mr. Paas did visit Cook in the evening, after which he was seen no more alive.

Cook's workshop was situated over a cow-house, belonging to one Sawbridge, a milk-man, and on the evening of the 30th of May, 1832, the day of Paas's visit, a very large fire was observed to be blazing in it, a circumstance, however, which did not excite any particular attention, as considerable heat was known to be occasionally employed in the bookbinding business.

At eight o'clock in the evening Cook visited a neighbouring public house where he partook of liquor and played a game of skittles, and when paying for the liquor displayed a considerable sum of money, a circumstance which excited some observation. Cook returned to his workshop, and requested his landlady, Mrs. Sawbridge, not to feel alarmed if she should see that he had a fire during the night, as he had a considerable quantity of work on hand, which it was necessary he should finish. At half-past ten he returned to work, and was not again seen until half-past four o'clock in the morning; it was certain, however, that he did not during the interval quit his workshop, as he could not leave without the knowledge of his landlord, through whose premises he must pass. A strong light was observed in the workshop during the night. About ten o'clock on the following night, Thursday, and during Cook's absence, so strong a light was observed to shine from the workshop, that the neighbours became alarmed lest the premises should have taken fire, and it was determined to force an entrance.

This was effected, and on entering the workshop a blazing fire was discovered, upon the top of which lay a piece of flesh of considerable size. This was at once removed, and the fire raked out and extinguished. Several persons had by this time assembled, and a good deal of discussion ensued as to the character of the half consumed flesh, the general opinion being expressed that it was horse-flesh. Cook was sent for, and was found at his father's house, partially undressed, apparently about to retire to bed. He at once dressed, and accompanied those who had come to seek him, to the workshop, and having been informed of the discovery which had been made, and questioned about it, he, having caught some hint in the course of the

conversation, of the suggestion as to horse-flesh, availed himself of it with much readiness, and stated he had purchased a quantity of horse-flesh for feeding a dog, for the purchase of which he had been in treaty, but that the owner having eventually refused to sell the animal he had been obliged to burn the horse-flesh, which had begun to putrefy.

This explanation failed to satisfy some of those who had aided in forcing an entrance into the workshop, and the discovery of the fact that Cook had pasted strong paper over the inside of the windows of the workshop, roused suspicion, and eventually Cook was carried before the mayor, or rather, taken to the mayor's office, for that functionary was absent, and afterwards released by the constable who arrested him, on his father's bail. It would be revolting, as it is unnecessary to follow this extraordinary case through its details. A closer examination of Cook's workshop established beyond doubt that the flesh which had been found half consumed upon the fire, and which medical men pronounced to be human flesh, was part of a body of which a leg was found suspended in the chimney of the workshop. Fragments of clothing were also found, an eye-glass, a snuff-box, and a pencil case, with the letter P engraved upon it, and no doubt was entertained that some person had been barbarously murdered by Cook, when it was found in the morning that he had absconded. Closer enquiries led to the conviction that the portions of the body found were the remains of Mr. Paas, who was traced from his hotel to Cook's workshop, and thenceforth never seen more in life.

Cook was pursued, and apprehended as he was about to join a Liverpool vessel, bound for America, brought back to Leicester, examined before the magistrates, and committed for trial. He did not deny at his examination that he had killed Mr. Paas, but alleged that he had done so in self-defence, a quarrel having arisen between himself and his victim, when the latter called to receive the promised settlement of account. After his trial and conviction, however, he made a more candid statement, and confessed that he had planned the crime for some days beforehand, intending to rob the murdered man, and to emigrate to America with his spoil. That when Mr. Paas called upon him in the evening, he paid him the amount of a small bill which he owed, and whilst Mr. Paas was in

the act of signing a receipt, he came suddenly behind him, and struck him a violent blow on the head with the press-pin, a heavy iron instrument. A second and a third blow succeeded, and Paas was no more, and Cook locking the door, retired to collect his firmness, in which he so well succeeded as to be able to return to the workshop and dispose, in the horrible manner he did, of the body.

The apparently simple cause which led to Cook's detection, displays the mysterious mode in which God deals with crime. There was no reason to suspect that any murder had been committed. No body had been found, no person had been missed,—Cook's character was fair, and no person thought of suspecting him of any crime. And the breaking into his workshop was wholly prompted by the fears for the safety of his property which the appearance of fire in that building had excited.

An extraordinary similarity of detail exists between the murder of Mr. Paas by Cook, and that of Dr. Parkman by Professor Webster, seventeen years later.

In position in life, in education, and worldly means, there was a wide dissimilarity between the two; but guilt brings men to a level, and there is in the history of their respective crimes an extraordinary resemblance.

John W. Webster was, in the year 1849, professor of, and lecturer upon, chemistry, in the Medical College, Boston, in the United States. He appears to have been of an improvident and extravagant disposition, and to have been constantly in want of money, and thus became indebted to Dr. Parkman, who resided in Boston.

Parkman was possessed of some property, and in the year 1842 had accommodated Webster with a loan upon the security of a mortgage granted by the latter, of his household furniture, mineral museum, and other effects.

In 1849 Parkman learned that Webster had sold the cabinet of minerals included in the mortgage, and expressed great indignation at the dishonesty of Webster, in thus selling what in point of fact was the property of another.

Parkman was a man of rigid principles and unbending integrity. Like many who, being possessed themselves of ample means, look upon inability to pay as something criminal, he regarded his debtor Webster as an offender against all social laws, and expressed his determination of pursuing him relentlessly. On the fatal 23rd of Novem-

ber this determination was made known to Webster, by a third party; on the same day Webster called at Dr. Parkman's house, and appointed a meeting with the latter at Webster's rooms, at the Medical College.

Dr. Parkman was seen to enter that building between the hours of 1 and 2 o'clock, on the day in question, but was never seen to leave it.

It was proved that Dr. Parkman had on that day purchased a quantity of salad-lettuce for his dinner, and had called at a grocer's and purchased sugar and butter, and had left there a paper bag containing the salad, stating that he would call for it.

His agent having occasion to see him, called at the Doctor's house at 3 o'clock on the same day, expecting with certainty to meet him at that hour, as the Doctor always dined at half-past 2 o'clock, and was a man of very regular habits. Failing to meet him, Mr. Kingsley, the agent alluded to, called early the next morning, and learned that Dr. Parkman had not been home during the night.

Alarmed at this, Mr. Kingsley commenced and prosecuted an unsuccessful search for the missing man, and in the afternoon of Saturday, the 24th November, rewards for his discovery were offered in the public papers.

From that time to the Friday following, the 30th, no trace whatever was obtained of the fate which had befallen him.

A search, not very carefully conducted, had been made at the Medical College, but as might have been expected, the body of Dr. Parkman was not found lying on the staircase, or in any of the rooms.

The office of janitor, or door-keeper and general caretaker of the Medical College, was filled by a man named Littlefield. He appears to have been a man of some acuteness and intelligence, and to his suspicions of Professor Webster the discovery of the murder and of the murderer was due.

From the 23rd of November, the day on which Dr. Parkman was last seen alive, and entering the Medical College, Professor Webster had kept his rooms in that building constantly locked, and Littlefield was unable to enter them for the purpose of sweeping them and arranging the fires as usual.

Though Webster had declined the services of Little-

field in making up a fire in his rooms, on the pretence that some of the chemical preparations which he was then employing would not stand heat, the latter in his walks through the house had felt a great heat on the outside of the wall of Webster's room, manifestly caused by an unusually large fire within.

These circumstances, and other minor ones, excited suspicion in the mind of the janitor. He had accompanied the officers and others through the College on the occasion of their hasty examination, and he knew that one part of the building, and that, too, a part exclusively appropriated to Professor Webster's use, had not been inspected at all.

He determined to examine the vault of this closet, and as he was of course unable to obtain admittance to the closet itself for a sufficient time to prosecute an effectual search unobserved by Webster, or indeed to furnish any pretext for entering it at all, he was obliged to go to the underground floor of the college, and endeavour to force an entrance into the vault through the wall, which divided it from the rest of the premises, near the foundations.

This he accomplished on the afternoon of Friday, the 30th instant, and on looking through the hole which he had made in the wall into the vault, he saw lying therein a part of a human body,—the pelvis and two portions of a leg.

Assistance was procured, and these remains were taken out, and they were found to be partly wrapped in two towels, bearing Webster's initials. This was considered sufficient to justify his arrest, and two officers were despatched for that purpose to his residence at Cambridge, near Boston.

His laboratory, and the furnace in it, were then searched, and amongst the ashes in the latter were found some artificial teeth, some melted gold, and one or two pearl shirt buttons.

The search was resumed the following (Saturday) morning, and continued till 4 o'clock, p.m. on that day, when a tea box, apparently filled with tan, and having some minerals wrapped in paper on the top, attracted the notice of one of the policemen assisting in the search. He took off these minerals, and after taking out a portion of the tan, reached a hunting knife; and going still deeper, came

upon the chest or thorax of a human being, and inserted in the thoracic cavity the greater part of a human thigh.

Those parts fitted to those found in the vault.

In Webster's laboratory were found three large sized fish-hooks, tied together so as to form a species of grapple.

Upon Tuesday, the 19th of March, 1850, Professor Webster was brought to trial for the murder, at the Supreme Judicial Court for Suffolk.

The presiding judges were Chief Justice Shaw, and associate judges Wilde, Metcalfe, and Davey. The counsel for the Commonwealth (we had almost said for the Crown,) were the Attorney General, Mr. Clifford, and George Bemis, Esq.

The prisoner was defended by the Honourable Pliny Merrick and E. D. Sohler, Esq.

The evidence for the prosecution consisted of proof of the pecuniary transactions between the murdered man and the prisoner, in which the latter was the debtor—the appointment made between them for half past one on Friday the 23rd November, at the Medical College—that Dr. Parkman had entered that building about the appointed time on that day—that he had not returned home to dinner at the usual hour on that day—that he had never been seen subsequently alive—that certain remains had been found, wrapped in towels belonging to the prisoner, in the vault of a closet to which the prisoner alone had access—that these remains, together with others found in a tea-chest in the laboratory of the prisoner, resembled the corresponding parts of the living Dr. Parkman—that in the furnace of the prisoner's laboratory were found some mineral teeth, which a dentist swore were those which he had manufactured some time previously for Dr. Parkman. That Professor Webster the prisoner, had remained much later than his usual hour on the 23rd of November, in his room, and that contrary to his usual custom, he had locked the doors of those rooms when leaving the college in the evening. That the doors continued so locked up to the time of the discovery, by Littlefield, of the remains in the vault. That during the same interval large fires appeared to have been kept up by the prisoner in his rooms.

A good deal of minor evidence was brought forward for the prosecution, but we have stated the strong points.

The defence consisted of proof of the prisoner's good character and general amiability and humanity, of the alleged absence of proof of the identity of the remains, with those of Dr. Parkman, and of Dr. Parkman's having been seen in the streets of Boston so late as five o'clock on the 23rd of November—the day on which the prosecutor alleged he had entered the Medical College and Webster's rooms at half past one, and had never been seen to quit that building.

The jury found the prisoner guilty, and he was subsequently executed.

Like Cook, Webster appears to have adopted many precautions to escape detection, and it is only surprising that in the course of the week which elapsed from the commission of the crime till its discovery, he did not contrive to remove from the building every evidence of his guilt. The grapple formed of fish-hooks was doubtless intended to be used in fishing up the remains at a convenient opportunity from the vault, and had they been removed, and had Littlefield thus been unsuccessful in his search in the vault, Webster would have had but little reason to fear the consequences of the discovery of the contents of the tea-chest, supposing him, of course, to have removed the contents of the furnace.

These, indeed, formed the damning proof against him; a few teeth which he could have carried away in his hand, and disposed of anywhere, on the first convenient opportunity, were the most formidable witnesses against him, and rendered wholly vain his laborious dismemberment and attempted annihilation of the rest of the body. Not all the sermons that have been preached, not all the treatises that have been written, since sermons first were preached and books were written, have half the power to impress the thinking mind with the idea of a watchful Providence than this single circumstance possesses.

There is a disposition amongst men to view the commission of a crime with more or less horror and indignation according as the perpetrator may appear to have been actuated by motives more or less base.

The man who commits a deliberate and premeditated murder, no matter how horrible, through jealousy, disappointed love, or wounded honour, will never be classed by the generality of his fellow-men with him who kills merely for the sake of money. Some degree of sympathy is

excited for the sufferer under the infliction of injustice, and there is a natural tendency to soften and excuse in another a crime which has been actuated by feelings in which all have a sympathy more or less warm. But to slay a fellow-creature solely for the sake of seizing on his wealth, appears an offence of a far deeper dye; for no man likes to part without an equivalent with his gold, and to wrest from the victim not only his gold but his life appears a vast accumulation of injustice and oppression.

It is not a flattering result to find on examination that nine-tenths of the murders that have been wrought since the time of Cain till this hour, have had sordid pelf for their motive. The cases we have referred to are among the number, and we shall find no exception to the rule amongst the higher and better educated class of criminals. How truly has the poet sung—

“Auri sacra fames! quid non mortalia cogis
“Pectora?”

A striking instance of the apparently trivial manner in which the commission of a great crime has been discovered, occurred in the case of John Holloway, a case distinguished for its horror and atrocity.

On Friday, the 12th of August, 1831, two labouring men were passing through a place called Rottingdean, near Brighton, when at a particular spot they fancied that the earth bore the appearance of having been recently turned up.

Actuated simply by an idle curiosity, and uninfluenced by the slightest suspicion of anything unusual or wrong, they pushed away a portion of the mould with a walking-stick, and disclosed a small piece of red printed cotton, which protruded. The circumstance attracted no further attention from them, and they went upon their way, and returned to their respective homes. One of them, named Gillam, casually mentioned the occurrence the same evening to his wife in the course of conversation, and the latter suggested that perhaps a child, the issue of some illicit connexion, might be buried in the place. Gillam adopted this idea, and the following morning, accompanied by his wife and some other persons, repaired to the spot, and having removed a portion of the earth, he seized and drew forth about a yard in length of the printed cotton. His wife at once remarked that it was evidently the dress of a grown person, and vague alarm being excited in the minds

of the spectators, it was determined to send for the officer of the village of Preston, adjoining. The officer arrived, the search was prosecuted, and the result was the disinterment of severed limbs, and the trunk of a female body. The horrid intelligence spread rapidly, and crowds flocked to the spot; and, amongst the number, one Mrs. Bishop, who, on viewing the remains, declared that they were those of her sister; and confirmation was quickly found in her recognition of the dress which was wrapped about the corpse, as being of the same pattern as a piece given her by her sister, to be employed in the making of a patch-work quilt.

The clue thus afforded was quickly followed up, and John Holloway, a labourer employed at the chain-pier, and the husband of the deceased woman, was apprehended. It then appeared that the maiden name of the unfortunate woman had been Celia Bushford, that she had been formerly a servant in a public house at Brighton, and that having fallen a victim to the seduction of Holloway, she had become his wife. The parish officers, to whom, in the destitution and abandonment to which Holloway had consigned her, she had applied for relief, had, by proceeding against him, forced him into a reluctant marriage, which proved, as might have been expected, most unhappy.

Holloway soon formed a connection with another woman, Anne Kennard, and left his wife chargeable upon the parish, the officers of which obtained an order from the magistrates that he should allow her a weekly sum of two shillings. Kennard was usually employed by Holloway to carry this pittance to his wife, a brutal insult, the frequent repetition of which caused bitter feeling between the two women.

Matters were in this position when Holloway formed the diabolical design which he subsequently executed with such relentless ferocity. Simulating a return of early affection, he called upon his wife, and expressed an anxious desire that all differences between them should be reconciled, and that she should assume her legitimate position as his wife, and share his dwelling once more. He informed her that he had provided lodgings, the locality of which he did not however indicate, and that on a certain day he would call for, and carry her to the place. Accordingly, upon the 14th of July, he came to her lodgings, re-

ceived her clothes, which she had ready packed, returned for herself, and took her away with him. Thenceforth, living or dead, she was seen no more, till one month after, the mutilated fragments of her body were exhumed at Rottingdean. It afterwards appeared, from the wretch's own confession, that he had deliberately planned the murder of his wife; that he had hired a small house in North Stayne Row, Brighton, to which he brought her on the 14th of July, and that having got her inside he secured the door, knocked her down, partially strangled her, and finally despatched her by cutting her throat.

In his first confession Holloway did not implicate Kennard, but he subsequently accused her as an accomplice, and as his active assistant in the murder, and the subsequent mutilation and concealment.

Holloway was of course convicted of the crime, and suffered death; Kennard was not tried for some time after, when she was acquitted.

Revolting in their details these cases are not without instruction, and certainly do much to confirm popular belief in the saying that 'murder will out.' Ingenuity to plan, boldness to execute, and craft to conceal, had been all employed to a marvellous extent, but employed in vain; and the apparently simple manner in which they have been confounded manifests the Providence of God in a striking and instructive manner.

In none, however, of those modern productions in which detectives, police-inspectors, and thief-takers, are supposed to give to the public their strange experiences, can we trace anything striking or even interesting. The incidents are common-place, the composition indifferent, and the taste questionable, and the books are not calculated to instruct, nor even likely to amuse.

They are plainly fictions, and not the real life-experiences of men, who moved and acted in the scenes described; and as fictions it occurs to us, that their authors might quite as well have made them either amusing or interesting.

There is a total want of reality about the occurrences narrated which deprives them of the faintest interest. "The Forger's Cipher" in "the Detective's Note-book" is evidently borrowed, in its main feature of the cipher, from Edgar Allan Poe's "Golden Beetle," from which we have above extracted. "Hanged by the Neck," in

the same volume, has been plainly suggested by Poe's "Murders in the Rue Morgue," and there is not one of the entire collection that bears the stamp of a genuine experience of Real Life.

The latest production of this character is entitled "The Irish Police Officer." The author, Mr. Robert Curtis, is a real person, a county Inspector of the Irish Constabulary, for the County of Kilkenny. The book is dedicated to Sir Henry Brownrigg, Inspector-General of Constabulary in Ireland. The preface tells us that the tales contained in the book have been compiled from memoranda made by the author in the course of his professional career. We are bound to give implicit credit to a statement deliberately made by a gentleman in Mr. Curtis' position, and therefore take these narratives as real experiences; but we trust we offer no offence to the author when we suggest the possibility of a little colouring having been superadded to the original pictures. Certainly if the occurrences here narrated actually happened as they are set down by Mr. Curtis, they form another strong illustration of the truth of the saying, that 'truth is stranger than fiction.' The first tale in the volume is called "The Identification," and turns upon a singular instance of mistaken identity. Tom Courtney, the victim, temporarily, of the mistake, is accused of a burglary and murderous assault,—sworn to by several witnesses as the perpetrator, his own uncle falling into the general error, is tried—convicted—and sentenced to death. The mysterious working of Providence is wonderfully displayed in the circumstances which led to the detection of the real criminal. The members of the constabulary force usually muster in pretty strong numbers at the assize town of the county, when the assizes are being held. Some come to render their services in the preservation of order at the court-house, some are witnesses, some have charge of particular criminal cases, and all of course come in from various parts of the county. In this way two parties from different districts met the day before the arrival of the judges, in the assize town in which Tom Courtney was to be tried. Some conversation ensued between them as to the house selected by each party for their lodging during their stay in the town, and while one party recommended their own selection, the other were equally warm in favour of theirs. The difference was eventually decided by the

tossing of a coin, but more than this, as the sequel proved, depended upon the decision which was thus arrived at. The night but one before the morning fixed for Courtney's execution, Ferris, one of the constabulary, retiring to rest at his lodgings thus selected, was startled by hearing voices in the adjoining room, and looking through a chink in the partition, saw seated at a table the Tom Courtney whom a few hours before he had seen consigned to a cell of the county jail. Taking proper measure of precaution, he rouses his men, rushes suddenly into the room, overpowers and secures its occupants, and speedily lodges them safely in the police barrack. Mr. Curtis describes his own amazement at receiving the intelligence that Courtney had escaped and had been re-taken, and his still greater amazement when, on rousing the governor of the jail to communicate the startling news, he finds that Tom Courtney is still in close custody in the condemned cell of the prison. The mystery is speedily cleared up, and it transpires that the real criminal, for whose crime Courtney was so nearly sacrificed, and whose resemblance to Courtney is so close as to deceive even relatives, was drawn thither by some strange infatuation, we should rather say by the hand of God, to the town during the trial, and met some of his companions in guilt on the evening in question, for mutual congratulation, and to make arrangements for flight. The result is, of course, the release, after some days delay, of Tom Courtney, his place being taken by his "double." The circumstances thus related by Mr. Curtis are certainly most interesting and striking; the fate of Courtney appears to have been decided by the tossing of a coin; for had the result of that operation been different, Ferris and his companions would not have repaired to the house in which the former overheard the pseudo Tom Courtney and effected his capture.

The "Reprieve" is a strange story, and in spite of our respect for Mr. Curtis' character and position, startles our belief not a little.

It is the story of the murder, by one Delany, of the child of a man named O'Connor, who had formerly been his successful rival for the hand of a village beauty. The guilt of Delany is established and he is sentenced to die. O'Connor's sorrow for the loss of his child is intense. And when at length the crime is traced to Delany, his fury and thirst

for vengeance are uncontrollable, and he envies the law its prey, burning to shed himself the blood of the murderer of his child. He swears a fearful oath to be present at the execution of the wretched culprit, and to gloat over his last moments and the agony of his violent death. While under sentence it is whispered that Delany has offered to make important disclosures in connection with former desperate transactions, and that the government magistrate has been frequently closeted with him, and that he will purchase his life at the price of information against his associates. These rumours prove to have some foundation, but Delany wavers and hesitates. He desires to be assured of pardon, and refuses to be sufficiently explicit without receiving an assurance that his life will be spared. This is the state of affairs up to the day before that appointed for the execution of the murderer. The magistrate has gone to Dublin, carrying with him as much information as Delany had been induced to afford, with a view to obtaining a reprieve in return.

Up to this time we are told that no executioner had been engaged. The sheriff, aware of what was passing, felt persuaded that a reprieve would be obtained, and no person had called at the prison, as was usual, asking for employment in the horrid office.

The sheriff is alarmed, as the time is now so near, and pardon may not, after all, be obtained. In this perplexity he despatches a special messenger with all speed, some seventy or eighty miles, in quest of a person willing to undertake the duty, and he instructs the gaoler to engage a man upon any terms.

Late at night a figure, muffled to the eyes, calls at the prison, offers himself to act as executioner in the morning, is gladly engaged by the gaoler, and shown through that portion of the prison through which he is to pass in the morning; and as he is manifestly inexperienced in the fearful business, he is fully instructed by the turnkey in the details of the scaffold, bolts, and other grim machinery of death. The turnkey shows the stranger a little room, in which there is a bed, indicating that he can sleep there, and stating that breakfast will be sent to him early in the morning. This offer is spurned in most grandiloquent terms, and the mysterious stranger declines any connection with the business unless permitted to depart

engaging to return to the prison at an early hour in the morning to perform his office.

The gaoler is forced to be content, though troubled with great misgivings, the stranger departs, and silence falls upon the prison.

In the morning the sheriff receives a letter from the magistrate in Dublin, stating that up to the last moment he has been unable to obtain a reprieve, and begging the sheriff to delay the execution till the latest instant.

The mysterious executioner is punctual—the hour fixed for the execution arrives and passes—and the multitude assembled to view the awful spectacle begin to grow impatient. The execution can no longer be deferred—the reluctant sheriff is about to give the fatal signal, when, in the outskirts of the crowd a slight commotion is apparent—a cry arises—a horseman dashes through, waving a flag over his head, and bearing a packet in his hand,—a pardon! a pardon! is shouted by the crowd,—the prisoner, with strained eye-balls, and bursting veins, turns towards the sheriff a mute appeal, when suddenly, with a yell of rage, the muffled executioner turns the fatal wheel, and sends the wretched Delany into eternity.

It then transpires that the executioner is O'Connor, who adopts this shocking mode of wreaking his vengeance on the murderer of his child; his intellect gives way under the fearful excitement, and he ends his life within the walls of the prison a raving lunatic.

Mr. Curtis' book is, on the whole, superior to the rest of the batch before us, the names of some of which will be found in the heading of this paper; but none of the number contain any of those thrilling narratives, those hair-breadth escapes, those wily schemes, those clever ruses, those bold attacks, which we should expect to find in fictions of this class; for fictions we must continue to call them, with the qualification regarding Mr. Curtis' volume which we have already made.

The detective system in this country is essentially low and mean, and probably the system is the same in other countries. The boasted skill of the celebrated French police, as it existed under different prefects and chiefs, was nothing after all but an elaborate system of espionage. It was founded on this system under Louis XI., when Tristan, whose name is immortalized by Scott in *Quentin Durward*, was at its head, and the post-office was invented

in France more as a means of spying over the country rapidly and surely, than for the legitimate object of the transmission of correspondence. The celebrated Sartines carried the spy system to a vast extent, and professed to know, and indeed appears actually to have known, what was passing of importance, not alone in Paris, but in every capital of Europe: but the bitterest commentary on the system was after all his own reply to some person who reproached him for employing repentant thieves and reformed convicts, as police spies, 'Tell me,' said he, 'of one honest man who will be a police spy?'

As we have already said, we have no desire to depreciate unduly the services of a well organized and trained police, when we remark how entirely the detection of great crimes appears to be exclusively the work of Providence. Every event, of course, which passes around us is ordered and ordained by Providence; and if men were to abandon all exertion and all interest in events, leaving everything to heaven, the result would be confusion and disorder. We have, therefore, no wish to suggest that the investigations undertaken for the discovery of the perpetrators of crime are useless; but it cannot escape observation how little the most elaborate and ingenious enquiry effects. It is indeed, almost invariably, some insignificant fact, some trivial coincidence, that points out the way and leads eventually to the desired conclusion. And when that aid, so granted by the hand of heaven, is, for wise though inscrutable purposes, withheld, the criminal escapes detection, and "sleeps in spite of thunder."

It is difficult to know which most to reverence and admire—the manner in which God uses the most tortuous and deceitful acts of men as the means of eliciting truth, or the awfully solemn silence with which He occasionally regards their crimes, leaving the lifting of the veil to that final Hour of Judgment, when every secret will be revealed, and concealment and mystery will be no more.

In the year 1806 the British Linen Company occupied for the banking part of their business a large house in the old town of Edinburgh. This house had formerly belonged to the Marquis of Tweeddale, and was situated within a spacious court, which was connected with the street by a narrow covered passage about forty feet long, and known as Tweeddale's Close.

About five o'clock in the evening of the 13th of November, 1806, a little girl sent by her mother to procure water from a neighbouring well, stumbled, in the obscure light, over the body of a man lying at the point of death, near the foot of the public stair which opened into the Close. Assistance was procured, and the man raised up, and he proved to be one William Begbie, a porter employed at the bank, and in his heart was found, buried deep up to the hilt, a long knife, making a wound which caused his death before he was enabled to speak a word, to account for the catastrophe, to those who came to his assistance.

The blow had indeed been struck home with fatal force and deliberation, and round the handle had been wrapped some soft paper, to prevent, as was conjectured, any sprinkling of blood from reaching the person of the murderer. Begbie had been robbed, it was discovered, of about £4,000 in notes and gold.

All the efforts made, and they were numerous and persevering, to discover the assassin, wholly failed, and though several were from time to time arrested on suspicion, sufficient evidence could not be collected to justify the trial of any individual.

Nearly a year after, some workmen returning from labour, passing through Bellevue Grounds, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, found in a hole a parcel containing about £3,000 in large notes, which were identified as a portion of those stolen from Begbie.

The finders returned the notes to the Banking Company, who rewarded them with £200, but the circumstance threw no light upon the dark tragedy, nor has the lapse of time done anything since to clear up the mystery.

So 'murder will not always out,' and the murderer of William Begbie carried his secret to the grave. In the ordinary course of nature he must, probably, by this time have passed to his account. Fifty-five years, if he still survive, must have bent his form and wrinkled his brow, and stolen from him most of that vigour and strength which filled his arm when, with such unerring force, he drove the instrument of death down into his victim's heart. Should he have survived the year 1856, with what feelings must he have heard of the murder of Mr. Little, in our own city.

Like Begbie, Little was deprived of life in the midst of

a populous city, at the close of day, and whilst men were still in motion to and fro upon their affairs.

Like Begbie he was, when murdered, engaged upon the business, and had the custody of the money of a Public Company. Like Begbie he was deprived of life for the sake of that money, and the same friendly obscurity that enveloped for ever the person of the assassin of Begbie, has shrouded in a like impenetrable gloom the murderer of Little.

One day, too, these two will stand together stripped of concealment, and a measure of justice will be meted to them. In that day, '*dies magna, et amara valde*,' the whole world will know the truth; and the murders of Eliza Grimwood, of Lord Norbury, of Mrs. Kelly, and of many others, will no more be hidden things, and the Waterloo Bridge and Road mysteries will be mysteries no more.

Then will the murderer stand before a Judge who can neither be deceived nor intimidated, and once again look upon his victim's face,—that victim whom, ruthlessly and barbarously, without a warning word, he "sent to his account with all his imperfections on his head."

Till that day comes men must be content to bow to a superior intelligence, and to acknowledge the limited scope of human foresight and knowledge. Would that this acknowledgment were more frequently and sincerely made to temper the zeal and moderate the haste of public prosecutors: to cool the judgments and clear the vision of those in whose hands are placed the awful trust and responsibility of disposing of human life, and holding up between the accuser and accused the tremendous balance of the scales of Justice.

- Art. VI.—1. *Döllinger ; Ueber den Kirchenstaat. Allgemeine Zeitung.* 7 April, 8 April, 16 April, 17 April, 1861. Augsburg.
2. *Le Duxième Lettre à M. le Comte de Cavour, par le Comte de Montalembert, l'un des Quarante de l'Académie Française.* Lecoffre. Paris, 29, Rue du Vieux-Colombier, 1861.
3. *Der Kirchenstaat seit der Französischen Revolution ; Historisch-Statistische Studien und Skizzen.* Von Dr. J. Hergenröther. Freiburg im Breisgau. Herdersche Verlagshandlung. 1860.
4. *Devotion to the Church.* By Frederick William Faber, D.D. Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Second Edition. London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son, 1861.

ROME is the knot in European politics, and there is none to unravel the entanglement. Rome is the moral Quadrilateral against the daring success of the revolution ; therefore against this ancient citadel all the forces of anarchy, fraud, flattery, and corruption are combined. The fortress, if it cannot be stormed, must be undermined. The garrison of the faithful throughout the world must be bribed to betray their trust, and to surrender the keys of Rome into the hands of their enemies. How grand a thing it is, say these opponents of the temporal power of the Popes, addressing themselves to the vain or the visionary among the leaders of the Catholic body, how grand to be superior to the common prejudice of the vulgar, to be gifted with a keener insight into the mysterious future than the rest of mankind, to become the inaugurators of a new epoch which shall eclipse all the former glories of the Papacy. Trust to us, they continue, we shall give liberty to the Church and complete independence to its venerable ruler ; we shall reconcile modern modes of thought to ancient dogma, and restore universal liberalism to the enlightened yoke of the Catholic Church. We only demand in exchange for all these great promises, and as a proof of confidence, the keys of the citadel. The wooden horse introduced into the walls of doomed Troy did not contain a greater danger than that concealed under these hollow platitudes. Perfidious Greeks never offered more treacherous gifts. And yet, in the present cessation from active hostilities, liberals of every hue and colour, from the puny and half-fledged trai-

tor in our own camp, to the Nestor of liberalism grown hoary in deceit, urge with one accord upon the Pope the honour of yielding up Rome, the glory of disgrace, and the liberty of a prison. But the faithful sons of Catholicism throughout the world cry with one voice, "No surrender!" not even of an inch of ground sacred to the Papacy, not one jot of the independence so necessary to the Pope. Courage, loyalty, endurance, hope, are virtues of an ancient stamp, and they will never be quite out of date among Catholic laymen, as long as Montalembert shall live, and will never be silenced as long as his voice shall be heard. On the principle of Papal independence all sound Catholics are agreed, but between the recognition of a principle and its enforcement, there is an almost immeasurable distance.

Who shall ensure the independence of the Pope, which all consider essential to the welfare of the Church? The Head of Christendom is abandoned by the Catholic world. He is surrounded by those who hate him. He is in the hands of his crafty enemy, the arch-hypocrite of the Tuilleries. As a matter of fact his independence is gone. Scarcely a rag of his temporal power is left. When it suits his plans, Louis Napoleon will withdraw his troops from Rome, as he did his fleet from Gaeta. Then, what next? Count Cavour's offer of liberty in the Vatican and a pension from the state? But the Pope is in this dilemma, he must be either a sovereign or a subject. Not for his personal dignity, although to a true Catholic, that alone would be a sufficient reason; not on political necessities, not even on the score of right, but solely for the good of the Church, must the Pope retain, is the Catholic argument, the temporal sovereignty bestowed on him for that purpose.

But, the good of the Church is the last thing the enemies of the Pope care for. They declare, when they do not speak to deceive us, that the liberty of the Church is incompatible with modern civilization. The enemies of the Papacy rule the world, and alter at will the map of Europe. Count Cavour has proclaimed that Rome must be the capital of Italy, and that the Supreme Pontiff must cease to be a sovereign. Who is there to gainsay him? What king, what nation of Christendom, in the nineteenth century, will do more than simply protest against this spiritual parricide? Is it not, after all, a question merely of spiritual intercast? It does not affect the boundary of an

empire, or the prerogative of a king, or a dynastic claim, nor disturb trade, nor alter a tariff, nor raise the price of beer in the chief city of a country, nor wound the susceptible feeling of nationality. Each of these events has kindled a war, raised a rebellion, or caused a riot; but these things pressed nearly and dearly on the selfishness of the individual, or on the vanity of the masses. Will the conqueror of Solferino and Magenta, who alone made its destruction possible, interfere now to save the temporal sovereignty of the Pope? The Master of the destinies of the world, we may be sure, will consult only his own interests in the matter. Self is his only god. The possession of Rome makes him, in a manner, the lord of Italy. But his gripe upon France is, of late, less secure. His nervous suppression of the pamphlet of the Duc D'Aumale, which, nevertheless, before its seizure, and by the help of numerous transcripts, obtained an enormous circulation, and the vindictive punishment inflicted upon the publisher and the printer, and the restrictive measures taken to prevent a repetition of the offence, indicate, in no dubious manner, the Emperor's fear lest the House of Orleans, the presumptive heir to the elder Bourbons, should rally to its standard the Catholics of France, as well as the parliamentary liberals, and become a formidable rival to the imperial dynasty. Should he find it impossible to win again the confidence, or even to appease the French episcopate, to better his hold upon the infidel and revolutionary party in France he would sacrifice his position in Rome, and identify himself more openly and actively than ever with the leaders of European anarchy. No field would be too wide for his intrigues, no enemy too powerful for his Pretorian guards.

Venice, and Rome, and Hungary, and Poland, would be the theatre of his victorious and sanguinary exploits. Everywhere the Catholic Church would be his enemy, and everywhere the victim of his hate and revenge. Italy, it is to be feared, would be the too faithful ally of his deeds of blood. Italy, that seems to be approaching to her '89 and her '93—Italy, whose most popular hero, whose prospective Robespierre boasts that he will drain the life-blood of the vipers that infest the eternal city, whose watch-word is war to the knife against the priesthood—Italy, the companion in arms of France—the mistress of Rome—what berty will she have to bestow on the Papacy? Even as

matters now stand, what liberty does she give to her monks, her priests, her bishops, faithful to their trust, but the liberty of the dungeon, the liberty of exile! In the present state of society, could the Pope, as a subject of any king in Europe, hope to escape persecution or control? To become a subject would be to return to the catacombs. In the great drama which is being carried on before our eyes, the Pope is the sole actor on the Catholic side. Emperors, kings, and peoples are reduced to the sad state of passive spectators of the miserable spectacle. Modern civilization triumphs, and ancient right is trampled underfoot. But, above the shouts and yells of these advanced leaders of progress, of this vanguard of civilization, whose hands are still red with innocent blood shed in the fastnesses of the Abruzzi, two voices have just made themselves heard in Europe. Out of the passive or more insignificant crowd two champions of the temporal power of the Pope have stepped forth, Montalembert and Dr. Döllinger, the learned theologian of Munich. The clear indignant voice of the French champion of the Papacy is heard in a letter to Count Cavour, in which, in the fiery language of offended honesty, he repudiates the proffered friendship of a false liberalism, and takes his stand upon the absolute rights of the Papacy violated by the Revolution. Dr. Döllinger, in his two lectures addressed to a crowded and mixed assemblage, while condemning the crying injustice of the French Emperor and of Sardinia against the Pope, confines his observations more to the actual order of things, and deals with matters of fact. "Matters of fact," he says, "according to the English proverb, are stubborn things, and not easily to be altered. The conclusions which I have drawn," he continues, "are based upon well attested facts. My conclusions are open to criticism, but the facts are grounded upon official and trustworthy documents, or upon my personal knowledge of the condition of the Papal States." The lecturer evidently plumes himself upon the superiority of his method of treating the Papal question, and takes a pride in basing his argument, rather upon the political facts of the day, than upon the eternal principles of justice, or upon that larger view of events which discovers in the development of the temporal sovereignty of the Papacy a divine purpose and a consummated fact of greater importance, as a help towards the elucidation of

the future, than the political and passing changes of the hour.

It is in this narrow and limited range of his philosophy, and in the dry literalness of his conception, the chief weakness of the lecturer lies. He came forth as the champion of the necessity of the Papal independence, and in spite of himself, he ended in becoming its greatest enemy. If a speaker is to be judged, not by the impression which he intended to produce, but by the effect left on the mind of his audience, Dr. Döllinger deserves unmitigated condemnation. He had the Papacy for his subject, and Europe for his audience, and he insulted the friends of the Church and flattered its enemies. His words are paraded throughout Italy, are enrolled on the banners of the revolution, and are become the Shibboleth in the hostile camp. He is held up as the "Simon pure" of Catholic Germany, and at the same time as, at least, the palliator of the revolutionary events. Dr. Döllinger is the most unfortunate of men; he suffers, not only from the patronage of his enemies, but from the miserable and exaggerated partiality of his friends. From the "Saturday Review," to the "Rambler," his lectures have been welcomed in England with an uninterrupted chorus of praise,* whilst the noble and magnificent letter of Count de Montalembert, in defence of the Papal rights, has been passed over in entire silence, or merely alluded to as a "foaming and flaming opiatle," which the writer's best friends would have wished never to have been written.†

Polemics is the bane of a candid and impartial inquiry. Dr. Döllinger's argument has in many places been wrenched from its socket and used as a weapon against the cause he desired to defend. He has not only been misinterpreted, he has been misunderstood and greatly, from his own fault. Not so much, perhaps, from an insufficient grasp of mind, as from a want of quick and ready sympathy in treating so momentous a question as

* The "Tablet" newspaper, however, is a noble exception. With a tenacity of purpose and fixedness of principle, as rare as they are delightful, it has never for an instant given in to the delusive liberalism of the day, or fallen into a state of maudlin sympathy towards the heroes of the revolution, alive or dead.

† "Daily News."

the sacrilegious spoliation of the Papacy. When the Father of Christendom is deserted by friends, beset by enemies, mocked, calumniated, abused; and, when all that is true, and noble, and generous, and loyal in the Catholic world is touched to the quick, or stung with indignation, Dr. Döllinger steps forward, and delivers a dry disquisition on the temporal power of the Popes, which in no measure or manner responds to the affliction of the Catholic mind of Europe. This deficient delicacy of perception and sympathy is the head and front of his offending. It verifies the truth of the saying, that a small unkindness from a friend is a great offence. The Catholic world has already resented this great offence in a storm of indignation, which has completely taken the Munich Professor by surprise; he is still scarcely aware of its cause. Are his facts not unimpeachable?—are they not founded upon documentary evidence—upon the reports of the English foreign office—upon personal knowledge? What can be greater than facts? We almost believe we are listening to a modern Dr. Dryasdust, rather than to a great Church historian and Catholic theologian. Döllinger is the Lingard of Germany,—Lingard in his most unfavourable aspect—hard, dry, and critical.

Apart, however, from time and circumstance, from the method of treatment and from the appearance of treachery, there is much in these lectures of Dr. Döllinger with which we are disposed to coincide. We agree with him that it is not to be denied, that for the last forty years a revolutionary spirit has been fermenting in the town populations of the Roman States, and that from the absence in Italy, and especially in the Papal provinces, of an influential peasant class, the preponderance of the cities is decisive in all political questions. It is likewise true, as he alleges, that the weakness of the Papal government has increased with every year, and that when Pius IX. consented to introduce modern institutions, and granted, at the commencement of his pontificate, a comprehensive amnesty, he was only bringing back enemies to make open war against his rule. He showed mercy to the unmerciful, like his Divine Master, forgiving them that crucified Him. We have already, in a former article, in the pages of this Review,* anticipated the conclusions of

* Bonapartism, Nov. 1860.

the learned lecturer, when he states that nothing could be worse than a restoration by force of arms of the Papal sovereignty over the revolted States of the Church. And that the triumphs of the armies of Austria would, in the present turbulent and profoundly agitated state of Italy, inevitably lead to a new, a more destructive and terrible revolution, in which the States of the Church would be entirely swept away, so that the last state of things would be worse than the first. We object, however, from every point of view, and on all considerations, to the question as to the necessity of the temporal power of the Popes mooted by Dr. Döllinger in his first lecture. We cannot, as Catholics, too forcibly repudiate the reasoning and the conclusion, which, if he does not actually draw, he more than indicates, that the temporal sovereignty has ever been a hindrance rather than a help to the Papacy, and that, to use his own words, "since 1831 it has hung like a leaden weight to the heel of the successor of St. Peter."

The whole drift of the first lecture is to show, that for the by far longer period of its existence, the temporal power has been a simple draw-back and encumbrance on the Popes. The reverend lecturer grants that Pope Pius IX. could not have done other than he has done in resisting the demands made upon him by the great powers; because in his character of electoral prince he governed the States of the Church as trust property, and was bound by oath to preserve them intact. But, apart from the present state of affairs, the question may be put, whether territorial possessions are absolutely necessary for the Papacy? "History answers," says the lecturer, "that the chair of St. Peter existed at first for seven hundred years without even possessing a single village or hamlet; and that even later, when whole provinces were conferred upon them, the Sovereign Pontiff from the ninth to the fifteenth century, with few exceptions, never enjoyed quiet possession of their more extended territory, and that even the mightiest of the Successors of St. Peter, Gregory VII. and Urban II., died on a foreign soil. According to the testimony of a Pope himself, when the Papacy was at the very height of its religious and political power, there were only two cities, Viterbo and Avignon, where the Popes could dwell in peace and security. Rome, for centuries, was too disturbed a place for a Papal residence. Only three hundred years ago did the Popes

attain to the secure possession of their territories, but what," asks the lecturer, "are three hundred, compared to eighteen hundred years?"

The historical argument which the lecturer adduces against the necessity of territorial possessions to the Papacy, has not sufficient sophistry to deceive even the unreasoning. It is one of those platitudes which an ordinary half-informed lecturer throws out to catch the multitude; in so learned a writer as Dr. Döllinger, such a course cannot be ascribed to ignorance, but rather to the careless and superficial method he has adopted in entering upon a subject, the gravity of which he scarcely seems to be aware of. It does not at all follow, as he infers, that the Papacy was at the very height of its religious and political glory because it had scarcely a single city where it could dwell in peace; the non-possession of territorial dominions was not the cause of its glory; the loss of territory indeed was the consequence of persecution, but the persecution of the Papacy, if we read the historical lesson aright, was itself the cause which roused, as it always does, in the entire Church, the zeal of the saint or the spirit of the martyr. In the reaction that follows fast on the persecuting spirit, whether religious or political, which drives the Popes out of their dominions—in the consequent sympathy and self-denial of Christians—in the stubborn prayers and austerities of the cloister—in the renewed vigour of the priesthood—in the glorious examples and exhortations of the prelates of the Church, do we discover the cause of the advanced glory, political or religious, of the Papacy, and not with Dr. Döllinger, in its relief from the burden of temporal dominion. We have not the slightest hesitation in believing, that we are now about to enter upon a period of persecution, which, in the course of time, will greatly increase the renown of the pontificate of Pius IX.; but we do not believe that the entrance of Victor Emmanuel into the States of the Church, or the presence of Louis Napoleon in the Eternal City, will bring relief to the mind of the Supreme Pontiff, or add by even the weight of a straw, to his devotion to Church affairs, or conduce, in the remotest, to the good of Christians or to the glory of God.

The lecturer then goes on to consider some of the essential conditions in the government of the States of the Church. "The Pope, for instance, is an electoral prince, a form of succession as beneficial for the Church as it is

politically defective. All electoral kingdoms have hitherto perished, because they were wanting in a dynasty rooted in the soil; because there existed no long mutual attachment between prince and people; every newly-elected Pope was at least a stranger to his subjects, often even a foreigner. The Popes were for the most part advanced in years when they entered upon their Pontificate; on account, therefore, of the rapid and frequent change of system, no Pontifical government was able to strike root into the nation. From such considerations it was," continued the lecturer, seeking to support his views on the shoulders of others, "that men, held by the Church in the highest repute, like Bellarmine, came to the conclusion, that it were better that the Popes should not occupy the twofold position of temporal prince and head of the Church."

After dwelling, as we have seen, on the increasing disaffection in the Italian mind against the Papal dominion as an obstacle to the formation of a united kingdom of Italy, and on the growing weakness of the temporal sovereignty, which, since 1849, has been reduced to the sad necessity of depending on the garrisons of two foreign powers, Austria and France, for support and preservation; Dr. Döllinger, at the close of his first lecture, comes to the conclusion that the union of the two powers, the spiritual and the temporal, in the States of the Church, is not an element of strength, but of weakness. "For nothing," he says, "excites greater animosity than the employment of political measures to forward religious purposes, or, on the other hand, than the use of spiritual means for political ends." This aversion to the union of the temporal and spiritual government is not, the lecturer considers, the consequence of a weakened sentiment of religion, but is owing to the general change of circumstances and mode of viewing public matters in Europe. "How should we, in Germany," asks the reverend lecturer, "put up with a bishop as a governor of a province or city?" It is, perhaps, necessary to remark, that what Dr. Döllinger objects to here, is not the twofold sovereignty in the person of the Pope, but the clerical government in the States of the Church. "The Papal government," continues the lecturer, "moves in a vicious circle; the more concessions it makes, the more weapons it places in the hands of its enemies; but the refusal of reforms heightens the hos-

tility of the people. How utterly deplorable of late," he exclaims, "is the position of the Pope. He cannot be a subject; he must never exclusively belong to one kingdom; he must be free and independent to exercise his office as the common Father of all; even the mere suspicion of dependence were injurious to the Holy See. When Austria and France in common garrisoned Rome, the Pope, at least, could appear free; but now, since the domination of Austria has been broken in Italy, and the French garrison is the sole support of the Pope, a state of things exists which can only be endured for a time. But, as matters stand, a French or an Austrian garrison is absolutely necessary, he imagines, for twenty or thirty years to come, to the ruin of the finances of the State, and to the excitement of a still deeper aversion against the Papal government.

"Hopeless prospect," concludes the lecturer, "a provisional state without the chance of solution. Thus, then, the possession of the States of the Church has a contrary operation to what was intended, and by which alone it was justified; for, instead of securing the independence of the Pope, it has made the crutch of a foreign army a necessity for ever, and has lowered the Head of the Church in public esteem." In the present temper of the Catholic mind, it is not to be wondered at, that grave offence was taken at the tone of this lecture, and at the deductions which, whether he intended it or no, were so liable to be drawn from the admissions of the lecturer to the detriment of the temporal power of the Popes. In the present critical state of affairs, when under cover of an attack against his temporal possessions, the spiritual supremacy of the Pope is sought to be undermined, nothing could be worse than this faint-hearted surrender of what all the bishops of Christendom, from the Bavarian capital to the most remote and insignificant city beyond the Atlantic, have concurred in supporting as the bulwark of the Church in its struggle against the world. In the short interval, which elapsed between the delivery of the first and second lectures, and even in the course of the lecture itself, the manifestation of opinion was so strong and unqualified as to compel the lecturer, if not to modify his positions, at least to vindicate himself from the appearance of sympathy with a course of events which would lead to the separation of the temporal and spiritual powers of the Pope. That such a

vindication was necessary, is in itself evidence against the judgment and discretion of the learned lecturer; and the opinion of the Munich audience has been ratified, not only by the indignation of the Catholic public of Europe, but even still more by the unbounded applause which Dr. Döllinger has the unspeakable misfortune to receive from the enemies of the Church in Italy, France, and England, as well as in the country which has the unhappiness to contribute in his person a well-intentioned enemy to the Papal cause.

To obviate the erroneous impressions, which his first lecture had produced, Dr. Döllinger in his second, directs attention to the difference which exists between the bare recital of facts and a positive statement of coincidence of opinion. "Facts," he contends, "which I relate, are not to be confounded with my own demands or desires. He who imposes upon himself the task of giving a picture of the present state of affairs, must not introduce into such a representation his own views and wishes; he must take things as they are. To state that a tendency towards secularization pervades the whole of Europe, is one thing, but quite another to say, I wish it, or that, I see a benefit in the destruction of the temporal power of the Popes." The lecturer then states, that the deductions in his first lecture were founded on the following five facts, which he thus again sums up. "1st. The Holy See existed for seven hundred years without temporal possessions, and then for seven hundred and fifty years more in the disturbed and insecure occupation of the States of the Church. The undisturbed possession of the temporal power lasted about three hundred and fifty years, and the present form of government, an inheritance of the revolutionary domination of Napoleon I. was only introduced forty-five years ago. It follows hence; 2nd., that the possession and government of an important State is not in itself, and at all times, necessary for the dignity and freedom of the Head of the Church." We must interrupt this train of argument; we cannot coincide with the lecturer's conclusion; it does not appear to us to follow, that because the Church for so many hundred years existed without temporal possessions, therefore to deprive the Pope now by violence or intrigue of the right of sovereignty, which the Papacy has enjoyed for centuries, and to compel him to become the subject of an irreligious and hostile state, would be con-

ducive to the dignity or add to the freedom of the Head of the Church.

The learned lecturer is certainly at fault in his logic. He has drawn too wide and unwarrantable a conclusion from his premiss. There is no kind of analogy between the state of the Church, fresh from the cross, just emerging from the Catacombs, converting, unprotected by temporal power and possessions, the Pagan world, and forming European society on a Christian model, and the state of the Church to-day—the ruler of two hundred millions of Christians—stripped by the violence of a revolutionary and anti-Christian faction, by the connivance of the crowned heads, and by the apathy of Europe of her just rights, of her freedom and independence, left alone to the mercy of her enemies, and forced, in spite of herself, under their subjection. There is a vast difference between the non-possession and the surrender of power. There is in this respect no analogy between the early ages of the Church and the circumstances of the present day. And unless the learned lecturer is prepared to argue that the days of martyrdom are returned, and that as the tottering Pagan world had to be converted by the blood of the saints, so that now that ancient seed of the Church is to be sown anew in the corrupt heart of Europe, he can institute no comparison between, ground no argument on, the condition of the Papacy in the first ages of its existence, and its present state and requirements. But since, on the contrary, the writer infers that the loss of the temporal power of the Popes will not lead to the persecution of the Papacy, but materially conduce to its peace, security, and well-being, his argument is not entitled to this interpretation, and he is bound to find a better reason for the surrender of the temporal sovereignty of the Papacy into the hands of the revolution than the fact that the Church was once unendowed with temporal possessions.

But after this interruption, which we were bound to make, lest we should appear even for a moment to countenance Dr. Döllinger's conclusions, let us return to the enumeration of the five facts on which the lecturer grounds the deductions that form the staple of his address. The third fact, he continues, is public opinion, which not only at present, but for a considerable period, has been opposed to the existence of the States of the Church, because the people of Italy found in the Papal Sovereignty the chief

hindrance to their passionate desire for the formation of a united and independent Italian kingdom ; 4th, for thirty or forty years not only has a numerous faction in the papal territory laboured to upset the government, but no portion of the population has in these latter years exhibited an active, determined, or devoted attachment to the Papal dominion ; and 5th, for a century the tendency of Europe inclines towards secularization, that is, the separation of the temporal and political from the spiritual ; nowhere in Europe does it any longer occur, or would it be tolerated, that civil offices should be administered by ecclesiastics, or that the government of a country or the administration of justice should be entrusted to clerical officials. The States of the Church have hitherto formed the single exception to this rule.

Although the lecturer specially guards himself against the interpretation that his individual opinions and sympathies were identical with the facts which he has stated, he nevertheless comes to the conclusion that the continuance of the present order of things in the States of the Church would only then be possible, were the great majority of the people to manifest a decided partiality for the present system of government. But since notoriously this is not the case, the government, he contends, will be unable in its present form to maintain itself for any length of time. "If the Pope is to remain a temporal prince, or to become one again, a secularization of some kind or other is inevitably necessary for the States of the Church."

We cannot do more than merely recapitulate the arguments which the writer brings forward in favour of the secularization of the government in the Papal States ; in the first place he meets the objection, that as the Head of the States of the Church is an Ecclesiastic, therefore, without respect to the wishes of the people, the government must be entrusted to the hands of ecclesiastics, and if this be not acceded to, then that the country should be occupied as it has been for the last thirty years, by foreign soldiers, by the following consideration, namely, that the experience of history does not show that it is impossible that the States of the Church should be governed in a manner different from the present, because an earnest attempt has never yet been made to introduce a system of self-government, or to admit the laity to participate in the administrative and legislative functions of the State. But

since this attempt has not been made, of course it cannot be said to have failed. He appeals to history to show that the ecclesiastical principalities of Germany were governed by laymen, under a spiritual prince, with such advantage and success as to give rise to the German proverb, that "unter dem Krummstab ist gut leben," "a proverb," continues the lecturer, "of quite another description would have arisen had the government been entrusted to clerical hands." Dr. Döllinger then argues that no appeal can be made to the Middle Ages in favour of ecclesiastical government, because the Middle Ages are gone for ever, and we live in quite other times, and under totally different circumstances. The Modern State, the writer argues, with its greatly increased wants, its police and centralized authority, its guardianship over the public lotteries, the gambling-houses and theatres, its censorship of the press, its passport system and excise duties, does not harmonize with an ecclesiastical government, and the very attempt to place such things in clerical hands degrades the priestly state and office. In confirmation of his views the lecturer appeals to authorities, and to no less an authority than Pope Pius IX. himself. In granting an unconditional amnesty, and in calling Count Rossi to his councils, the Sovereign Pontiff, he argues, intended to break with the old system, for on no other hypothesis could this extraordinarily bold act be accounted for. Count Rossi's principles were known to the Pope; moreover, he made it a condition of his entrance into the Papal service—as was well known at the time in France and Italy—that the chief power of the administration should be placed in the hands of laymen, and the government, so to speak, be secularized. Dr. Döllinger sees in the death of the prime minister of the Pope by the dagger of a Mazzinian assassin, a proof that the revolutionary and antipapal party had discovered in Count Rossi and his plans a sure means for the rescue of the Papal throne. The next authority which the lecturer cites is the memorial of the Five Great Powers in the year 1831, in which the Court of Rome was counselled to admit laymen into all the offices of state, and to introduce institutions of a popular character, founded upon the principles of self-government. This advice was given by the great Powers at a time when they did not even think of making such reforms in their own dominions, and yet they were, nevertheless,

convinced of the inevitable necessity for the introduction of these measures into the States of the Church. Dr. Döllinger then brings his lectures to a conclusion by suggesting five possible contingencies, which may lead to the solution of the Roman question. We cannot in these pages do more than give the substance of these solutions which the lecturer offers, and must refer the reader for the arguments with which his views are introduced and supported, to the work itself, which no doubt will shortly make its appearance in an English form. The first contingency to which we have already alluded is the renewed outbreak of war in Italy, leading to the restoration of the Austrian domination in Lombardy, and to the compulsory surrender of the revolted provinces and rebellious States of the Church to the Papal authority, and as a consequence of this enforced submission, to a series of new revolutions, by which Italy will be plunged into a whirlpool of passions and crimes, in which the States of the Church will perish, and the last condition of things be more disastrous than the first.

The second eventuality is, that the Italian kingdom, now in process of formation, may be consolidated under the power of Sardinia; and the secularization of the entire States of the Church would then soon become an accomplished fact. In this case the Pope would be compelled to leave Rome, and have, for a time, to reside in some other Catholic country, and Rome, without more ado, would be incorporated into the Italian kingdom. Of course all those institutions would then be introduced into the States of the Church which the Papal Government, of late years, considered it a duty not to concede, because every concession was turned into a weapon against itself. But in the case supposed, the institutions, now common in Italy, would be introduced into the Roman States, and would amount to a complete secularization. The clergy, with its privileges so repugnant to the laity, would be placed under the common law, and by this act the chief cause of the aversion against the priesthood would be removed. In Germany, adds the lecturer, by way of example, all exclusive rights of the clergy have long since been happily done away with, and there is not a priest who reflects on the subject but would reject with abhorrence the thought of their restitution. But were, then, he continues, the exceptional position of the clergy abrogated in the States of the

Church, it would be pure gain, and a decisive step towards the imperious necessity of a reconciliation of classes. If we assume that the germs of dissolution, which are unmistakably visible in the new Italian kingdom, develop themselves, and a restoration of the Papal power in Rome and in the whole, or part of the States of the Church, be brought about, the Pope will have gained an immense advantage, inasmuch as the greatest part of the work of reform will have been accomplished for him, and he will have been spared the labours and difficulties of all the changes in the State,—he will enter upon quite an altered position; he will be the head of an administration, composed entirely, or for the most part of laymen, which will be for the Pope a simple gain. The third, and most probable solution which the lecturer suggests of the Papal difficulty is the convocation by the Emperor of the French of a Congress of Catholic Powers, to consider the affairs of the Papacy. At the present juncture such a step the Rev. Lecturer considers to be not only the best and wisest course open to Napoleon, but the only means to avert the reproach, that he had made himself the subservient tool of English hatred against Rome, (or rather, we should say, of the revolutionary party in Europe,) and had placed France in a position as politically false as it is morally degrading. France, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and Bavaria, would be the Powers to take part in the Congress; then, adds the lecturer, “an unwelcome guest, Piedmont, a power which has declared it will recognize no international rights, as representative of Italy must needs be admitted.” But why should the lecturer exclude the Papacy from his congress? Is it out of a tender regard for the honour of the Pope, lest his representative should be confronted with the crowned Robber of Italy? or does he take upon himself to waive for the Supreme Pontiff his right to be considered an independent Italian power? The result of such a congress on the States of the Church Dr. Döllinger considers it not difficult to foresee. The majority would insist not only that the Holy See should retain its present possessions, but upon the restoration of, at least, a part of those which have been torn away from its dominions; but at the same time they would demand as the only means of reconciling the people with the government, the secularization of the Papal administration, municipal institutions, the admission of laymen to the

control of the finances and to the legislation of the country; in a word, the introduction of all those institutions which, with the exception of Russia and Turkey, are now common to all Europe. If, however, these concessions were not granted, it would be impossible to re-establish order for a continuance without the permanent occupation of the States of the Church by foreign troops. "This difficulty," continues the lecturer, "still remains, that the hopes of the Italian patriots for the formation of a united and powerful kingdom would not thus be fulfilled. But they must comfort themselves as we Germans do, whose only prospect at best is a strong federal State, with which the Italians also must be content to put up." Dr. Döllinger is here again not very consistent in his argumentation; for the difficulty of Italian patriotism, which he now makes light of, in his first lecture he set great store by, as an argument against the possible continuance, in the present state of Italy, of the temporal power of the Papacy.

In the solution of the Roman question, two other possibilities of far darker complexion still remain in the background, and which the lecturer considers under the fourth and fifth contingencies, and which may be thus briefly summed up. 4. There is the plan of the first Napoleon to make the Papacy subservient to his ambitious projects. The Nephew has declared that he has entered upon the inheritance of his uncle, and is now perhaps meditating on the removal of the Papacy to France, in order to use it as a tool of his policy. This contingency, however, is the least to be feared, because the "whole public opinion" of Europe would revolt against it. And "public opinion," in the lecturer's characteristic remark, "is in its continuance an irresistible power." Alas! for the Papacy, alas! for Christianity itself, were there no power more irresistible than public opinion, the base idol of the present day, before which in most abject humility its worshippers bend the knee. From the days of Pilate to the days of Napoleon, have not truth and public opinion been in perpetual conflict? Shall truth to-day be put aside, shall the rights of the Papacy be surrendered, because the journals, the parliaments of the world, the lecture-halls even of Catholic cities, and all that forms the brazen image with its hidden feet of clay, is set against their maintenance, and loud against them who think they can see "the finger of God's justice" in events other than those sanctioned by public opinion or

welcomed as Providential triumphs? The present state of parties in France, the lecturer conceives, would render the project of transplanting the Papacy to that country impossible. He divides France into three parties, the Catholic, the democratic, and the Bonapartist; the latter only would be in favour of such a plan. Every religious-minded Frenchman, the whole of the clergy, and all that portion of French society which is ranged under Falloux, Villcmain, and Montalembert, would, he rightly supposes, rise like one man against the dishonour put upon the Church by such a subjection of the Papacy to the imperial government. They, on the other hand, who think the spiritual power is already at present too strong in France, and who fear that the presence of the Pope would increase the religious feeling of the people, as might well be the result, are likewise opposed to this project. In these two parties, nine-tenths of the French people are comprehended. The Bonapartist party, which alone remains, is weak indeed, and powerless, and as soon as public opinion is directed against them will fall to pieces. Lastly, the fifth contingency, which seems ever present in the lecturer's mind, is that the States of the Church should be lost for ever to the Holy See.

"This contingency," says the lecturer, "we must look in the face, since possibly it is so ordained in the councils of God. The Church, indeed, has received the promise that the gates of hell shall never prevail against her, yet she has no promise that the successor of St. Peter shall remain for ever a monarch of a temporal kingdom. Should Italy or Europe," continues the lecturer, "be destined to become the theatre of new revolutions, who will deny that the position of the head of the Church would be better and more dignified were he not tied down to the heavy and helpless burden of a temporal kingdom, which he would be totally unable to protect, or maintain against the renewed assaults of tumult and rebellion? Were Italy, however, to be consolidated into an orderly State, the public opinion, or more properly, the public conscience of Europe will be strong and powerful enough to secure the freedom of the Holy See." The lecturer then asks who will deny the fact that since 1831 the dominion over central Italy, and over three millions of subjects has been a source of weakness and dependence, of trouble and affliction for the Holy See? Who will desire that this unnatural and lamentable state

of things should be dragged on for an uncertain period, in a course of alternations between revolts, political trials, banishings, imprisonments, and foreign occupation? One thing, however, we are glad to see, that in this last contingency, which the lecturer evidently considers the most probable solution of the Roman question, he takes for granted that Rome will either now be preserved to the Pope or restored to him again, even though it be on the low and selfish ground on which Dr. Döllinger puts it, and not from higher motives, or by a providential direction. Dr. Döllinger argues, namely, that Rome would prefer to be the metropolis of the world and mistress of two millions of subjects, rather than the chief city of an Italian kingdom of twenty millions, even were she able indeed to maintain this pre-eminence, were Naples, as most probably will be the case, to free herself from the rest of Italy. Rome is ordained to be the metropolis of the world, and cannot put aside this glorious ordinance like a garment. Which of these contingencies, then, asks the lecturer, may be realized, who can say?

In a difficulty which none can unravel, he will not even give himself the appearance of offering advice. There is not the slightest hope, he maintains, humanly speaking, ever to reconcile the people with the clerical administration. "It is utterly impossible to refuse to the Romans, institutions which are now granted to the rest of Italy, freedom of the press, popular representation, and the independence of the judicial tribunals; it is equally impossible, if such concessions be made, that an ecclesiastical administration can continue to exist. In the whole of Italy the clergy are placed in an awkward and painful position, as injurious for their spiritual office, as for the religious life of the people. But where man cannot solve the knot, God will solve it. Who can see into the future, however near?—who knows whether central Europe be not advancing on to a terrible commotion—who knows whether plotting under cover of Sardinia, the Mazzinian party will not plunge Italy into all the tortures and convulsions of a social and anti-Christian revolution? Who can say how much will fall to pieces in Italy and elsewhere?" But one thing is certain, is the lecturer's conclusion, that among all the ruins, one institution will remain erect; out of all the floods of the revolution, the Church of God will ever rise unimpaired because it is inde-

tractible and immortal. Nobody on earth is strong enough to level it to the ground; were all the powers of Europe banded together for its destruction, they would be unable to accomplish its overthrow." The reverend lecturer masses together with ready eloquence arguments furnished from Holy Writ, and from the nature of a divine institution, that the Church will not perish at the hands of its enemies.

But is his argument not rather beside the question? We hardly need the testimony of Dr. Döllinger, that the promises of Christ shall be fulfilled. Every Catholic child, which had learnt its first catechism, could give an explanation, on this point, as satisfactory and complete. Even Napoleon himself, and the late Count Cavour, never contemplated the extinction of the Church of God. The point at issue is, whether it will fare better henceforth with the Papacy, if it be deprived of its temporal power, or if it retain, as heretofore, its worldly dominions? To this point the lecturer, in his peroration, again returns. "Let us not cling," he says, "to the perishable and the accidental. Let us not demand that what we ourselves would not bear should be forced on the Roman people—a government, which is a compromise, a middle-thing (*ein Mittelding*) between the temporal and the spiritual, and which for the last forty-five years has engendered only revolt, and a deep aversion in the majority of the people of the Roman States. Whoso leans on this staff, runs the risk if the staff indeed should be rotten, of falling to the ground." And again, "There are many enemies," says Dr. Döllinger, "of the temporal power of the Papacy, but within the Christian world there are no enemies of the spiritual power, who are not at once enemies of the Christian religion altogether." To this proposition of Dr. Döllinger, we shall take the liberty to add the following as a rider, but not for his benefit alone—that there are no enemies of the temporal power of the Papacy who are not at the same time enemies also of the Pope. Who is a better judge of what is conducive to the well-being of the Papacy than the Pope? And has not Pius IX. himself declared that the temporal power has been given as a shield to guard the spiritual independence of the Church, and that they who attack, or who countenance the attack on, this necessary safeguard, are enemies of the spiritual head of the Church? What more do we need than this express declaration of the

Sovereign Pontiff to make us friends for ever of the temporal power of the Papacy?

What in reality Catholics most condemn in these lectures of Dr. Döllinger is the supreme and sovereign disregard they show to the recorded opinion of every ecclesiastical authority from the Holy Father downwards. Is Dr. Döllinger aware of the unanimity of Catholic opinion in favour of the temporal power of the Popes? Has he read or heard of the numerous addresses to the Sovereign Pontiff in favour of the maintenance of his rights, for the sake of the safety of the Church—addresses from all parts of the world, from Venice and Naples, from Sardinia itself, as well as from the revolted provinces of Central Italy, from Spain, from England and Ireland, from France and Germany, from America, from the Indies, and from the far Australia, all declaring in various tongues, but with one voice, for the temporal power of the Popes? Such unanimity in the Christian Church is like the speaking of the Holy Ghost; it appears to us at least like an indication of His overruling Presence and of His Divine Will. We object to the intellectual Protestantism which shrinks from or evades the supernatural character of the Papacy. In Dr. Döllinger we miss the higher discernment proper to the Catholic mind. About the Papacy there is nothing accidental, either in its constitution, or in the course of its history. Its position in the world is Providential. Rome is bound to the Popes, not because under the Popes it maintains its ancient distinction of being the metropolis of the world, but because Rome is the Jerusalem of the new dispensation, because the Papacy is rooted in the tomb of the Apostles. Not in vain was St. Peter crucified in Rome. The union of the Papacy and Rome is sealed by the sacrament of his blood. It is the elect of the cities. It is the appointed Witness whether to the glory or to the martyrdom of the Papacy. What has Dr. Döllinger gained by declining to a lower range of argument, by propounding, or rather suggesting views which may be liberal, but certainly are not Catholic? Has he bought off the hostility of the avowed enemies of the

* A collection at Rome has been made of these important documents, since the year 1860, entitled : *La Sovranità temporale dei Pontefici Romani propugnata dal Suffragio dell'orbe Cattolico.*

Church? Whom has he conciliated, whom won over to his side? None that are worth the winning, none whom he himself would like to keep or to own. Dr. Döllinger expects too much from the liberalism of Italy, has too great a confidence in its gifts and promises. He thinks that modern institutions, parliamentary government, a free press, the abrogation of the hated privileges of the clergy, will not only "reconcile classes," that is to say, reconcile the violators of the law with those whose rights they have trodden underfoot, and whose possessions they have appropriated, but will also lead Italy back to the feet of the Pope, who, according to this new theory, is to be either a subject of the king of a united Italy, or a sovereign shorn by the violence of his subjects, or neighbours, of his sovereign rights. The Vatican is to be the limit of the Papal Sovereignty. By this compact, conceived in fraud and completed by violence, a new glory is to be conferred on Italy, and greater liberty of action secured to the Papacy. What a vain delusion! how sanguine is the learned Professor, or how ignorant of the nature of revolutionary liberalism! If Italy be willing to exchange her glorious Pontificate for a Sardinian Kingship, to sell her birthright for a mess of liberal pottage, robbery, wrong, and sacrilege, crusted over with a liberal phraseology, compose a dish which Dr. Döllinger at least ought not to present for the Papal benediction.

The road to a reconciliation is rougher. The offended justice of God must be satisfied by something else beyond the introduction of liberal institutions. Italy will have to undergo much before she becomes even conscious of the gravity of her own misdeeds. Revolution brings its own reward. She will have to see her priesthood suffer persecution for justice sake, her bishops driven into exile, the property of the Church confiscated, the freedom of the pulpit violated, the sacerdotal dignity outraged, even to a greater degree than at present. The work of persecution has already begun. The Italian clergy, however, will be winnowed; the chaff will be gathered into the government granaries, but the good seed will be cast into the soil of Italy, and will bear fruit for the sanctuary of God. The winnowing process is a wholesome trial for the priesthood itself. The breath of persecution will fan the flame of faith and make it burn the brighter. The Italian clergy, stripped of their rich possessions, and giving evidence of their zeal, will

win by their constancy the hearts of the people to repentance. Their fervour will impregnate the lethargic masses, and give courage to the cowardly faith of Italy. The unfaithful among her clergy, seduced by the government, and enriched with the spoils of sacrilege, will soon become a reproach and a scandal to the country, and earn for themselves the scorn of their hard and exacting task-masters. Italy cannot remain Catholic and be hostile to the Pope. Until Rome shall have reached its final apostacy, the city of the Apostles will remain the city of the Popes. Between Rome and the Revolution there is no room for compromise. Such extremes do not meet. We believe, indeed, in the future return of Italy to her allegiance, not indeed on the path of liberal institutions, but by the way of the cross. When, therefore, Dr. Döllinger, in the contingency which he supposes possible, of the Pope becoming a subject in the Italian kingdom, sets up the hope that the spiritual supremacy will be respected by the revolution, triumphant and crowned at Rome, we ask, with Montalembert, what is the guarantee for this hope? In his speech of the 27th of March, Count Cavour promised to the Catholic world and to the Papacy, in exchange for their violated capital and for their plundered patrimony, a free Church in a free state. "If we could only persuade Catholics," he said, "that the union of Rome with the rest of Italy would not lead to the subjection of the Church, the question would have made a great step in advance." "In convincing," he said again, "Catholics of sound faith of this verity, that Rome united to Italy, would not bring about the oppression of the Church, but that its independence would, on the contrary, be increased by the union, we shall soon end, I say, by coming to an understanding with France, the natural representative of Catholic society in this great dispute. Once at Rome we shall proclaim the separation of Church and State, and the liberty of the Church. Thereupon the great majority of the Catholics of Europe would approve of our conduct, and would cast back upon whom it may concern, the responsibility of the quarrel which the Court of Rome had wished to carry on with the nation."*

We would direct Dr. Döllinger's attention to the answer

* *Moniteur*, 28-30 March, 1861.

which Count Montalembert gave to this insolent offer. "In adopting my formulary of a free Church in a free State, you have given me the right," he said, "to reply to you; nay, you have imposed upon me the duty to snatch from your hands a weapon which you have taken from me, and not to allow you to prostitute a doctrine which I love, to ends which I detest." After showing to Count Cavour that, by invoking the conscience of Catholics, and by appealing to that moral responsibility of which God, and after Him, the conscience of the human race were the sole judges, he had placed himself on a domain where the canon had not the last word, and where even congresses are incompetent, Count Montalembert thus continues: "You have acknowledged then, that the consent of Catholics is necessary, and you reckon beforehand on their concurrence. Well, then, I am one of those faithful Catholics whom you invoke. I have defended for thirty years this independence of the Church, which you speak of for the first time to-day. By this double title, in the name of all those millions of Catholics whose suffrages you claim, I do not fear to answer, our adhesion you will never have. You say to us, 'Have confidence in me.'—I answer boldly, No. You boast that, sooner or later, you will obtain the general consent of Catholic opinion. I assert that you never will. You appeal to the majority of Catholics. I contend that among true Catholics, the only ones who count, the only ones whose adhesion would have weight in matters of religion, whether of priest or layman, you will not have one. I answer you in three words,—no! never! none!" "Who are you," he continues, "that we should have confidence in you?" "Who are your allies? What are your antecedents? You would have us believe in the sincerity of your proposals. You say that your system is liberty in all things, perfect liberty in the relations between the Church and State.* You promise to the Pope, the bishop of bishops, respect and liberty on the sole condition that he shall divest himself of his temporal power. But how have you treated the bishops, his brothers, who have no temporal power, and who are already your subjects, as you contend he ought to become? You had an Archbishop of

* Count Cavour's speech, *Moniteur*, 30th March, 1861.

Turin, what have you done with him? You have dragged him from his See, and transported him, without trial, to France. You had one at Cagliari, where is he? Exiled to Rome. You had a Cardinal Archbishop at Pisa, I look for him, and I find that he is an exile in Piedmont. You have a Cardinal Archbishop at Naples, what respect, what liberty does he enjoy? Every day we see him outraged in his palace with impunity by bands of rioters, and when he forbids priests, whom he considers unworthy of their sacred office to preach, your civil authority places them in the pulpit. Are these the guarantees which will inspire confidence in the faithful of the entire world, for the future fate of their Holy Father, and the Pope himself for the future liberty of his sacred office?" "In all the countries of your domination," he continues, "the Church is shackled, insulted, and despoiled, her bishops are exiled, her writers imprisoned, Catholic journals are ruined, priests outraged and ensnared, monasteries are closed and profaned, nuns torn from their violated cells; these are your titles to our confidence and gratitude. For ten years you have been the author or the agent of persecution, of spoliation, of imprisonment, of usurpation, of violence,—and all fresh from oppression and iniquity, you dare look us in the face and offer us your hand, exclaiming, Behold, this is liberty!" Although the master-mind of the Italian Revolution, to whom these severe but only too just reproaches were addressed, has just passed, fresh from his revolutionary triumphs, and full of evil designs against the Papacy, to the Judgment-seat of God, he has left behind him men formed on his own model, and heirs of his evil policy, who will not hesitate to enter upon their heritage of ill, and keep up the traditions of their departed master. Undeterred by the abrupt termination of his reckless career,—another notable instance of the danger of meddling with the Papacy—the sons of the revolution, it is to be feared, will advance to their end as bold in their ambition, though perhaps not quite as unscrupulous in the means to be used, as was the author of the Machiavellian policy of Sardinia. The reconciliation between Revolutionary Liberalism and the Papacy, which Dr. Döllinger suggests as a contingent solution of the Roman question, Montalembert discards on the instant as impossible to be conceived. Indeed the lion and the lamb cannot lie down together in peace. Hypocrisy, with its

submissive-sounding words, is not Catholic reverence. Liberalism is not liberty. Let us look this much vaunted Cavourian policy, steadily and dispassionately, in the face. Let us confine ourselves strictly to the domain of indisputable facts, and be content to abide frankly by the result of such an examination. What, let us ask ourselves, has this revolutionary policy done for liberty; what for justice, what for the regeneration of Italy? What regenerating influence was exercised by the murderers of Count Rossi, by the leaders of the Roman Revolution of 1848? who instigated this abominable crime, and then stifled every attempt at investigation,* or by those deputies of the Roman Chambers who had not a word to say against this deed of blood, or by those heroes of the Republic of 1849, who looked upon the assassination† of priests, or other reactionary leaders, as an honourable and praiseworthy act? Did the murderers of Count Anviti, at Parma, or the conduct of the Sardinian troops and officials, who witnessed the revolting spectacle of the 5th of October, or the palliators and defenders in the press of the cold-blooded murder, contribute to the march of civilization? What facts are more patent or more degrading, more opposed to religion and morality, than the conduct of the revolutionary press, of the caricaturists of Turin, of the theatres of Italy, by whose potent agency the august mysteries of Christianity are turned into ridicule or blasphemously parodied?‡ Has not the moral sense of the people

* Prince Lucien Bonaparte played a conspicuous part in the Chamber of Deputies. The meetings of the notorious Facciotti Club were held in his palace. On his journey from Turin to Rome he foretold the murder of Count Rossi, and when he arrived at the Chambers, he declaimed against all the fuss that was made about Count Rossi, and asked whether it was the King of Rome who was dead. *La Rivoluzione Romana*. *Processi dell' assassinio del Conte P. Rossi*. For the horrors of San Callisto see Crétineau-Joly, p. 477.

† *Fatti atroci dello Spirito demagogico negli Stati Romani. Racconto estratto dai processi originali*. Firenze, 1853.

‡ The art of engraving seems to vie in Piedmont with that of printing, in corrupting the people by their abominations—M. Sauzet—also, "*Catechismo popolare*." On the insults against religion and morality, in the theatres and in the press, see *Episcopal Letters of the Archbishop of Bologna*, dated 29th August, 8th of

been outraged by the honours and rewards which, at Turin, have been heaped upon notorious criminals like the Gallengas, the Zambianchis, and men of the like description? But are the men of '59 of a higher moral stamp, more fit to be the standard-bearers of the promised regeneration? Fraud, dissimulation and falsehood have marked the present leaders of the Italian Revolution—treachery and sanguinary violence have disgraced its subordinate agents. No public man of the present day has shown a more callous disregard to truthfulness and honour than was exhibited by Count Cavour in the speeches and despatches which preceded and accompanied the barter of Savoy to France; no General displayed greater treachery than Cialdini in his attack on Lamoricière, perpetrated in violation of the laws of war and honour; and no guerilla chief ever issued more blood-thirsty proclamations than Pinelli, nor shed so much innocent blood as he has done in the unfortunate but faithful Abruzzi. Piedmont, the boasted regenerator of Italy, has not only invaded states, without even the pretext of a just cause, torn up the most solemn treaties, and turned the “*jus gentium*” into a “*jus latro-num*,” but she has at home trodden justice underfoot, and violated the statutes of her own constitution. The 29th Article of the Sardinian Constitution declares that “All property, without exception, of any kind, is inviolable.” But the Constitution is set at nought, and the rights of property are abrogated in as far as regards the Church. We will cite a few facts which are notorious, which are beyond dispute or denial. On the 10th of March, 1854, the seminary of Turin is sequestered, its property seized by the Sardinian government. On the 10th of August, in the same year, the Carthusians of Collegno are turned adrift, their house and property seized and confiscated. The same fate befell the Monks of the Consolata and of St. Dominic, the priests of the mission of St. Vincent of Paul at Casal, the Oblates of Pignervol, and the Servite Fathers of Alexandria.* In the beginning of the year 1853 an edict had abolished a benevolent institution

December, and of the Archbishop of Ferrara, dated 15th of December, 1859. (*Civiltà Cattolica* 1st October 1859 and 7th January, 1860.)

* Mgr. Dupauloup.

in Savoy, known by the name of the Ladies of Compassion, whose occupation was to teach poor children, and to attend the sick; the nuns of the Sacred Heart had already been proscribed throughout the Sardinian dominions, all their houses had been dissolved, their pupils dispersed, and their property, whether in land or money, confiscated to the public treasury.* Not only, says the Rev. Dr. Hergenröther, in his able and painstaking work on the States of the Church since the French Revolution,† were entire religious communities driven out of their possessions, but their property was spent in rewarding disobedient or suspended priests. Robbery, however, was reduced to a system. To legalize and consummate all these iniquities a bill was introduced by the liberty-boasting ministry of Sardinia for the suppression of religious communities and corporations, and the sequestration of their property. "This law," says the Bishop of Orleans, in his noble work on the Papal Sovereignty, "as unconstitutional as it was unjust, put the seal to the long series of violence and spoliation committed by the Piedmontese government. It was a law based on the most false and fatal principles; for it disallowed to the Church the right of property, a right which even pagan governments had not disputed to her; for, as we have already said, whenever paganism allowed to the Church the right of existing, it also allowed to her the right of possessing property; so essentially co-related are these two rights." The Jesuits, alone, since the commencement of the revolution in Italy, have lost three houses and colleges in Lombardy, six in the Duchy of Modena, eleven in the Pontifical States, nineteen in the kingdom of Naples, fifteen in the rest of Italy. Everywhere has the Society

* Mgr. Dupanloup.

† The '*Civiltà Cattolica*' speaks in deservedly high terms of Dr. Hergenröther's volume. "Among," it says, "the many works on the temporal government of the Church, which we have seen of late—and they are very numerous—we know of none which can be compared with this, as far as regards the copiousness it displays in positive facts and in practical knowledge. There is scarcely a work that has appeared on the subject during the last half century, which the author has not carefully consulted. It is, in short, a truly German production—whether in the patience of its researches, or in its frank and honest exposition of facts."

of Jesus been literally plundered of its moveable property and real estates.* These two public crimes, if we may be permitted to call things by their right names, against God and against the nation, this infraction of the rights of the individual, and this breach of the constitution, were deliberately committed, and guiltily persisted in. Cardinal Antonelli remonstrated in vain; in vain he called the attention of the Sardinian Government to the fact that "the general tendency of the law which they had passed was to deprive the Church of the right of acquiring property which, even the constitution of the State secured to her;"† he reminded them in vain of the solemn treaties they had broken. How just was the reproach conveyed by the bishops of Savoy, in their address to the king, on such ignoble conduct. "Perhaps," they boldly said, "if treaties with a great European power were in question, more caution would have been used: those powers have effectual means of making themselves respected; but Pius IX. has no army." But, lastly, has it perhaps fared better with the liberty of the individual than with the rights of property, and with that moral regeneration which was to have resulted from the revolutionary policy of Sardinia? The Constitution guarantees the liberty of the individual, but the liberty of the individual does not exist, as we shall show, for those who defend the liberty of the Church. Priests and bishops, monks and nuns, Catholic journalists and writers, are entitled in a free State to equal rights with the rest of the community, and to an equal protection from the law. Yet priests, because they are faithful to their duty, are continually insulted with impunity in the public streets. Not only were many ecclesiastics ‡ arrested, merely because they expressed dissatisfaction with the present state of things, or because they were known to be hostile to the new government, but bishops and priests in numbers were seized and brought to Turin to be prosecuted, simply because on conscientious grounds they refused to sanction, by divine services in

* Protest of Father Beckx, General of the Jesuits.

† Exposé des négociations suivies entre le Saint-Siège et le Gouvernement Sarde.

‡ Allgemeine Zeitung, 15th and 25th November, 1859, and 23rd January, 1860.

their churches, political acts which they disapproved of, such as the singing of the *Te Deum** in thanksgiving for the violent annexation of the Papal provinces to the kingdom of Sardinia, or in celebration of the anniversary of the Constitution—a constitution, be it remembered, whose provisions are habitually violated to the detriment of their personal liberty and of their rights of property. It is only an additional insult that the crown officials at Turin, who have sworn on the constitution to reverence the Church,† should make use of the power it confers on them, the better to enslave its ministers. Let us proceed to enumerate a few of the more conspicuous instances of the infringement of personal liberty, a fact to which we invite the attention of those who, either in ignorance of the actual state of affairs, or in a happy forgetfulness, are never weary in bepraising this new-born Italian liberty. Are not the flying columns of the Piedmontese soldiery—the ministers of this new-born liberty—a proof that the people of the Neapolitan States are not willing subjects of Victor Emmanuel, but have been coerced into submission? Even the *Times* correspondent at Naples is compelled to admit this fact.‡ Not only were the doors of the churches

* The singing of the *Te Deum* and every act which may be construed into a positive co-operation or approval of injustice, are forbidden by the instructions promulgated under like circumstances by Pius VII. in 1808-9. In these decrees a distinction is drawn between those acts under a *de facto* existing government which are absolutely necessary for the good of society and to preserve civil order, and those which give countenance, support, or consent, to an unjust usurpation of power.

† *Atti ufficiali del Senato.*

‡ "Let people deny it as much as they like," writes the correspondent of the *Times*, "a great part of the population is so utterly degraded as to look back upon the past with regret. Such blind insensibility to their real position is, at times, most disheartening, but when it takes, as it commonly does, the form of ingratitude to the Piedmontese, it is disgusting. As I have remarked in other letters, the revolution was made by the few, not by the many. The crisis is now one of great interest, and I wait with anxiety to see what the effect of Count Cavour's death will be on the fickle and volatile Southerners and their numerous reactionary enemies."—*Times*, 18th June, 1861.

forced open,* and suspended priests, or Sardinian field-chaplains, introduced to celebrate in them against the will of the rector, or parish priest, the religious services forbidden by ecclesiastical authority; not only, as we have before stated, were whole religious communities, without having been tried, far less convicted, of any offence against the laws, driven out of the country, or deprived of their lawful possessions, and turned into the streets to starve; not only were professors removed from their chairs, without a trial, or even a hearing, merely because they were supposed to entertain opinions hostile to the spread of revolutionary principles; not only were these violent infractions of the liberty of the subject sanctioned by the Sardinian government; but they went so far as to interfere more directly with the internal administration of the spiritual office of the Episcopate, and had the audacity to deny to the ecclesiastical authorities† the right to withhold from a priest the permission to celebrate mass—an interference with the rights of conscience which exists in no other civilized land. The vacant sees‡ to be found everywhere throughout the dominions covered by the flag of Sardinia give silent testimony to the loss of liberty of conscience. How many of the Italian bishops and archbishops are living in exile, like the venerable Archbishop of Turin, like Cardinal Corsi, the distinguished Archbishop of Pisa, like the Bishops of Piacenza and of Asti, and of Avellino, or like Cardinal de Angelis, the Archbishop of Fermo, who is detained at Turin, and treated almost like a prisoner? How many are dragged before the tribunals on false or frivolous charges, and subjected to the severest judicial examinations, like Cardinal Baluffi, in Imola, and the invalid Bishop of Faenza? How many are condemned to loss of freedom, to be confined prisoners on parole in their own palaces, or placed under the degrading surveillance of the police on suspicion of ill-will, or as a precautionary measure against their possible influence on the people, in a manner un-

* A long list of such acts of violence, which we need not quote, is given in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, 7th and 21st July, 1860.

† Dr. Hergenröther.

‡ In Piedmont proper, more than one-third of the bishoprics of the kingdom have been for the most part vacant for years.

favourable to the designs of the *de facto* government? How many we cannot recount, who, like Monseigneur Ratta, the Capitular Vicar of Bologna, have been mulcted in heavy pecuniary fines? This system of persecution was not the result of over-officious zeal on the part of subordinate agents, for the hand of the Prime Minister of Sardinia was too plainly visible in every department and act of the government. To serve his own political ends the clergy were publicly accused by Count Cavour, in his Circular of the 27th of October, 1853, "of having sought, under pretext of the rise in the price of corn, to foment disorders among the people." "The syndics," he continues, "must act with vigilance and zeal; the priests must be carefully watched; words should be taken down, facts recorded, and the law officers should indict. In the more serious cases, the ministers of religion should be immediately arrested." Count Cavour was obeyed with alacrity by his agents and spies. Priests are arrested on all sides, though often released after a precautionary imprisonment, the charges against them being declared void. Thus the Abbé Gagliandi, Lent preacher at Mondovì, was imprisoned for two months, and afterwards declared innocent on the 17th March, 1850. Louis Piola was arrested on the 13th of September, and set free after forty-five days of unjust confinement; the priest of the parish of Malanghera was imprisoned from May till September, and then declared innocent; and fifteen priests of the valley of Aosta were accused of having fomented riots, while it was proved on the trial that, on the contrary, they had only interfered in order to pacify the people.*

To obtain redress, or to look for justice at the hands of the King or cabinet of Sardinia, is a hopeless task. Within the last few weeks a deputation from Fermo waited upon the King and besought him to allow the Archbishop, Cardinal de Angelis, of that city, to return to his See. The deputation were referred for redress to the late Count Cavour, but of course the remonstrance was in vain. The Prime Minister of liberty in Italy alleged, as an excuse for this gross violation of justice and of freedom, that the law-

* Mgr. Dupanloup, on Religious Persecution in Sardinia. The *Armonia*, 20th December, 1859, contains a long list of Ecclesiastics falsely accused and unjustly imprisoned.

ful representatives of the city, that is, the liberal and local opponents of the Cardinal, had demanded the removal of the Archbishop from his See. On such flimsy pretexts is the boasted principle of liberty not only trampled under-foot on Sardinian ground, but its infraction justified by the Prime Minister himself, to an indignant deputation of his countrymen who in vain sought redress at his hands. We cannot help exclaiming with Count Montalembert, that it is the liberals who have yet to be converted to liberty. As a witness to another infringement of liberty in Sardinia, we quote the following passage from Montalembert's well-weighed letter to the late Count Cavour. "You have," he said, "Catholic journals—what do you do with them? Every courier brings the news of a prosecution, of a seizure, of a trial, of a condemnation to prison, or to a heavy fine, and against whom? Against Catholics, and against them only. You have inscribed in your laws, nevertheless, liberty of the press. Every one throughout your dominions may use it or abuse it, except the Catholics. It must be clear to you that you are of one mind with your allies of France and of elsewhere; you grant, like them, liberty to all except to the Church; you had monasteries which had survived the revolutionary turmoils—what is become of them?—I see them everywhere deserted, profaned, confiscated. Your nuns, have they not been violently expelled from their virginal sanctuaries and flung upon the streets? In the Marches, in Umbria, in the two Sicilies, has not the suppression of the conventual life, the confiscation of monastic property, followed everywhere as a necessary and immediate consequence of the appearance of the Piedmontese flag? Even the notorious pamphlet, *Napoleon III., et l'Italie*, was compelled to confess that the policy of Piedmont was "an encouragement to revolutionary passions, an embarrassment to consciences, a real and grave danger not only to Piedmont, but to Italy and the whole of Europe."

If then conscience, justice, liberty, have been outraged by the fatal policy inaugurated by Count Cavour, and if, by the armed intervention of France, and by the unscrupulous diplomacy of Europe, Sardinia is become the master of Italy, how is it possible to reconcile and ally the Papacy with a government whose subversive and irreligious policy it condemns—whose principles it can never recognize—and whose agents it has excommuni-

cated? Dr. Döllinger suggests that were the Papacy to lay down its temporal power, the conscience of Europe would compel Sardinia, triumphant over the councils of the Vatican, to respect the spiritual independence of the Pope. Is not the conscience of the Christian world if not deaf, yet powerless now to shield the Papacy against the armed force of the revolution and its avowed and covert allies among the great powers of Europe? How then will it be able hereafter to persuade the future "King of Italy" not to trench upon the spiritual rights of the Pope-dom? Has the death or the reputed repentance of Cavour changed the policy of Sardinia? We fear not; we admit, however, that it has removed one obstacle to the return of the reign of justice and honour in Italy. We grant that Cavour was the life and the hope of the revolution; that he had laboured for years like a mole under ground, to undermine the foundations of the very States for which, as neighbours or allies of Sardinia, he expressed in public, friendship or concern. It is well known that he was in communication with the Secret Societies, that he privately subsidized rebels and adventurers like Garibaldi, and Zambianchi, and others, whom he publicly condemned or punished. The Prime Minister of Sardinia was indeed the foremost man in the ranks of the army of European revolution, which numbers among its lieutenants a Palmerston and a Russell. For alas! the Crown Ministers of England thought it not inconsistent with honour to pay extravagant tributes of respect and reverence to the character of a man whom, from their own too recent experience, they knew to be unscrupulous as to the use of means, however repugnant to truth or common honesty, to gain the lawless ends he had in view; such conduct may, perhaps, be considered natural in them, and of a piece with their dishonourable diplomacy; but for the liberals of Europe to call upon Catholics of the united kingdom to join in the lamentation which they have set up, for the irreparable loss is the height of absurdity or of hypocrisy. As well might the French have insisted that England, after the battle of Waterloo, should have gone into mourning for the destruction of Napoleon's army. That by the death of Cavour, the enemies of order, of the Papacy, and of religion, have one cunning brain, one unscrupulous hand the less in their ranks, is to us simply a matter of congratulation. We do not, for an instant, hesitate to

express our satisfaction at the abrupt termination of this long leadership of ill. If our liberals try to infect with their unwholesome regrets the public opinion of Europe, it is no part of our duty to give in to their unhappy vehemence. For the unfortunate individual, his crimes and death, we can only have sorrow, but it would have been a sorrow of a far deeper character had not, by a rare and special grace, the terrors of death led the blood-relation of St. Francis de Sales to repent, and if not formally to renounce the evil policy of his life, yet at least not to brand it with the stamp of final impenitence. But whatever effect this grave event may have on Italy, it can never reconcile the Papacy to the surrender of its temporal power. The Popes may again be attacked by a force, irresistible for the moment, may be driven into exile, or martyred, as they have been a hundred times before, yet, even if not in this generation, they will return as they have done so often before to the sacred centre of Christianity to rebuild the broken walls of the eternal city. Not to go deeper into the question, we may remark, that, in all ages, human sagacity has recognised the necessity of spiritual independence, and of an inviolable asylum sacred to religion. Not only does an analogy exist between the temporal dominions of the Popes, and the position assigned by Providence to the Levite cities of refuge in the Jewish dispensation, but we find that the Pagan Greeks saw the wisdom of granting privileges, immunities, and independence to the Delphic city, and of respecting the theocratic character of its government, and the inviolability of its Sacred Oracle.

What the Providence of God has hitherto assigned to the Church—what the wisdom of the Pagan has recognised, shall the arrogance of the nineteenth century boldly, we may say, blasphemously dispute to-day? What is there in the present century to render the temporal independence of the Papacy less necessary than heretofore? Is reverence for moral right on the increase among the politicians of Europe? Has the encroaching ambition of kings grown less, or are their council-chambers more Christian than in the days of the venerable Pontiff who used to say with as much truth as sorrow, *I gabinetti non sono battezzati*, or are the peoples and their assemblies more ready now rather to respect the rights of the weak than the pretensions of the powerful? And who are the

immediate advocates of the destruction of the temporal power of the Pope, but they who will gain by its overthrow an increase of territory, a city which, in their hands, would no longer be eternal, and a name which would be a glory were it a right? And who are their allies? Their allies are everywhere the implacable enemies of the liberty of Catholics. But we must let Count Montalembert describe them, because, among the implacable enemies of the Papacy, is our own country. "England," says the indignant writer in terms of regret, "England is one of the allies of the revolution." "No more, alas, that glorious England, liberal and conservative, which we have boasted of, loved, admired, imitated, but a degenerated England, scarcely to be recognised again, a country faithless to its true interests, to its good sense, to its natural equity, to its better traditions, to its former glories; a country where intolerance is pushed so far that the Prime Minister publicly declares that a sincere Catholic is incapable of fulfilling the duties of a simple Keeper of Records; an England which, at Suez, sacrifices to her mercantile selfishness, the interests of the human race; which in Syria sacrifices to her jealousy against France, humanity, piety, justice, and 'would rather see thirty thousand Christians massacred, than let them be saved by us;' which in Italy sacrifices to the inveteracy of its ancient Protestant fanaticism, the law of nations and all that she herself has guaranteed or established; which in France applauds and instigates all those oppressions which at home her own laws forbid; which foment and encourages against the Pope and Catholic kings, acts and ideas which she herself has blotted out in the blood of the Irish, of the Indians, and of the Ionians; which, when a question arises which may do injury to the Church, has money for all adventurers, connivance for every invasion, and sympathy for every crime;—a jeering Palmerston to play chief mourner over international law as well as over the ancient honour of England, and I add, with the most painful regret, a Gladstone to insult the filial reverence of all Catholics by terming their Pontiff and their Father, a Sanguinary Mendicant."*

* Speech on the motion of Lord Elcho at the end of the Session of 1859. What a contrast and what a fall since the days when Pitt, the great Minister, speaking of the first attempts of General

It were well, however, if among the allies of the Revolution were found none but enemies of the Papacy; but the misfortune is, whether wittingly or unwittingly, Catholics are found who are the advocates of a false subversive liberalism, and the apologists for the destruction of the temporal power of the Popes. Either from want of confidence or want of hope, they surrender at discretion, rights which ought to have been upheld to the last. There is a wide distinction between acknowledging facts which are disagreeable and disheartening about the temporal dominions of the Pope, and drawing from these present facts conclusions hostile to the future permanence of the Papal Power, or against its necessity or the wisdom of the struggle in its defence. These doubtful friends are more mischievous than enemies; they obtain a hearing which they do not deserve, and which, in the present state of Europe, is denied to the advocates of legitimacy, of real freedom, and of the rights of the Papal throne.

If not among the unwilling enemies, Dr. Döllinger must be reckoned at least among the doubtful fainthearted friends of the Papacy. It is but fair, however to the learned professor of Munich to state that he is said to be engaged in preparing a vindication against the imputations which have been cast, to say the least, upon his discretion, by the almost unanimous opinion of the Catholic press of Europe. He complains that his views have been misinterpreted by the newspapers of France and Italy to promote a cause with which he has no sympathy. But Dr. Döllinger has only himself to blame; he had no business to give out an uncertain sound, or even to appear to cast doubts upon the wisdom of the course which the Papacy is pursuing under the present eventful crisis of its history. And why then, if he feel so deeply the injury which his inconsiderate lectures are doing to the Papal cause, allow so

Bonaparte against the Papal Sovereignty, said: "It is one of the most atrocious crimes which has ever disgraced a revolution. This insult offered to a pious and venerable Pontiff, seems to me, Protestant as I am, almost a sacrilege."—Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. xxxiv., pp. 1316, 1338. These remarks extorted from Mr. Gladstone a denial that the term sanguinary ever passed his lips, and that he had not used mendicant in an offensive sense, and that it was far from his intention to say anything calculated to wound the respect which was due to the Sovereign Pontiff.

long a period to elapse before he disclaims in an effectual manner, the interpretation put upon his views? In a few weeks he will be forgotten ; but the statement, or the misstatement, if he likes, will remain in the public mind that a stone from a Catholic hand has been cast at the Papacy. Not the ignoble diplomacy of England, not the unreasoning hatred of a portion of the people against the Catholic Church, not the perverted judgment, nor the deliberate falsehood of the English press, is half so injurious, or half so disgraceful as the disloyalty of Catholics. "There is something," says Father Faber, in his profound and inspiring discourse on Devotion to the Church, "there is something very horrible in a Catholic's disloyalty to the Church ; but there is surely a peculiar horror about it in a misbelieving land." His solemn warning is not out of season. The Papacy is undergoing a sharp trial, its enemies are numerous and triumphant ; and for the first time misgiving and symptoms of wavering are perceptible here and there in the Catholic body. "We must beware then," says Father Faber, "of dangers from within, we must be on our guard even against Catholic books, periodicals, journals, and pamphlets, however specious they may be." With a truth and wisdom for which we ought to be grateful, he counsels Catholics against the dangers of a false political and religious liberalism.

"There are times," he says, "in the world when wrong opinions may be as prolific a source of the loss of souls, as wrong conduct may be at other times. To seek the truth, and to hold the truth, to seek it in lowliness, and to hold it in obedience, are as much moral obligations as honesty and chastity. We are apt to forget this, because, through want of prayer, we have such inadequate and indistinct notions of the dominion of God. Thus it is that we allow questions that are part of our piety and matters of our salvation, to be carried off into the field of history, of criticism, of philosophy, or of politics. These undoubted sins get new names, and not only escape our recognition, but craftily obtain our respect and even our allegiance. No one likes to say that he is not liberal. Most men have not the courage to incur such a charge. Yet what is that spirit which modern phraseology honours with the title of liberalism, but the old sin of lawlessness, tempered fortunately for our powers of endurance, with a sort of baseness peculiarly its own ? Revolution may mean one thing in history and in political philosophy ; but in asceticism it means now what it meant in old-

fashioned times, and what it will always mean to saints, simply and undignifiedly, a mortal sin !”

If this mortal sin, this spirit of lawlessness, succeed in striking its roots deep into the heart of Italy, and in darkening by its corruption and pride the judgment of men, it is not difficult to foresee how this Godless revolution may end in driving the Papacy to the Catacombs, in leading it to the Cross again, as the great Pagan persecution did St. Peter ; but it will surely fail, not only in its desire to exterminate a Divine Institution, but in its attempt to alter the Providential shaping of the Temporal Papacy. Even the dark and devilish craft of the arch-hypocrite of the Tuilleries will be of no avail in the long-run against a Power which has beaten back an Attila, baffled a Henry, or a Frederick of Germany, and survived in our generation the fierce and arrogant hostility of him whose legions for a time spread dismay and desolation over the Continent of Europe. And in spite of the present state of public opinion in Italy, which has inspired Dr. Döllinger with such misgiving as to the possibility of the complete restoration of the temporal power of the Popes—in spite of the singular success which has hitherto attended the programme sketched out by the hand of the Emperor of the French—in spite of that policy whose aim it is to limit the Sovereignty of the Supreme Pontiff to the single city of Rome,* and to make the Head of Christendom a grand Dependant of the monarchy of France—in spite of the vehemence of its enemies and the supineness of its friends, there is no doubt of the ultimate triumph of that power whose losses have been ever gains, and to which persecution always brings fresh access of glory.

With Dr. Döllinger we recognize indeed the melancholy fact that a large portion of the Roman States themselves cherish a rooted aversion against the Papal government, and that no conservative majority rallied round the Papal throne, and that the government itself could reckon with confidence on no class of the popu-

* Le Pape, trônant à Rome et Siégeant au Vatican est ce qui grappe le monde. On aperçoit à peine le souverain des états Romains. Quant à cette possession elle-même, la ville de Rome en résume surtout l'importance. Le reste n'est que secondaire.—Le Pape et le Congrès.

lation, could form no native army, and that in the hour of danger and attack not a hand was raised in defence of the temporal rights of the Pope. We acknowledge that nowhere more than in Italy is the national ambition greater—nowhere keener the vain-glorious desire to count among the Great Powers of Europe. We confess that, not only the public feeling of Italy, but the spirit of the age is opposed to the Papal Sovereignty. But against the spirit of the age we oppose the Spirit of God—the Guardian and Guide of the Papacy until the consummation of time—against the idea of nationality and the passion of the hour—the eternal principles of justice, and against the political and accomplished facts of the day we oppose this other great fact of the development by the Hand of God, through the course of ages, of the Temporal Power of the Popes.

ART. VII.—*The Law of Divorce.*—A Tale by a Graduate of Oxford.
London: T. Coutley Newby, Publisher, Welbeck Street, Cavendish Square. 1861.

CAVOUR and the Italian Revolution, Sir Cresswell Cresswell and the Divorce Court, are subjects uppermost at the present moment, in the popular mind; foreign political troubles and domestic social grievances are accordingly the staple commodities most in request by the reading public. Our novelists are not usually slow in pampering the prevailing appetite, but seldom do they venture to adopt as their theme a popular topic and depict it in a light unpleasing to the majority of the educated public. Such a course requires honesty and courage. We trust, however, that the author of "*The Law of Divorce*" will meet very many among his readers who will coincide with his views on the miseries and sins which are likely to result from the late Act of Parliament, whereby the dissolution of marriage is made easy by law. The plot of the tale consists in the complications of a novel and startling

character, arising from a divorce, from a hasty marriage of resentment on the part of the injured husband, his speedy regret for his ill-considered step, and a desire to receive back his repentant and divorced wife, coupled with a conscience awakened to the immorality of his second marriage. The interest is instantly fixed on the conflicting claims set up by the divine precept and the human law. The difficult position and the vacillating conduct of the hero, Roland Elsmere, is well and skilfully portrayed, and the real repentance and broken-hearted love of the wife are powerfully shown by her letters to her husband, and by the correctness of her behaviour. The novel opens, not with love, its disappointments and delays, nor with marriage, and its many motives, but with divorce. The letters of Harriet Elsmere, full of shame and poignant grief, like the chorus in the Greek tragedy, answer the purpose of introducing the darker portion of her history, which is thus skilfully removed beyond our immediate cognizance. Our first acquaintance with the guilty wife is in sorrow and suffering, borne with a patient meekness which enlists at once our interest and sympathy. There is no delay in the action of the story, the personages are natural and well grouped. In her sister Lizzy Monteagles, Harriet Elsmere finds a faithful and forgiving friend, a prompt and intelligent adviser under circumstances of no ordinary difficulty.

The second wife, a fine and fashionable woman, trained in all the arts and accomplishments calculated to enhance her value in the Belgravian Marriage Mart, overwhelms her conscience-stricken or passion-led husband with the bitterest invective, and pursues him with the resolute determination of maintaining rights, secured to her by the laws of her country. In the name of society, of worldly honour, and of the law, Catherine, the second wife, denounces with defiance and with the indignation which is natural to her unfortunate position the avowed desire of Roland Elsmere to return to his first wife. In vain he pleads the Divine Precept, too late understood, and the unaltered love with which he regards the mother of his children. Catherine is inexorable, she ridicules with a bitter mocking lip the repentance of Harriet, and threatens Roland—the awkward husband of two wives—with all the public terrors and stringent measures of law if he should attempt to forsake her whom alone the law of England recognises as his wife. Fearful of incurring the displea-

sure of society; and of wounding his *delicate sense of honour*, the weak and vacillating, Roland pursues a middle course, and makes a compromise with his conscience, and satisfies neither the divine nor the human law. He determines never to separate from Catherine, unless he obtain her consent. As was to be expected from a person of her character, she declares that such a consent shall never be extorted from her, neither by persuasion, nor by the deepest provocation a woman can receive. Roland Elsmere may repair with his wife to what quarter of the globe he likes, but she will pursue him;—not out of love, nor out of revenge, but simply to maintain her rights and her lawful position as his wife. She tells him with cool and quiet determination that he shall never enjoy a day's peace, or know again what privacy is; everywhere she will proclaim his conduct, denounce his motives, and point out his dishonoured wife. His servants are set as spies upon him, his letters are suspiciously handled, his movements watched. The hard and flinty nature of Catherine, and her worldly and unfeminine disposition destroy the sympathy which would otherwise be due to her most unhappy condition; therefore our interest is more drawn to the once erring but repentant Harriet, than to the rigid and virtuous but unfeeling Catherine. We will not, however, enter further into the main plot of the story, nor attempt to unravel the intricate complications in which the chief personages of this interesting and powerful tale are involved, nor tell the numerous surprises and strange turns events take before they arrive at their conclusion.

We will, however, state what, in our thinking, is a real satisfaction, that the author has not been induced to endow his hero and heroine with happiness beyond the world's wont, where unfavourable circumstances usually end in unhappy results. He deals out with an impartial hand poetic justice to the personages of the tale; as they sowed so they reaped. Successful villany had its enjoyment, brief, passionate, and fierce, but it also met its reward in the death of Walter Dunraven—a seducer as he calls himself, on his death-bed, a perfidious friend, a cruel enemy, a murderer, and a suicide, unworthy to live, unfit to die. Harriet and Roland Elsmere, in the various vicissitudes of their fortune, are the victims of their own actions; the chain of consequences is not broken to relieve their distress, howsoever much we should like to see cou-

stant, long-enduring love made happy in the end, in spite of fate; yet we know that such a consummation, however devoutly to be wished, is not in the natural course of events, and rejoice that the author has had sense and strength enough to sacrifice inclination to probability. The proud and implacable Catherine alone is successful. She is the avenging angel of the tale, the remorseless fury let loose by offended justice. Before we look at the political aspect of this novel, (for the "*Law of Divorce*" in one of its secondary characters treats of the Italian Revolution.) we will quote the description of the meeting of Harriet and Roland Elsmere after the divorce and re-marriage of the latter, as a specimen of the style and power of the author:—

"As he turned to resume his walk, he felt a hand laid gently on his arm, and looking quickly round, he beheld—O thrilling and overpowering sight!—his own repudiated, repentant, loving, beloved and adored Harriet, with her sister Lizzy by her side. Roland's brain reeled with emotion, and his full heart choked his speech. He gripped rather than pressed Harriet's hand, and fondly embraced her, not forgetting Lizzy in the midst of the crowd. Ere five minutes were passed, they had crossed the square in front of the Palais Royal, and were safe in the saloon, which Harriet had just taken in the Hotel de Louvre. Her feelings, no less than those of Roland, were perfectly uncontrolled and uncontrollable. Like torrents from mountain sources, they rushed into each other's embrace. They clung together with a cohesion the more consistent because fate, Providence, and circumstances seem to be bent in keeping them apart. As they sat side by side, their foreheads, their cheeks, their lips were pressed together fervently and closely, as if to reverse by resistance that cruel law, which now made such endearments illicit. The passionate tenderness of their first love had returned upon them in all its fulness. Every idea of recrimination was scattered to the winds; repentance and forgiveness on both sides were realized in a singular degree. Each had been injured, each had been the injurer. Harriet by her sin, Roland by his vindictive folly; but sin, folly, vengeance, and mutual injuries were now whelmed in the tide of love. The confluent streams of their affections mingled and assimilated the more impetuously in consequence of those very barriers and obstructions, which they had now for a moment at least surmounted and swept away. Harriet had married in her eighteenth year, and was now in her twenty-third. Her beauty was great, and she was still in its zenith. As she passed through the streets all the men rendered her that homage which the God of nature assigned to it as its due. All men gazed on her with admiration, and many paused to look again, when she had gone by. And many blessed the foot-falls of her

19th century, make all your *successful* lovers at least noblemen in disguise, or better still let them have a large balance at their bankers', and then we shall say that is something like a tale, and not too far from the truth.

In addition to his other attractions, Saffi was an *Italianissimo* in politics, but "not a Mazzinist;" he thus abjures his revolutionary chief—"I hold the doctrines and schemes of Joseph Mazzini in the utmost abhorrence. '*Odi et arceo.*' His watchword—'*Iddio ed il popolo,*' means nothing more nor less than this—democracy built upon the ruins of religion. Assassination, which is the basest of crimes, he extols as a virtue. I would rather see Italy suffering all the rigours of the old regime, than governed by Infidel-Socialists, whom I regard as demons incarnate. Of all the enemies of liberty they are most deadly; of all tyrants they are the most cruel. They would not only corrupt society with the principles of Voltaire and Frederic II., but also disorganize and anarchize it to an extent which even those apostles of scepticism never advocated or proposed."

In spite of this disclaimer of adherence to the open impiety of the Mazzinian party, we think that the author of "The Law of Divorce" has given, both artistically and morally, too great a scope to the views of the Italianissimo, or at least provided too feeble an antagonist to his revolutionary opinions in the person of the Baron de Barrère, the old French legitimist. Scipio Saffi is made triumphantly to show that "the Popes themselves disintegrated Italy politically, as they do to this day. They were too weak to unite her—too strong to let her unite." We must remember that Scipio Saffi is represented to be, if not a good Catholic, yet at least a zealous defender of religion. Like Count D'Orsay, he fights a duel with one of the revolutionary leaders of his party, for offering an insult to religion. Although he declares "the temporal States of the Church to be a seemly appendage to the Pope's spiritual supremacy," and necessary for his "independence;" "nevertheless, rather than that they should be governed in a manner which is offensive to the great majority of the people, he would say with the Pasquinade—

'Il gran Prete
Torni alla rete.'

Let the high-priest become as innocent of dominions and

provinces as his predecessor, the Fisherman, and as sceptreless as St. Leo and Gregory the Great. The patrimony of the Church, though an ecclesiastical property, is not exempted from liability to that *Jus publicum* which affects all other dominions."

But, we ask the author of this publication, has the Pope no rights as a temporal prince? May his dominions be invaded, with impunity, by ambitious and unscrupulous neighbours? What cause of invasion has he given, what treaty broken? Has he set international law at defiance, that he should become the Pariah of Europe? In regard to his own subjects, how has he offended against the *Jus publicum*? Has he sworn a coronation oath, or other pledge to his people which he has violated? What justifiable cause has he given for an armed rebellion? If he be as innocent of these wrongs as his predecessor, the Fisherman, on what plea is he to be deprived of his possessions, which were given to him for the support of the Church, as the nets with their miraculous draught of fishes were to St. Peter? We must enter our protest likewise against the propagation of the hideous Neapolitan dungeon stories of which we have already had a surfeit. We object likewise to the following too partial portraiture of Napoleon; however graphic it may be, it wants the darker touches of truth.

"The Emperor appeared on a beautiful jet-black steed. The horse was but middle-sized, as best suited the imperial rider's height. Two gentlemen of his household rode at his right and left, two grooms followed at a convenient distance. This was all the cortège. He who holds in his hand the reality of tremendous power can afford to dispense with some of its trifling insignia. So here he sat, the brave, cold, thoughtful, iron-willed Emperor. His face told no tales, no changes passed over it. It was hard as silver, it was like the Black Sea in a dead calm. If it expressed anything, it was keen penetrating craft and cold severity; but this expression resulted not from mental work, discerned through a veil of flesh, but from the eyes of this ambitious man being habitually almost half-closed.

"No one ever believed him to be a good man, yet who besides, that was not good, ever did so much for the benefit of society? Who besides, that was not good, ever became so successful or so great, yet committed so little evil, so few acts of violence and of wrong? Even during his coup d'état, he held his terrors, as it were, in leash. Who besides could have made himself notoriously the imitator of the first Napoleon, and yet have avoided the greatest

faults of his prototype, in whose place he stands, and have distinguished himself by that very moderation, in which his model was so singularly wanting? There he rode—the Carbonaro of Romagna—the aspiring rebel of Strassburg—the daring adventurer of Boulogne—the gaoler-baffling prisoner of Ham—the dauntless President—the people-chosen Emperor—the victorious hero of Solferino. There he rode as if no assassin or maniac had ever levelled a pistol at his breast. He feared not death—for he believed in destiny. He thought not of danger, or if he thought of it, he said within himself, ‘*La balle qui doit me tuer n’est point encore fondue.*’ ”

What! the Carbonaro of Romagna has “committed so little evil forsooth, so few acts of violence and wrong!” Is he not a usurper of other men’s rights, a tyrant at home, a revolutionist abroad? A plotter in the dark, an instigator of evil, has he not in Savoy reaped the reward of unjust war and sacrilegious spoliation? Did he not at Villafranca enter into a solemn treaty, every provision of which he has violated for his own advantage? Has he not broken his word of honour to the Pope? Has he not systematically deceived every one who has trusted him? He has perverted the public policy of Europe, undermined every state, put weapons into the hands of evil-doers, and furnished them with an opportunity of evil, which they never could have compassed by their own contriving. In one thing alone the nephew excels the uncle, he is a greater and more successful hypocrite. He has all the meanness, but none of the grandeur, of his great and guilty prototype.

We must remind our readers, however, that these political views and descriptions are episodes—merely natural or necessary episodes in the development of the story. The author appears desirous of showing that there are two sides to every question. As in the case of divorce and re-marriage there are the claims of two sufferers to be considered, so in the character of Napoleon, and of the Italian revolution there are two aspects presented to our judgment. It is indeed true that the opinions of men are divided; it is true, we fear, that Scipio Saffi is a fair type of a vast portion of the educated Italians; it is true that vain-glory and the ambition to be a great nation have dazzled the judgment and darkened the moral sense of Italy; for the struggle is not so much one of nationality, of giving Italy to the Italians, as of surrendering Italy to Piedmont in the hope of playing a great part among the nations of Europe. But vanity and

ambition are no excuse for the violation of the eternal principles of justice, and for trampling right, because it is weak, underfoot. After making these protests, for in times like these it is necessary to be more on our guard than usual, we can heartily commend "The Law of Divorce" as a tale grounded upon high principle and as exhibiting great power, especially in scenes of love and hate, in which the volume abounds. It is written in a fresh and vigorous style, and the interest never for a moment flags; it might easily have been expanded into two volumes, but the writer has wisely chosen rather to let us with "Oliver Twist," ask for more than give us a surfeit or even a sufficiency at once.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Essays and Reviews*. By Frederick Temple, D.D. Rowland Williams, D. D., Baden Powell, M. A., Henry Bristow Wilson, B. D., G. W. Goodwin, M. A., and Benjamin Jowett, M. A. 9th Edition, 8vo. London, Longman and Co.
2. *Specific Evidences of Unsoundness in Essays and Reviews*. By the Rev. Dr. Jelf. London, Parker, 1861.
3. *Convocation of the Province of Canterbury*. [Times Newspaper, June 19, 20, 21, and 22, and July 10.] 1861.
4. *Scripture and Science not at Variance*. By John H. Pratt, M. A. London, Hatchard, 1861.
5. *A brief Defence of Essays and Reviews*. By the Rev. Dr. Wild. London, 1861.
6. *Analysis of "Essays and Reviews."* By G. A. Denison, Vicar of East Brent and Archdeacon of Taunton. London: Saunders and Otley. 1861.
7. *Supremacy of Scripture. An Examination into the Principles and Statements advanced in the Essay on the Education of the World; in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Temple*. By W. E. Jelf, B.D. London: Saunders and Otley. 1861.
8. *Reply to Dr. Wild and the "Edinburgh;" a Defence of the Bishops and the Memorialists; in a Letter to the Rev. G. Wild, LL.D.* By Francis Bodfield Hooper. London: Rivingtons. 1861.

JUST upon the eve of our last publication a very important step was taken in the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, on the subject of "The Essays and Reviews." In conformity with a demand from the Lower House, the bishops resolved that "a committee of the Lower House should be appointed to examine and make extracts from the book entitled 'Essays and Reviews,' and to report thereupon."

To the party of orthodoxy generally in the Church, and especially to the party of authority, this resolution was a subject of much gratulation and hope. It was confidently affirmed that at length the truth was about to vindicate itself; and that the Church had at last, after so many days of darkness, resumed her true character, and would speedily drive away the strange doctrines by which for a time her teaching had been deformed.

There were many, nevertheless, even of the party of authority whose anticipations were by no means so assured. There was quite enough in the proceedings of the very meeting from which this resolution emanated, to make the further results even more than problematical.

In the first place, upon an exact scrutiny of the component elements of the Lower House of Convocation, from which the call for synodical censure proceeded, it appeared that it represented but very imperfectly the great body of English Churchmen. Many of the greatest, or at least most popular names, among the dignitaries of the Church were missing;—the Dean of St. Paul's, the Dean of Canterbury, the Deans of Westminster, of Chichester, and of Christ Church. The Dean of Ely, in the discussion, took the side favourable to the Essayists. Many others of the leading dignitaries adopted the same course; and the resolution ultimately taken was not agreed to without a protest from a strong and influential minority against its justice and expediency.

A still more significant indication of the temper of Convocation was presented in the discussion which ensued in the Upper House. Notwithstanding the apparent unanimity of the adhesion of the Episcopate to the well-known archiepiscopal Letter referred to in our last Number,* it appeared, upon the actual discussion, that, whether some

* pp. 492-3.

new light had meanwhile arisen, or whether it was felt that the published protest was in itself a sufficient condemnation, a considerable section of the body was strongly opposed to any synodical censure. The Bishop of London especially urged many objections to such a course. It turned out that, to use the language of one who seems to be thoroughly informed, "the names of the bishops had been appended so carelessly to the archiepiscopal Letter, that one of them, that of H. Exeter, is now known to have been added without his knowledge, and against his wish; two at least of the most distinguished of the body had published opinions exactly coinciding with those which they had condemned; and two others on the first public occasion after the manifesto had been issued, had the good sense and feeling to avow that they exempted from their censure, three at least, and these the most important, of the five persons whose position and character the vague anathema had been intended to blast."* And hence, when the question as to appointing a committee to examine the book was finally proposed, it appeared that, of the thirteen out of the seemingly unanimous Episcopate who were present in Convocation, but *eight* voted in favour of the motion, four being decidedly hostile, and the Archbishop of Canterbury declining to vote either way!

Although, therefore, the Committee was appointed to report on 'Essays and Reviews,' the moral effect of the measure was marred in the very outset by this marked want of unanimity in the Upper as well as in the Lower House. An animated controversy sprung up as to the constitutional competency of Convocation, to consider such questions at all, and still more as to the expediency of reviving at this particular crisis functions of that body which had so long lain in disuse. It was remembered that the measure which had led to the suspension of these functions in 1717, had been very similar in its character to that which it was now prepared to take. Then, as now, a committee of the Lower House had been named to report on the well-known work of Bishop Hoadley; but with this great difference, that, while the present Convocation was so divided, the former proceeding had been unanimous, and unhesitatingly

* *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. cxiii. p. 469.

adopted. And it was argued that any formal censure from such a source would be but an attempt to stifle free discussion, and to outrage the traditional rights of private judgment; and that, as in the case of Bishop Hoadley, considerations of state expediency had led to the interposition of the authority of the crown, so in the present instance it would be the duty of the public feeling and public sense of free England, of the educated laity, and especially of the young generation, to resist and to disregard the arrogant pretensions of a bigoted and fanatical section of a body whose rights, even if united, were far more than questionable.

These principles, put forward in many forms in the daily or weekly journals and in various ephemeral publications, took a substantive shape in an article in our great Whig contemporary, which public rumour ascribes to a distinguished professor of the University of Oxford, one of the very highest names in the modern ecclesiastical literature of England. It is beyond our present purpose to discuss the tenor and tendency of that article; and we only refer to it as one of the main elements of the reactionary movement which followed the last session of the Convocation. Describing the recent ferment in the Church as but one of the many 'religious panics' which from time to time have agitated the public mind, the writer endeavours to show its utter groundlessness in point of fact, and at the same time to account for its violence, and for the extent to which it pervaded the clerical body in England. In the view of this able writer, which coincides in this respect with that put forward by ourselves in our last Number, it is a prodigious mistake to suppose that the volume contains anything new. He points out the identity of the doctrines of the Essayists with those, not only of Herder, Schleiermacher, Lücke, Neander, De Wette, and Ewald, but even of the less rationalizing names of Tholuck, Hengstenberg, and Olshausen. He indicates cursorily the names of several living writers in England, whose opinions on most of the points to which exception is taken, are identical with those of the writers now menaced with denunciation. In a word, he lays down as his thesis the confident assertion, that, "with the possible exception of Professor Powell's Essay, and a few words of Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson, there is no statement of doctrine or facts in this volume which has not been repeatedly set

forth by divines whose deep and sincere faith in the Christian religion cannot be denied without the worst uncharitableness, and some of whom are actually regarded as luminaries of the Church.”*

Our readers, bearing in mind the startling passages cited in our last number, will acknowledge the justice of this part of the *Edinburgh Reviewer's* allegation. It is perfectly true, and has been shown most conclusively, that the opinions of the Essayists, even the very worst of them, are by no means new, even in England. Three, at least, of the Essayists themselves, had already published doctrines in every respect identical with those of the Essays. The late Dr. Donaldson had anticipated them, not merely by a bold and ostentatious avowal of the same doctrines, but by a direct appeal addressed to the authorities of the Church, challenging them to a trial of his right, as a member and minister of the Church of England, to maintain and profess these doctrines in their integrity. But we must say that, beyond this, the Reviewer's proof does not fairly extend. His attempt to show that these doctrines, taken as a whole, have been taught by men who are “regarded as luminaries of the Church,” is a complete and signal failure, and is disfigured by an amount of sophistry and special pleading, for which it would be difficult to find a parallel.

This part of the subject is extremely well argued by Mr. Hooper,† in reply to Dr. Wild and the *Edinburgh Review*. He shows that a group of isolated *obiter dicta*, such as Dr. Wild has collected from a hundred different sources, however they may tally individually with this or that one among the separate statements of the Essayists, are utterly inadmissible, whether as a defence or as a parallel for this combined and systematic publication. And we may add that Mr. Hooper has shown very clearly that many of Dr. Wild's quotations are irrelevant, and that many more were themselves, in their day, the object of censure and reprobation precisely similar to that with which the Essays and Reviews have now been visited.

We shall not stop, however, to discuss this question.

* *Edinburgh Review*, p. 474.

† Reply to Dr. Wild and the “*Edinburgh*.” By F. B. Hooper. 1861.

We have alluded to this article solely in its bearing and effect upon the public mind, and in its influence upon the suspended deliberations of the convocation. That it produced a powerful effect in allaying the "panic," it is impossible to doubt. As the well-known article of the great rival Review had been a main instrument of the agitation against the Essays, the Edinburgh article, if it did not lead the reaction, became at least its centre and rallying point; and the line which it indicates, viz., of refusing to join in any censure of the Essays, or to gainsay to English churchmen the right of free discussion, even to the extreme length to which it is carried in that publication, became the recognized policy of a large body, both among the laity and the clergy.

It was in this condition of the public mind that the Convocation reassembled after its prorogation; one of the principal objects being to take into consideration the Report of the Committee of the Lower House on the question, whether there were sufficient grounds for proceeding to a synodical judgment upon the "*Essays and Reviews*."

It is perhaps worthy of note, as indicating the curious fluctuations of popular religious controversy in England, that the chairman of this committee was the well-known Archdeacon Denison of Taunton, who had himself only just ceased to occupy the attention of the public, as the object of a protracted ecclesiastical suit on a charge of heterodoxy in a direction precisely opposite to that of the Essayists; and of whom the Edinburgh Reviewer remarks that, "his zeal for persecuting others seemed to be only whetted by his recent and narrow escape from his own long persecution."

The Report is so clear and so precise in its statements, that we shall transcribe it entire:—

"The Committee of the Lower House of Convocation of the province of Canterbury appointed by direction of his Grace the President and their Lordships of the Upper House, to examine a book entitled, '*Essays and Reviews*,' and to report thereon to the Lower House 'in order that the Lower House may communicate to the Upper House whether there are sufficient grounds for proceeding to a synodical judgment upon the book, report as follows:—

"The book committed to our examination consists of seven '*Essays and Reviews*,' six of which were written by clergymen of the United Church of England and Ireland.

"We have carefully examined the book and we consider the following to be its leading principles:—

"1. That the present advanced knowledge possessed by the world in its 'manhood,' is the standard whereby the educated intellect of the individual man, guided and governed by conscience, is to measure and determine the truth of the Bible.

"2. That where the Bible is assumed to be at variance with the conclusions of such educated intellect, the Bible must be taken in such cases to have no divine authority, but to be only 'a human utterance.'

"3. That the principles of interpretation of the Bible hitherto universally received in the Christian Church are untenable, and that new principles of interpretation must now be substituted if the credit and authority of the Holy Scriptures are to be maintained.

"We find that,

"1. In many parts of the volume statements and doctrines of the Holy Scriptures are denied, called into question, or disparaged; for example:—

"(a) 'The reality of Miracles,' including the idea of Creation as presented to us in the Bible.

"(b) 'Predictive prophecy,' especially predictions concerning the Incarnation, person, and offices of our Lord.

"(c) 'The descent of all mankind from Adam.'

"(d) 'The Fall of Man and Original Sin.'

"(e) 'The Divine Command to Sacrifice Isaac.'

"(f) 'The Incarnation of our Lord.'

"(g) 'Salvation through the blood of Christ.'

"(h) 'The Personality of the Holy Spirit.'

"(i) 'Special or Supernatural Inspiration.'

"(k) 'Historical facts of the Old Testament, including some referred to by our Blessed Lord Himself.'

"2. It is urged that many passages of the Holy Scripture may be understood and explained upon the principle called 'ideology;' by which is meant that the reader is at liberty to accept the idea of characters and facts described in the Holy Scriptures, instead of believing in the reality of those characters and facts.

"3. It is maintained that the creeds of the Church, whether regarded as confessions of faith or as 'instruments for the interpretation of Scripture,' may now be put aside as no longer suitable to the present advanced intellectual condition of the world.

"4. Liberty is claimed for the clergy and candidates for holy orders to subscribe Articles of religion and to use formularies in public worship without believing them according to their plain and natural meaning.

"5. Attempts are made to separate Christian holiness of life from Christian doctrine.

"We notice in many parts of the volume the absence of that spirit of humility and reverence with which human reason ought

ever to approach the study of Divine truth ; we notice also a confusion of the dictates of the natural conscience with Divine grace, and in some places a substitution of those dictates for Divine grace.

"It appears to us that, while the professed intention of the volume is the 'free handling in a becoming spirit' of religious subjects, the general tendency and effect of the volume are unduly to exalt the authority of human reason, to lower the authority of Revelation in regard to things divine and spiritual, to unsettle faith, and to consign the reader to a hopeless scepticism.

"We have appended two schedules, A and B,—Schedule A containing the advertisement 'To the Reader,' as prefixed to all the editions of the book, and referred to in the preceding paragraph of our report; Schedule B containing passages denying, calling in question, or disparaging statements and doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, with citations from and references to those parts of the Holy Scriptures and of the Formularies and Articles of the united Church of England and Ireland to which such passages are contrariant.

"Signed on behalf of the Committee,

"GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON,

"Archdeacon of Taunton, Chairman."

Those of our readers who bear in mind the statements from the *Essays*, transcribed or indicated in our last Number, will have no difficulty in accepting the above as a fair, and on the whole not inadequate, Report upon the contents, as well as upon the plain and natural tendency of the volume. There is not a single point of objection here indicated, which may not be amply substantiated by many passages from the writers themselves ; and whatever may be urged by the apologists of the *Essays*, as to the general unfairness of judging a work by isolated extracts, separated from the context and from the explanatory antecedents or consequents from which they are withdrawn, we do not hesitate to say that we are fully satisfied, that, taking the language as it is, and reading the work according to the natural and ordinary construction which it ought to bear, it is impossible to doubt that the spirit as well as the letter of the publication is fairly represented in the summary presented by the Report of the Committee.

The justice of the report indeed is amply vindicated by more than one of the writers named at the head of these pages. Archdeacon Denison has entered very fully into the question of the unity of design, which is implied in the publication. He shows how each support and supplements

the statements of the other—how one illustrates by practical examples what another lays down, as a debateable theory ; and how the worst and most daring principles of all are recapitulated in the concluding essay of Mr. Jowett. And as to the essay which by many has been regarded as the least objectionable, that of Dr. Temple, Mr. Jelf, in a most calm and philosophical analysis demonstrates that whether placed at the head of the volume by accident or by design, it is “practically the foundation and introduction to all the rest.” The tendency of this essay, indeed, may be faithfully condensed into a few sentences.—“It seeks to prove men of the present day to be under rules and obligations of faith different from those of former times, and more especially from those which obtained in the Early Church ; that the points which were then fixed and defined on scriptural grounds, though true and necessary for that age, are no longer true and necessary for us, nor even desirable or suitable guides for us ; that they are not even permissible to us ; that not only should we not be wrong in giving them up, but are wrong in retaining them. Reason, having now attained its maturity, is in fact a higher Revelation, and Scripture has no longer any right to do more than to suggest to reason that which reason may reject if it pleases ; whatever interpretation of Scripture may have been true in former ages, Scripture is now to be interpreted and modified to suit the tone of the age, or the supposed progress of the intellect ; this supremacy of reason is not only in harmony, as some would have it, with the pride and blindness of man, but with the counsels of God and the divine economy of salvation.”

Without entering, however, into this question, we shall, at least, understand from the Report under our eyes, what are the doctrines, the admissibility of which, within the pale of the English Church, is now under discussion. It is of little consequence, as bearing upon this view, whether the Report does or does not fairly represent the opinions of the writers. This much, at least, is certain :—The Report was presented, and was accepted by Convocation as a fair summary of these opinions, and in all the discussions which ensued, *this fact was unhesitatingly assumed*. Schedules were appended to the Report containing extracts from the Seven Essays in support of the views regarding their tendency presented in the Report. But no discussion was raised as to this question ; and

although the Dean of Ely deprecated in general the notion of condemning any work from a collection of passages extracted from it, yet he made no complaint as to the unfairness of the selection of extracts made in this particular instance by the Committee.

Here then, at least, the matter is brought to an issue. And we find ourselves in the presence of a fact for which few parallels can be found in history—a Synodical assembly of the ministers of a Christian Church, discussing in sober seriousness, the question whether, within the pale of that Church, it be free to her members and even her ministers, to profess and publicly to propound, a body of doctrines and principles which, however variously they may in some respects be construed, are at all events confessed by all to involve a denial of “the reality of Miracles, including the order of Creation; predictive prophecy, and especially the Messianic prophecies; the common descent of man from Adam; the fall, and original sin; the Incarnation of our Lord; the Personality of the Holy Ghost; Supernatural Inspiration; the historical facts of the Old Testament; even some referred to by our Blessed Lord Himself!”

Let us see, therefore, what is the course adopted by the Convocation in discussing the compatibility of professions such as these with membership of the Church of England. There is much, it is true, even in the proceedings of the party favourable to the Essays, to which, upon the received principles of Protestantism, no exception can fairly be taken. We can understand, for example, Canon Wordsworth’s energetic appeal “upon grounds of Christian charity, that the authors should be permitted the opportunity of defending themselves.” We ourselves fully sympathize with the remonstrance of the Dean of Ely against the unreasonableness and the “inconsistency both with the dignity of the House, and with the dictates of propriety, of professing their readiness, having only had the Report placed in their hands during that morning, to enter at once into its consideration.” In like manner we understand the technical or constitutional difficulties which are raised against the particular form of proceeding which was proposed, as irregular and unprecedented. It was a perfectly intelligible objection on the part of Dr. Wordsworth, that “Convocation was a deliberative and not a judicial assembly; and that they were now engaged in a

measure for which they had no precedent." It is true that in 1669 a Committee of Convocation was appointed to examine certain books declared to be mischievous ; but it was declared by the Bishops on that occasion, that they could not pronounce judgment without the Royal license. On the contrary, they said they were advised that by so doing both Houses of Convocation might incur the penalties of the statute of the 25th of Henry VIII. A similar decision was come to in 1689 in reference to Bishop Burnett's Book upon the Thirty-nine Articles ; and Whiston's case, in 1710, fails equally to apply as a precedent for the proceeding now proposed, inasmuch as in the case of the Essayists the Convocation neither has the author before them nor the Royal license to proceed. It was not unnatural, therefore, that Dr. Wordsworth should warn the assembly that they " must respect the rights of the Crown, and if they were to find means, as he hoped they might, to check the spread of these pernicious doctrines which were circulating among them, they must take care to proceed in a legal way."

For these and several similar suggestions, we are perfectly prepared ; nor should we think it inconsistent with even the most decided reprobation of the doctrines under discussion. But what will the advocates of Church authority say to the proposal of the Archdeacon of Stafford that, while such doctrines are disseminated in the Church, while the very foundations of the Christian faith are at stake, and where, if ever it is the plain office of a Christian Church to interfere in vindication of the truth, it was nevertheless, " not expedient to revive the power of synodical action under the existing circumstances of the Church !"

Still more what will be thought of the complete, unconditional, and unreserved surrender of the functions of the Church as a witness, much more as a judge of true doctrine, which is implied in the significant warning of another of the speakers ? Not content with " protesting against the course which was taken, of dealing with the book as a whole, by which all the writers were made jointly responsible for anything objectionable found to be contained in any one of the articles, and expressing his fears that the Report of the Committee would be looked upon out of doors with some suspicion, seeing that among its members were those who had before taken a conspicuous part in

opposition to the work," he openly avows that in the present condition of the public mind, in England, authority has practically grown obsolete; that churchmen are no longer to be taught, but to be convinced; that, in a word, the only instrument of the doctrinal teaching of the modern Church is Reason; that the arguments of the Essayists would be expected to be condemned by the same weapons as those used by the Essayists,—namely, by the learning, the science, and the wisdom of the age;* and with the young men of the country, the judgment of that House would only have the effect of exciting sympathy on behalf of the writers, and would be regarded as a condemnation of Convocation. Their sitting depended upon public opinion, and if they acted in a manner which would

* The Essayists and their defenders in their constant reference to the educated and enlightened classes, and their constant solicitude for *them* especially, appear to forget altogether that one grand characteristic of the Gospel was that it was to be "preached to the poor." This is forcibly put by Dr. Jelf: "Let us turn to the humbler classes, to the village school, and the village home. What will be the effect of the book there? There is, for example, (I would if I could, avoid exemplifying by personal allusion,) a certain parish, the vicar of which (unless he has two Gospels, one for the learned and one for the simple, is bound in *conscience* to teach in the parish school, that a child may believe or not, as he likes, the facts of the Old Testament and the New: the facts of creation, of the deluge, of Abraham's call—nay, of the life and death of our Blessed Lord. How will all this square with the Catechism, or with the Creed, or with simple reading of the Scripture, or with child-like faith? The child cannot be blamed (nay, on the principles of this book, he is praiseworthy,) whether he accept 'literally, or allegorically, the story of a serpent tempter, of an ass speaking with man's voice, of waters standing in a solid heap,' and the like. He may laugh at these scriptural facts, or accept them unreservedly, as he pleases. Or fancy, in another parish, some aged labourer in the act of reading to his dying wife out of his Bible, in simple faith, the 22nd chapter of Genesis. Just then, his wiser child comes in from the parish school, and tells him, on the high and unquestioned authority of his reverend instructor, one also who enjoys a theological reputation elsewhere, that the story he delights in, as an example of faith and obedience, is not a real transaction at all, but merely an allusion to certain motives in Abraham's mind, forbidding him to pass his son Isaac through the fire to Moloch—which wickedness, but for these motives, Father Abraham would have been disposed to do."

excite public feeling against them, they might have their doors shut for another century, as they had been."

It would be difficult to find a more significant commentary upon the very work which is under discussion, than the suggestion contained in these pregnant sentences. The true standard by which religious truth is to be measured, is—not the traditions of the fathers, not the judgments of pastors, not the authority of synods,—but "the learning, the science, and the wisdom of the age!" The ultimate tribunal upon whose decision all must turn, can only be found in "the young men of the country!" The synods of the Church depend for their value, not on the commission of our Lord, not on His promise of the Holy Spirit, but "on public opinion!" And the judgments of synods must be attuned to that public opinion, lest, if a hostile feeling be excited against them, "they may have their doors shut for another century, as they had been before!"

How must these suggestions have grated upon the ears of Dr. Jelf,* whose hopes had been fixed upon the "Pro-

* He expresses this feeling with great warmth in his address to the Convocation:—"Is the Church, Laity and Clergy, to sit tamely by, and see all this unfaithfulness, unmoved? Is the law of this Christian land powerless? And shall this sacred Synod, the organ and representative, however inadequate, of this pure and Apostolic branch of Christ's Church, keep silence and hush up the matter, and let things take their course? How my reverend brethren may feel, I know not; I, for one, will not forget that, so long as this Chamber is left open by our gracious Queen's commands, I am here, in the execution of a sacred trust, to speak a word in season for the Church of this land at home and beyond sea—a word for all Christian people, belonging to this realm of England, dispersed throughout the world. In the name of that Church I am compelled—and woe is me if I shrink from it!—to stand up boldly and honestly, and ask these men whether they can call themselves 'faithful dispensers of the Word of God and of His holy Sacraments.' I confine myself to those amongst the seven writers, who have received the Orders of Deacon and Priest. The one layman amongst them I can compassionate; and, but for his share in this concerted attack on the Christian faith, I could respect. Even a mere layman, indeed, cannot meddle with such things, and be innocent. So far there is no distinction between Clergy and Laity; but still he is comparatively blameless, in that he does not add to the sin of infidelity the breach of a sacred trust. He has given no

vincial Synod" as the one tribunal which the English Constitution has, from the earliest times, as the true and legal representative assembly, entrusted with the discussion of matters touching the welfare of the Church of England!

Well may the despairing friends of orthodoxy "conclude*" that the world has given its vote in favour of 'Essays and Reviews'—aye, and much more and much worse teaching than that; and in opposition to Catholicism, unless it be of the *pseudo* kind against which we have for some weeks past been raising our voice. In a question between faith and reason, it is not difficult to foresee the world's vote. As many believe the Church would gain by separation from the State, so it might be no loss to Christian truth were faith and scepticism to declare themselves at deadly feud. We should then at least know who are for and who against Catholic doctrine, who desire no longer to halt between two opinions, and who would be altogether and wholly faithful. There is urgent need that those who would be on the side of faith and Catholic truth should take their stand with firmness and consistency; and this for their own sake, as well as for the

promise, which he could break, and made in the face of the Church no solemn assurances, which he has never openly retracted, which, however he may fluctuate in opinion, he never can retract and retain his office.

"Six of these misguided men, in common with my reverend brethren and myself, did, in the most solemn hour of their lives, when the Bishop asked that categorical question, 'Do you unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testament?' give that irrevocable answer, 'I do believe them.' And in that answer, we one and all, gave up our natural liberty, as some call it, to dispute the authenticity and genuineness of either the Old Testament or the New. We were thenceforth no longer free, if *any one* is ever free, to split hairs about what we could or could not hold under the Sixth Article of our Church; still less to draw Jesuitical distinctions of the term 'Canonical Books' into 'determined' and 'regulative;' or explain away the plain English words 'allow,' and 'acknowledge,' and 'agreeable to.' The common honesty of the country will not tolerate such evasions; indeed, most of the writers would, I am persuaded, repudiate their colleague's sophistry; I can call it by no milder name."—p. 44-6.

* With a writer in the "Union." June 21, 1861.

sake of others. For their own sake because, if they will not now stand firm, how know they presently they shall stand at all? An uncertain faith becomes a certain scepticism—a sure faith daily grows more sure and more certain. If to believe and love and obey implicitly be a gain and a happiness, not to do so must be a loss and a misery. Again, for the sake of others—perhaps never was there a time of greater danger to the souls of men than this our day. The world, the flesh, and the devil, tempt through the luxury and vice of our great towns. Walk about our vast city, east or west, by night or by day, and eye and ear let in enough of evil willingly or unwillingly; and what is this to the hidden misery and crime maddening the life of young and old? Wealth, public opinion, popular literature—upper, lower, and middle class—every ‘use and wont’—all wage unholy war against the soul. Young and old, broken-hearted, sin-sick, worldly-weary, cry to God for His truth; and what, aye, what too generally have they given them by their teachers? For bread, a stone!”

It is only justice, however, to the majority of the Lower House to say that this suggestion met but little favour, and that the prevailing sentiment regarding the “*Essays*” was of strong reprobation. Without entering into a detailed history of the various courses which were proposed, it will be enough to say that not one of the several expedients by which it was sought either to obtain a favourable judgment, or to evade a positive censure obtained more than a limited support. The resolution against the expediency of reviving synodical functions was defeated by a majority of twenty-nine to ten. Dr. Wordsworth’s proposal to leave the question to the ordinary operation of the Ecclesiastical Courts shared the same fate; and eventually the original motion of Archdeacon Denison, to the effect that in the opinion of the Lower House “there were sufficient grounds for proceeding to a synodical judgment upon the book,” was carried by a majority of thirty-one to eight. This decision was communicated to the Upper House, and the Convocation was adjourned to the 9th of the present month of July.

The result of this decision was of course to bring the subject again, and by the most formal procedure known to the ecclesiastical usage of the English Church, under the

consideration of the Episcopal body; and the re-assembling of the Convocation has been looked forward to with much anxiety both by the patrons, and the impugners of "*Essays and Reviews*." This meeting was, for the bishops, *the third* public opportunity for expressing their judgments of the work under review.

Now, we must say that gross and palpable as was the inconsistency between the first course taken by the bishops in the publication of the celebrated manifesto and their second public appearance in the earlier session of the Convocation, the decision just arrived at in the session of the 9th July is the most unaccountable of them all, being practically in contradiction to both its predecessors.

On the resolution of the Lower House being read, the Bishop of Chichester called attention to an event which had occurred since the last meeting—namely, the institution by the Bishop of Salisbury of proceedings in his court against one of the authors of "*Essays and Reviews*," Dr. Rowland Williams, Vicar of Broad Chalk, which appeared to alter the position of the bishops in relation to the work. It was not unlikely that this cause might come to be considered, in appeal, by the ultimate tribunal in such cases—the Privy Council. Now, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, being members of the Privy Council, would be embarrassed in their judgment as Privy Councillors, if they should have already pronounced judgment upon the work in Convocation. In consequence the Bishop of Chichester proposed the following resolution:—

"That his Grace the President be requested to communicate to the Lower House that this House, having taken into consideration the communication of the Lower House touching a book called '*Essays and Reviews*,' have resolved that whereas, since this House formerly considered the question, a suit has been instituted against one of the writers, and whereas His Grace the President and the other bishops who are members of the Privy Council may in the course of the appeal upon it have to decide in the said suit judicially, and whereas it appears to this House inexpedient either to proceed with the consideration and discussion in the absence of his Grace the President and the other bishops who may be members of the Privy Council, or to embarrass their hereafter sitting as judges, by their having joined in a synodical judgment of the book, it is expedient to adjourn the further consideration of the question, pending the course of the suit."

This resolution was seconded by the Bishop of St. Asaph, and was passed unanimously.

Now, we cannot help saying that the resolution thus adopted is but one of those paltry expedients for evading a difficulty to which recourse is had by those who have not the courage to encounter it upon its own merits. It is plain to every impartial observer of the course of events, that the contingency which is here relied on as a ground for abstaining from present action is one which might have been foreseen from the very outset, and which ought to have been contemplated before the issuing of the Episcopal manifesto. Nay, it is plain that such a contingency was *de facto* contemplated, and not only contemplated, but provided for in the manifesto itself. In expressing their satisfaction with which they received the address of the clergy on the subject of "Essays and Reviews," the bishops declared in their manifesto that it was "still under the gravest consideration," whether the language of the Essays "is such as to make their publication *an act* which would be visited in the Ecclesiastical courts, or to justify the synodical condemnation of the *book* which contains them." A clear distinction is thus made between "the act" of the pastors who published these opinions and "the book" in which the opinions are contained. The first falls within the notice of the Ecclesiastical Courts; the second belongs to the sphere of Convocation. And the bishops in the manifesto plainly urged the two causes as independent of each other, and as capable of being adopted simultaneously. So far therefore as the publication of the works is concerned, there was nothing in the exercise of the judicial functions of the Archbishop of Canterbury as a member of the Court of Appeal, incompatible with his pursuing to its farthest limit the inquiry into the soundness or unsoundness of the doctrines which are put forth in the book. Nor can we regard the plea set up by the Bishop of Chichester, as other than a device by which to escape a collision which is regarded with alarm or a defection which might make the church a desert.

But whatever may be its true import, the plea has at least served the turn. The question is again postponed, and if we may judge from the length to which similar and indeed far less formidable contests have been protracted, it is hard to foretell at what time a decision may be expected. Meantime, the evil remains unmitigated

and unchecked. "It is fearful," says the writer already quoted, "to reflect on the thousands, nay millions of souls, who in this country are starving, care-worn, and sustained with no hope. And what has been done for them? They look for peace, and pardon, and salvation; but *where* are they to look for them? Would that our churches were again filled with priests who in life and doctrine and work are Catholic: then would there be no lack of penitent and grateful souls. Spite of Protestant, worldly, sceptical, money-worshipping creeds, the true Creed from Heaven would then be winning true souls for Heaven. For the sake, then, of others, as for our own, let each and all of us do all in our power to set up the truth which Christ has given us in the Candlestick, that it may give light to all that are in the house. 'A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid;' yet, if there is no city from the lack of builders, but only a ruin and a heap and a wilderness, while ever day and night there goes up to heaven a lamentation of lost souls, what is to be done? But many will say—We are making a violent and unreasonable outcry, when we ought to know that the Church of England is most prosperous, its priests amiable and inoffensive, and its laity highly respectable and perfectly satisfied." Alas, who is so weak as to risk all upon an appearance so hollow and delusive? Alas, too, what is the assurance that even this, unsubstantial as it is, is destined to endure! Who shall say what may be the condition of public belief in England by the time when the last technical appeal in the case of "*Essays and Reviews*" shall be brought to a conclusion?

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I.—*Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunkett*, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, who suffered for the Catholic Faith in the year 1681. Compiled from original documents by the Rev. P. F. Moran, D.D., Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome. Dublin: Duffy, 1861.

WE deeply regret that the necessities of space compel us to hold over the notice of this most interesting and

valuable work till our next issue. At the last moment we are reluctantly compelled to relinquish the hope of including it in the present number. But we cannot permit this opportunity to pass, without at least, a few words of most earnest commendation. Dr. Moran's work is the most valuable contribution to the post-Reformation history of the Irish Church since the days of De Burgo. It gives an earnest, in the copiousness and variety of original materials with which it abounds, that the history of our Church in these countries is not the hopeless blank which it has been commonly reported to be; and we cannot doubt that the success of this first instalment of what is plainly a labour of love, will induce the learned and accomplished author to pursue his researches in the same field for which he appears eminently fitted, as well by his own personal qualifications, as by the peculiar advantages which he enjoys in virtue of his position.

II.—*The Chapel of St. John: or, a Life of Faith in the Nineteenth Century.* By Kenelm Henry Digby. London, Dublin, and Derby: Richardson and Son. 1861.

Nothing from the pen of Mr. Digby can need an introduction to the readers of this journal. There is no Catholic writer of our day on whose pages we have so frequently drawn through the long series of years during which we have laboured in the cause which he has done so much to render popular with the thinkers of our age. We may confidently predict for his present work a popularity wider, if not more lasting, than has fallen to the lot of any of its predecessors. It appeals more intimately than any of them to the feelings of the reader, and although it is distinguished by the same various learning, the same vastness of historical research, the same brilliancy of style, the same copiousness and felicity of illustration, it addresses itself to sympathies which are at once wider in their range and more tender and touching in their influence.

It would be out of place here to attempt any analysis of this most charming volume. It must be read in order to be fully appreciated. It will be enough to say that it presents, in a discursive sketch of one who was very dear to the writer, a picture of the inner life of those who with loving hearts serve God truly in that sphere of life in which

His Providence has placed them. This life Mr. Digby sketches partly by the example of the subject of his loving biography, partly by the aid of the vast resources which his own erudition has placed at his disposal, through all its phases and in all its varied relations—its Catholicity, its piety, its wisdom, its relation to society, its relation to art and literature, its relation to the family, its justice; its humility and charity; its amiableness, its cheerfulness, its courage in affliction, its resignation in suffering and in death; nor is it possible to contemplate any detail of this portraiture without feeling elevated by the grandeur and attracted by the tenderness with which it is delineated.

We can only spare space for one or two specimens. The first is from the introductory chapter, and will remind Mr. Digby's old admirers of the very happiest of his former efforts.

"Now that the sweet voice of a gentle Christian woman has just ceased, for one about to speak of her retiring goodness, there is no doubt great need of indulgence, which he would not have asked if he had not been confronted with an age not perhaps hostile, but indifferent to merit of this high order. And yet to those who would object that details of this kind were not befitting any but a private audience, he would reply that such a life is either rare or common. If rare, it ought to be written for its singularity; if really, what seems so incredible, common, still more ought it to be made known to the literary public, since certainly there are many who do not seem aware that it is with goodness of this kind they, living in the nineteenth century, are every day surrounded, as such an hypothesis requires them to believe. In either case this chapel of St. John shall not be made the grave of her deserving. Nor is it a boastful extravagance to add, that England should know the value of her own; but it is a most natural conclusion to say with the poet, that to suffer it to pass into oblivion

'—————were a concealment

Worse than theft, no less than a traducement.'

To hide the light inherent in such a life, and in an instance of so grave a kind, would be to furnish fresh ground to the complaint of the Florentine philosopher, who, speaking of such examples, laments, 'ut notiora sint nobis quæ prisca tempora tulerunt quam quæ nostrâ sætate acta sunt.'

"When Fontenelle pronounced his eulogium on the celebrated Du Hamel, he felt it necessary to apologize for having presumed to touch upon that part of his life which ought to have been spoken of in front of the altar, and not before an academy. Perhaps, with regard to this book, what would have furnished ground formerly for

bespeaking pardon, might now on the contrary be advanced as substantiating a claim for favour ; since contrary to the ancient usage, as in the instance of a Marcella and a Paula, an Eloi and a Francis, whose lives were written by a Jerome, an Ouen, and a Bonaventura, the portrait here presented will be sketched by one who has no pretensions to a similarity with what he delineates. The world has often heard of the lives of holy persons written by the holy ; but though it is enough to make one pause to think of the ancient saying,

μῶς πονηρὸν, χρηστὸν ὅταν εἴπῃ λόγιον,

it will excite perhaps its attention as a novelty, and even conciliate in some degree its regard as an instance of unbiassed and unsuspected testimony, when it hears of such a portrait being drawn by one who cannot by the pattern of his own thoughts cut out the purity of her whom he portrays,—

‘ Car en moy n’est entendemens ne sens
D’escrire, fors ainsi comme je sens, ’—

and who in consequence of that dissimilarity of character cannot be suspected of any partiality or predilection in favour of a subject which what some call the destiny of life, rather than any meritorious inclination on his part, has cast in his way. It is even a very religious contemplatist who says, ‘ Books written in a devout way often weary me. I yawn at the first page. A theologian who speaks of such grave subjects moves me much less than a man of the world who seems to think about them.’ And Fontenelle, speaking of M. de Ressous, remarks, that if religion can be said to receive honour from what some men have done for her, perhaps may she take some little credit to herself for the weak efforts in her favour extorted as it were from men whose condition was the most different from that of her natural and professed advocates. Possibly, too, the very manner in which such a person taking up a pen is likely to treat a subject of this nature, may present certain advantages that are not to be wholly disdained ; for

‘ The world which neweth every day,’

as old Gower expresses it, will not be content with writings composed to suit the taste of the thirteenth or even of the seventeenth century. It may be well to present it with goodness and faith as seen with modern eyes, with eyes that are accustomed to the perspectives of the present civilization ; and, after all, gratitude, admiration, reverence,—not gratuitously offered or supposed, but extorted, will be of all ages. One may reasonably hope, therefore, that this book, devoted to the memory of one who was accessory to such violence, will be not alone pardoned, but praised,—‘ professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.’ ”—pp. 10-12.

The closing paragraphs are inexpressibly tender.

"Is this the last we have to speak? O hasten us not. We are come indeed to the whole depth of our tale, and ought to occupy the argument no longer. Perhaps the impatience of others tells us we should be gone; but yet methinks we have still somewhat to communicate; the moment is not come for the last adieu; we can yet stand here, forgetting any other home but this, parting is such sweet sorrow. Let us, then, I would continue, remember her to whom we have been debtors for that which will be ever to pay while we pay still. Let us keep fresh within our minds that recollection, which, by a consequence that ought to be inevitable, would fit us for a readmission to her society hereafter. She now walks the paths of upper air,—

'Sed longe sequare, et vestigia semper adora!'

Statius is thought to have won by this one line the heart of Dante. Applied as we propose it, let us cherish it as a panoply for our own. We should follow thus, and even imitate her fond example, elsewhere noticed, of never leaving one we love without seeming to linger still and multiply last words.

'I hear, I hear, with pleasing dread,
The plaintive music of the dead;
They leave the amber fields of day;
Soft as the cadence of the wave,
That murmurs round Jane Mary's grave,
They mingle in the mystic lay.'

Sweet saint! Oh, ever breathe the powerful strain, and thy faith will live within the book and volume of the brain unmixed with baser matter. Yet stay; even such love has danger. Hamlet, after converse with the ghost, dismisses his companions without more circumstance at all,—holding it fit that they shake hands and part; and adding, for his own poor part, 'Look you, he will go pray.' There's the deep-toned music of our Shakespeare's soul; but his Paulina,—mark this,—thinking of her 'that's never to be found again in this life, would wing her to some withered bough, and there lament till she was lost.' Fearful and impotent conclusion! leading us to distinguish between strong impressions, when closing all, and to perceive that there is one direction fraught with peril, in which men's mournful steps can move—path sinistrous, 'eiry,' as old minstrels say, and full of gloom, to which Prospero too alludes when saying,—

'—————Now I want
Spirits to enforce, art to enchant;
And my ending is despair,
Unless I be relieved by prayer;
Which pierces so, that it assaults
Mercy itself, and frees all faults.'

Let Love hear therefore the right voice, and fear, lest, by neglecting just distinctions, the stone we stand on should rebuke us for being more stone than it. Hears not Religion herself its grave accordant voice, attesting yet another witness? Another who sealed her testimony, to be added to the long list of those inscribed on adamantine rolls,—

‘Hears not also mortal life?
Hear not we, unthinking creatures!
Slaves of folly, fear, or strife,
Voices of two different natures?
Have not we too?—Yes, we have
Answers, and we know not whence,
Echoes from beyond the grave,
Recognized intelligence!
Such within ourselves we hear
Ofttimes, ours though sent from far;
Listen, ponder, hold them dear;
For of God—of God they are!’—pp. 386-7.

For the rest we must refer to Mr. Digby’s own pages. No one who recollects the charming sketches of mediæval life in the “*Ages of Faith*” can fail to be attracted by this kindred portraiture from our own time—the *Life of Faith* in the Nineteenth Century.

III.—*The Sisters: Inisfail: and other Poems.* By Aubrey De Vere, Author of “*May Carols*,” &c., &c. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts.

We have just received this charming volume, which we heartily commend to all lovers of genuine poetry. We must reserve the detailed notice till our next publication.

IV.—*The Cathedral of Monreale, Sicily.* By D. B. Gravina, B. C. Burns and Lambert, 17 and 18, Portman Street, London, (w.); and Rev. R. Emanuele, Grove House, Maidstone.

Few illustrated books will be more highly valued than that of Father Gravina, on the Duomo of Moureale in Sicily. Among the architectural works of the day, not many can be the subjects of such long and laborious study as the present, as it is but rarely that professional men can devote the necessary time to the careful studies required for a task so serious.

The leisure hours of forty years have resulted in a work equal to the best of a similar kind now existing. The

plates now shown are admirably executed, and the colours and gilding of the mosaics are given with the greatest fidelity. If the succeeding numbers do not fall behind those already circulating,* the whole will form a work answerable in every way to what we so much require.

As a work of reference for students, professors, and others, it will take its place with the great Italian works on the Churches and Buildings of Rome, &c. It is to be hoped, therefore, that it will find its way to the shelves of the useful professional libraries of our great cities. In proportion too, to the singularity and perfect preservation of the architecture and decoration of the Duomo, will be its value as a reliable authority for all its measurements and minute details.

Those students who have felt the want of accurate and detailed accounts of such noble and isolated landmarks in the tradition of modern architecture, will appreciate the publication of Father Gravina's work.

It must not be forgotten that the price of the numbers with their illustration, is lower than could have been possible, had such a work been produced in this country, and one cannot but feel certain that it must gain and preserve the popularity it so fully deserves.

The work will be published in this country, in 40 parts, each part (price 14 Shillings) will contain two plates large imperial folio, and will appear every two months.

* We have seen several other numbers which are, in every respect, equal to the first.

We had prepared a notice of the magnificent work of Mr. Cockerell on *Ægina*, the insertion of which we are compelled for want of space to postpone. The same, we regret to say, is the case as to Lord Stanhope's admirable *Life of Pitt*, and to several other notices which we had prepared for our present number.

THE
DUBLIN REVIEW.

AUGUST, 1861.

ART. I.—1. *The Communion of Saints.* An attempt to illustrate the true Principles of Christian Union. By H. B. Wilson, B. D. Oxford. 1851.

2. *An Introduction to the Study of Dogmatic Theology.* By the Rev. Robert Owen, B. D., Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. London. 1858.

IT is difficult for Catholics to understand how discourses in themselves apparently so feeble as the Bampton Lectures of Mr. Wilson, could have produced a sensation in such a place as Oxford. Even now that Mr. Wilson has become famous as one of the writers of "Essays and Reviews," we are as unable to see anything particularly striking in these discourses as when we first read them. The author, indeed, tells us plainly that he does not believe in the "Communion of Saints," in the sense in which these words were introduced into the Creed. "When the clause is first found..... it is expounded, not in reference to the general community of interests which belong to Christian people, but in regard to supposed particular relations between the living saints and the dead." p. 14. It implied "a hope that the living might be of avail in some way to the dead," p. 16. "It was also supposed that the dead could benefit the living," p. 17. "Far different from such views are those which are presented to us in Protestant theology," p. 19. As a substitute for the old doctrine, he proposes "the true principles of Christian

union;" instead of believing in the "Communion of Saints," he believes in "Multitudinism," as contrasted with "sectarianism." Mr. Wilson has peculiarities of style and expression, but we think his best things have been said before him.

Mr. Owen belongs to a totally different school of theology. He sympathises to a considerable extent with the old doctrine, but is evidently afraid of the truth, like a certain old divine whom he quotes, as it seems to us, with a somewhat malicious intention. Pearson, in his celebrated work "on the Creed," says, "The saints of God living in the Church of Christ are in communion with all the saints departed out of this life and admitted to the presence of God," but reserves for a note this important fact—"This is that part of the Communion of Saints which those of the ancients especially insisted upon, who first took notice of it in the Creed." Pearson proceeds—"But what they do in heaven in relation to us on earth particularly considered, or what we ought to perform in reference to them in heaven, beside a reverential respect and study of imitation, is not revealed unto us in the Scriptures, nor can be concluded by necessary deductions from any principle of Christianity." Mr. Owen shows by a number of short quotations from ancient ecclesiastical writers, that there was no doubt whatever as to what was meant by the "Communion of Saints" in the minds of those who "first took notice of it in the Creed;" but he is careful not to say whether he agrees with them or not. When he undertakes to prove that the Invocation of Saints grew gradually out of a belief in this Intercession, we cannot admit that he is at all successful in producing evidence of the *gradualness*; and when he appeals to the fact that all the authorities quoted by Petavius are Post-Nicene, we must beg leave to ask him how many *Ante-Nicene* invocations of the second and third Persons of the Holy Trinity can be quoted.

There is, perhaps, no portion of the "Apostles' Creed" on which Protestants of all denominations differ so much, not only from the Catholic Church, but from all the ancient divisions of Christendom, as the clause about which we have been speaking. The Catholic interpretation (both dogmatical and practical) of this clause is not different in principle from that of the separated Greek Church, nor was it ever disputed by Monophysites or Nestorians.

And, in spite of the paucity of documents which throw light upon the practices of the Arian, Novatianist, and Donatist communions, there is evidence sufficient to show that even these ancient heretics agreed in this point with their more orthodox contemporaries. Only rare and isolated cases can be pointed out of revolt against the universal belief of Christendom in the efficacy of Prayers for the Dead, and in the lawfulness of the "*cultus Sanctorum*."

Mr. Owen must be aware that even his numerous citations give but the faintest notion of the extent and fervour of the devotion to the saints in the Church of the Fathers. The only English book in which something like justice is done to the historical *fact*, though from a hostile point of view, is Mr. Isaac Taylor's "*Ancient Christianity*;" and yet even this book contains but a comparatively small amount of the evidence which might have been produced. There are many rare works which bear upon the subject but are never quoted. Such, for instance, is the work of Basil of Seleucia upon St. Thecla, which we think would be startling even to persons prepared by the reading of "*Ancient Christianity*."

To the historical enquirer, who knows anything of the laws of his science, one circumstance connected with this devotion to the saints is of the most decided importance. We find the same doctrine prevailing, not only in every part of the Church of the Fathers, from the extreme East to the extreme West, but everywhere in the same form. It matters not whether we look to the Balearic Isles, the valley of the Nile, the banks of the Tigris, or the shores of Pontus. The hymns of Synesius give the same evidence for Cyrenaica as those of Prudentius for Spain. The ascetics of the Thebais, the rival doctors of Alexandria and Antioch, the monks and the courtiers of Constantinople, the rustic populations of Africa, which were ignorant of the Latin tongue, the inhabitants of northern Gaul, men differing from each other as much as it is possible for men to differ in race, manners, language, and ideas, are found teaching doctrines and practising rites as unmistakeably identical, and as unmistakeably derived from a single origin as were the Doric rites of Apollo in Delphi, Cnosus and Delos.

Of the different Protestant hypotheses on the subject, that which ascribes the origin of the "*cultus Sanctorum*"

to diabolical agency is the least absurd in a scientific point of view ; because, although it sets aside science altogether, the origin it assigns to the Catholic doctrine and practice is at least sufficiently ubiquitous to meet the historical difficulties of the case. But the more commonly received theory that Christianity was corrupted by heathenism, is consciously or unconsciously based upon the exploded and unscholarlike hypothesis of one definite œcumenical heathenism, from which all the first Christian populations were converted. Most books written before the present century imply the existence in ancient times of such an œcumenical polytheism. It is within the memory of the present generation, that the distinctions were first drawn, in this part of the world at least, between Hermes and Mercury, or between Artemis and Diana. Even persons who really know better still speak and write as if the gods of ancient Latium had been worshipped by the natives of Egypt or of Assyria. It is true that both Greeks and Romans identified all foreign divinities with their own ; but every learned man knows that they often did so on the most superficial grounds, and that conclusions founded on an uncritical admission of classical authorities are simply fallacious. Greeks and Romans gave the names of their gods to the gods of India, and would undoubtedly have done so to the gods of Mexico or Peru. In reality, the Polytheistic systems of ancient times, like those still existing in our days, were so utterly unlike each other that they may be said to have had nothing in common except those notions which are the necessary logical consequences of a belief in supernatural beings powerful for good or evil. When people tell us, therefore, that Christianity was corrupted by heathenism, they forget that heathenism was different in different parts of the Christian world, and particularly so in those classes of society from which the great mass of converts were derived. The Celtic religions had nothing in common with the Egyptian. The Christian populations of Spain were subjected to very different polytheistic influences from those which affected the Christian populations of Armenia or Asia Minor. And what heathen system can be supposed to explain the identity, on all matters of doctrine, of Æthiopic, Syrian, and Italian Christianity ? Yet, documents in many languages prove that, wherever Christianity is found in the ages of which we are speaking, one and the

same type of doctrine and ritual existed. Even the sects which had separated from the Catholic Church resembled it in every particular except that which had led to their separation from it.

These remarks apply to Patristic Christianity in general, and to the doctrine of the Communion of Saints in particular. No one form of heathenism existed throughout the countries where this doctrine was held and the practices founded upon it exercised. It is equally true that no form of heathenism had anything resembling these practices otherwise than in a very superficial way. But we are not now going to enter upon this question. We intend in this present article to treat of another branch of the subject which we believe will be new to many of our readers, and far from devoid of interest. We are going to appeal to the experience of other monotheistic religions,—of the only religions, in fact, which history testifies to have shared with Christianity the belief in one God, and its zeal against idolatry of every kind. We shall show that practices based upon a doctrine very similar to the Catholic one of the Communion of Saints, are, and have been, from very early times, characteristic of those religions. And we believe that very important historical conclusions may be derived from the evidence we are about to produce.

We begin with Mohammedanism.

It is a vulgar error, though shared by many who think themselves well-informed, to suppose that the religion of Mohammed discourages or forbids devotion to departed saints. We well remember how some of the leading English journals laboured, at the beginning of the late war, to prove that even in a religious point of view, the English nation ought rather to sympathise with Turks than with Russians, the latter being saint-worshippers, whereas the Turks are as jealous as the most determined Protestant could wish against anything that tends to give God's glory to any created being. It might have been added that they even err in excess, since the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is inconsistent with a monotheism as rigid as theirs.

The abstract principles of Mohammedanism are indeed all that a Protestant could wish as to the unity of God, the incommunicableness of His attributes, and the sin of giving Him companions. But it does not follow that the cultus of saints is inconsistent with these principles, and the proof

that it is not inconsistent is the fact of their peaceful coexistence in every part of Islam. But even more grave authorities than London journalists have fallen into the same error. "The votaries of Ali," says Gibbon, "have indeed consecrated the memory of their hero, his wife and his children, and some of the Persian doctors pretend that the divine essence was incarnate in the person of the Imams; but their superstition is universally condemned by the Sunnites, and their impiety has afforded a seasonable warning against the worship of saints and martyrs." Other writers better informed as to the actual matter-of-fact, are led by their Protestant prejudices to look upon the Mohammedan saint-worship as a corruption which the Prophet would have condemned. Let us first look at the facts.

The Mohammedan religion is professed by people of widely different races disseminated over a large portion of the globe. The Turk, the Afghan, the Persian, the Malay, the Bedouin, and the Berber, have little in common besides their religion. What they all hold in common is most certainly genuine Mohammedanism, even if it be not contained totidem verbis in the Koran: when we bear in mind the rapid extension of the religion at an early period, and the fanatical spirit with which its adherents have ever interpreted the words of their Prophet—"He who imitateth a people and followeth its practices, is counted as belonging to it,"—as a warning against borrowing even the most trifling practice from their neighbours, so that bells are rejected as Christian and trumpets as Jewish, it is impossible to imagine that a religious innovation fundamentally opposed to the spirit of their religion, could have been introduced without exciting the most violent outburst of opposition from every quarter of the Mohammedan world.

We are not going to discuss the quarrel between the Wahabees and their orthodox opponents; the few authorities we shall quote will be sufficient for the majority of our readers, who may rely upon them as giving an accurate view of the Mohammedan idea of the intercommunion subsisting between the living and the dead. We begin with the evidence of European travellers.

The traveller *Niebuhr* repeatedly asserts that Mohammedans do not *invoke* their saints, but by *invocation* he probably means divine worship, for he tells many stories in

which direct invocation is either distinctly mentioned or implied.

There is rarely, he says,* a village of the Sunnites or the Shiites in which there is not the tomb of some pretended saint. The people love to be buried by these tombs, and their wish is often gratified at a great expense. The presence of a saint's tomb has often occasioned the erection of a town, sometimes in a desert spot without wood or water. Mokha, he tells us, owes its origin to the Sheikh Schadeli, to whom the first use of coffee is ascribed.

"Schadeli is not only the patron of the city of Mokha—he is the patron of all Sunnite keepers of *cafés*. At Basra and Bagdad, and probably all Sunnite towns, all artisans have their particular patron. Salman Pâk, who is said to have been the friend and barber of Mahommed, is the patron of barbers, and who even at the present time go to visit his tomb on certain days at El Madeien, once a celebrated town, of which the ruins alone remain, and are visible at a mile's distance from Bagdad. Daud, or David, is the patron of blacksmiths. Nebbi Schid is the patron of weavers, Ibrahim el Chalil of masons and cooks. Nebbi Edris of tailors, Habib, whose tomb is in the territory of Bagdad, of cabinet makers. Tinkers have Nebbi Gorgis, cobblers Muhmet Ibn el Jernai, builders Mohammed el Dajond."

In Niebuhr's time the most extensive coffee trade in Yemen, and probably in the world, was carried on at Beit el Fakih. This town owed its origin to the tomb of Scheikh Achmed ibn Musa, who has a mosque outside the town, and in honour of whom a festival is celebrated during three days.

The following is one of the miracles ascribed to him.

"A Turkish Pacha had been more than twenty years captive in Spain, and bound by heavy chains to two thick stones. After he had fruitlessly invoked different saints, he at length remembered the celebrated Achmed, and invoked him likewise. The saint thrust out his hand from his tomb, and at the same instant the Pacha arrived at Beit el Fakih, from Spain, with his chains and the heavy stones. It is said that this miracle took place in a night when they were celebrating the feast of Achmed, and consequently in presence of many witnesses, and the stones as well as the chains

* See his *Voyage en Arabie*, vol. ii. pp. 181, 182, 208, 220, 254, and following.

of the Pacha are still shown near the sepulchre of the supposed saint."

Niebuhr tells another story of a man who had lost his ass. He told his distress to the workmen engaged near the tomb of the saint, Telha ibn Obeid Allah.

"The workmen sympathized with his loss, and united their prayers with his to the saint, that he would send back the ass. Thereupon they saw the animal returning at full gallop towards the tomb of Telha, as if some one had been behind him, driving with a whip."

M. d'Ohsson, in his "*Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*," mentions several saints of the imperial family.

"A general opinion ascribes miracles to them all, and to this day it is believed that sick persons, who piously visit their tombs, and make use of the earth which covers or surrounds their burial-place, are healed of their infirmities.

"Each province, each town has, so to speak, its own saints. Everywhere one pays them pious honours, they are invoked, their intercession and succour are asked with prayers, almost always accompanied by sacrifices and alms. The Sultans themselves are very diligent in accomplishing these duties of devotion at the time of their accession to the throne, and in all public or private calamities they visit the tombs of their ancestors, and those of the principal saints whose ashes repose at Constantinople. Those of the monarchs who have commanded their armies in person never left the capital without having first solemnly implored the aid of those blessed souls by offerings, prayers, and largesses in behalf of the poor. It was their maxim to observe the same rule when passing through a town celebrated on account of the relics of some saint."—Tom. i. p. 101.

The following extracts are taken from *Burckhardt's "Travels in Syria and the Holy Land."*

"Upon the summit of the mountain near the spot where the road to Wady Mousa diverges from the great road to Akaba, are a small number of small heaps of stones, indicating so many sacrifices to Haroun. The Arabs, who make vows to slaughter a victim to Haroun, think it sufficient to proceed as far as this place, from whence the dome of the tomb is visible in the distance, and after killing the animal, they throw a heap of stones over the blood which flows to the ground."—p. 420.

"The sun had already set when we arrived in the plain—it was too late to reach the tomb, and I was excessively fatigued; I therefore hastened to kill the goat in sight of the tomb at a spot

where I found a number of heaps of stones placed there as a token of as many sacrifices in honour of the saint. While I was in the act of slaying the animal, my guide exclaimed, aloud, 'O Haroun, look upon us! it is for you we slaughter this victim. O Haroun, protect us and forgive us! O Haroun, be content with our good intention, for it is but a lean goat! O Haroun, smooth our paths, and praise be to the Lord of all creatures!' This he repeated several times, after which he covered the ground with a heap of stones," &c.—p. 430. See also next page.

Burckhardt, after this, visits the tomb of Sheikh Szaleh.

"The coffin of the Sheikh is deposited in a small rude stone building, and is surrounded by a thin partition of wood, hung with green cloth, upon which several prayers are embroidered. On the walls are suspended silk tassels, handkerchiefs, ostrich eggs, camel halters, bridles, &c., the offerings of the Bedouins, who visit this tomb.

"Among the Bedouins, the tomb is the most revered spot in the peninsula, next to the mountain of Moses; they make frequent vows to kill a sheep in honour of the Sheikh, should a wished-for event take place. Once in every year all the tribes of the Towara repair hither in pilgrimage, and remain encamped in the valley round the tomb for three days. Many sheep are then killed, camel races are run, and the whole night is passed in dancing and singing. The men and women are dressed in their best attire. The festival which is the greatest among these people, usually takes place in the latter part of June, when the Nile begins to rise in Egypt, and the plague subsides, and a caravan leaves Sinai immediately afterwards for Cairo. It is just at this period, too, that the dates ripen in the valley of the lower chains of Sinai, and the pilgrimage to Sheikh Szaleh thus becomes the most remarkable period in the Bedouin year."—p. 489 and following.

"On the Jebel Mousa, about thirty yards from the Church, stands a poor mosque held in great veneration by the Moslem, and the place of their pilgrimage. It is frequently visited by the Bedouins who slaughter sheep in honour of Moses, and who make their vows to him and entreat his intercession in heaven in their favour."—p. 566.

Mr. Lane, in his "Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians," treats at considerable length upon the subject of their saints. We can only extract the following remarks.

"A superstitious veneration, and honours unauthorized* by the

* *Unauthorized* is not too strong a word if restricted to its literal

Ckoorán or any of the Traditions, are paid by all sects of Mooslims excepting the Wabhabees, to deceased saints even more than to those who are living; and more particularly by the Mooslims of Egypt. Over the graves of most of the more celebrated saints are erected large and handsome mosques: over that of a saint of less note (one who, by a life of sanctity or hypocrisy, has acquired the reputation of being a evel'se, or devout Sheykh) is constructed, a small, square, whitewashed building, crowned with a cupola. There is generally, directly over the vault in which the corpse is deposited, an oblong monument of stone, or brick, (called *turkee'beh*), or wood, (in which case it is called *ta'boo't*), and this is usually covered with silk or linen, with some words from the Ckoorán worked upon it, and surrounded by a railing or screen, of wood or bronze, called *mucksoo'rah*. Most of the sanctuaries of saints in Egypt are tombs; but there are several which only contain some inconsiderable relic of the person to whom they are dedicated; and there are a few which are mere cenotaphs. The most sacred of all these sanctuaries is the mosque of Hhas'aney'n, in which the head of the martyr El-Hhasey'n, the son of the Ima'm Al'ee, and grandson of the Prophet, is said to be buried. Among others but little inferior in sanctity, are the mosques of the sey'yideh Zey'neb, (daughter of the Ima'm At'ee, grand-daughter of the Prophet), the sey'yideh Sekee'neh, (daughter of the Ima'm El-Hhasey'nr), and the Ima'm Esh-Sha'fe'ee, already mentioned as the author of one of the four great Moos'lim sects, that to which most of the people of Cairo belong. The buildings above mentioned, with the exception of the last two, are within the metropolis; the last but one is in a southern suburb of Cairo, and the last, in the great southern cemetery.

"The Egyptians occasionally visit these and other sanctuaries of their saints, either merely with the view of paying honour to the deceased, and performing meritorious acts for the sake of these venerated persons, which they believe will call down a blessing on themselves, or for the purpose of urging some special petition for the restoration of health, or for the gift of offspring, &c., in the persuasion that the merits of the deceased will assure a favourable reception of the prayers which they offer up in such consecrated places. The generality of the Moslims regard their deceased saints as intercessors with the deity, and make votive offerings to them.

...

sense; in this sense even circumcision is unauthorized by the Koran, which says nothing about it. But the Koran does not profess the doctrine of the "Koran and the Koran only." As to the traditions, we shall find Evliya a little farther on giving evidence in the other direction.

"Many of the visitors kiss the threshold of the building, and the walls, windows, mucksoo'rah &c. The rich, and persons in easy circumstances, when they visit the tomb of a saint, distribute money or bread to the poor, and often give money to one or more water-carriers to distribute water to the poor and thirsty for the sake of the saint. There are particular days of the week on which certain tombs are more generally visited.

"At almost every village in Egypt is the tomb of some favourite or patron saint, which is generally visited on a particular day of the week, by many of the inhabitants, chiefly women, some of whom bring thither bread, which they leave for poor travellers or any other persons. Some also place small pieces of money in these tombs. These gifts are offerings to the Sheykh, or given for his sake. Another custom common among the peasants is, to make votive sacrifices at the tombs of their Sheykh. For instance, a man makes a vow (*nedr*) that if he recover from a sickness, or obtain a son, or any other specific object of desire, he will give, to a certain sheykh (deceased) a goat, or a lamb, or a sheep; if he obtain his object, he sacrifices the animal which he has vowed at the tomb of the sheykh, and makes a feast with its meat for any person who may choose to attend. Having given the animal to the saint, he thus gives to the latter the merit of feasting the poor. Little kids are often vowed as future sacrifices, and have the right ear slit; or are marked in some other way. It is not uncommon, too, without any definite vow but that of obtaining general blessings, to make these vows; and sometimes a peasant vows, that he will sacrifice, for the sake of a saint, a calf which he possesses, as soon as it is full grown and fattened: it is let loose by consent of all his neighbours, to pasture where it will, even in fields of young wheat, and, at last, after it has been sacrificed, a public feast is made with its meat. Many a large bull is there given away.

"Almost every celebrated saint, deceased, is honoured by an anniversary birthday festival, which is called *moo'bid*, or, more properly, *mo'bid*. On the occasion of such festivals, many persons visit the tomb, both as a duty and as a supposed means of obtaining special blessing.....

"Most of the Egyptians not only expect a blessing to follow their visiting the tomb of a celebrated saint, but also they dread that some misfortune will befall them if they neglect this act."—Vol. i. p. 324 and following.

An authority not less weighty than that of Mr. Lane, is the author of a "Personal narrative of a Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Mecca." His work, however, is so full of passages illustrative of the Moslem devotion to saints, that we are really perplexed by the "embarras du choix." As the work is found in all circulating libraries, we simply advise our readers to consult the author himself. Let them

read the description of the old *rais* of the pilgrim ship who knew the name of each hill, and had a legend for every nook and corner in sight; how he dwelt on the life of Abu Zulaymah, the patron of those seas, and his care for pious mariners; how the ship was left by the tide high and dry upon the shore, and how all the physical exertions of the crew and the pilgrims were unavailing to help it, how they burnt coffee instead of incense in honour of the saint, and how each man called on his own particular saint, but in vain, until *Mr. Burton* induced them to apply to the intercession of a saint as yet unknown to them, and with what success.* They will find a good many invocations in the book which are not spontaneous effusions of devotion, but authorized liturgical prayers.† Such, for instance, is the address to the Prophet (vol. ii. p. 74) Abu-bekr (p. 79), to Omar (p. 80), to the Angel of Allah, the Cherubim and Seraphim, and the lady Fatimah (p. 88 and following).

Mr. Burton's own description of the Moslem devotion to the Prophet at his tomb, differs in colouring, but not in outline, from that of his predecessor Joseph Pitts of Exon, who says that at the tomb of Mohammed, where the corpse of that bloody impostor is laid, the Haggas (pilgrims) petition the dead juggler with a wonderful deal of reverence, affection, and zeal, (vol. ii. p. 410.)

When we turn from the evidence of European travellers to that of native Moslems, we cannot expect to find anything so complete, as for instance, those of *Mr. Lane* or *M. d'Ohsson*. The European writers give the impression resulting from a vast number of facts which have come under their observation, and they write with the *intention* of making a complete statement. If native Moslems chose to write from the same point of view, or if we could call them before us and cross question them, they would give precisely the same evidence. As it is, the separate *unconscious* evidence of each bears only the same relation to a complete statement that a single fragile stick does to the irrefragable bundle. We must also remind our readers that Oriental works have never been published with a view to illustrate the subject we are now treating, but in general

* Vol. i. p. 295 and following.

† See *Eucologe Musulman* traduit de l'Arabe par *M. Gargin de Tassy*.

with very different intentions. Orientalists will bear out our assertion that an enormous mass of evidence, similar to that we are about to produce, exists in manuscripts. Our sole motive in quoting the following few extracts from eastern sources, is the wish to let the "couleur locale" speak for itself.

Our first native witness is the *Scherif Eddin El Busiri*, whose composition the Borda,* (or Month), in honour of Mohammed, is one of the most esteemed pieces of Arabic literature. It has been translated into Persian and Turkish, and a large number of paraphrases and commentaries, both in prose and verse, testify to its importance and popularity. We follow the translation of the illustrious Silvestre de Sacy.

"Mohammed is the friend of God, and his intercession is the sole foundation of our hope, and our resource against the most fearful dangers. He it was who called mortals to the knowledge of God, and whosoever attacheth himself to him, attacheth himself to a rope which will never break.

"All the miracles performed by the other holy prophets were but a communication from the light of this Prophet. He is the sun of excellence, and others are but the planets which depend upon that sun, and which reflect his luminous rays upon men, in the midst of darkness.

"Whosoever leans upon the aid of God's Apostle will reduce to silence the very lions.....In offering to him this tribute of praise, I have the confident hope of obtaining the remission of sins of a life spent in the frivolity of poetry and the service of the great.

"If on the day of resurrection he taketh me not by the hand,† with a generosity full of tenderness, thou mayest say of me that I have fixed my feet upon a slippery spot; but far from him be that unfaithfulness, that any one has hoped in his goodness and been

* "La Borda traduit de l'Arabe de Scherif Eddin Elbousiri, par M. le Baron Silvestre de Sacy," in the "Livres Sacrés de l'Orient" of M. G. Pauthier. See p. 752.

† Compare the following from Mr. Burton's *Pilgrimage*, vol. ii. p. 93. "At the Prophet's window we recited the following tetrastich and prayer,—

O Mustafa! verily I stand at thy door,
A man, weak and fearful, by reason of my sins,
If thou aid me not, O Prophet of Allah!
I die—for in the world there is none more generous than thou art."

frustrated in his hopes—that any one has sought an asylum with him and has not experienced the effects of his protection.....

"Oh, thou the most excellent of created beings! what other beside thee shall I take as a refuge in that moment so terrible to all mortals?"

The "*Travels of Evliya Effendi*," have been published in an English version for the Oriental Translation Fund, and are therefore easy of access to our readers. If they will examine the work itself, they will understand the impossibility of doing justice to the evidence it affords to the thesis we are defending, without transcribing half the book. Niebuhr mentions some half-dozen saints as patrons of trades. Evliya enumerates (Vol. I. Part ii. p. 104, &c.) several hundred guilds and professions, mentioning their patrons and the places where these are buried, in the following style.

"The divers.....Their patron, Sheikh Khaled Ommani, lived on the shores of Hormuz, when he fished for pearls and sent them from time to time to the Prophet's family. He was girded by Ini Ben Malek and became the patron of divers. His tomb is in the Abyssinian island Massowa. I had the good fortune to visit it seven times."—p. 133.

"The cryers of the shoe merchants.....Their patron was girded by Abazer Ghaffari and his tomb is at Caverna, near Baghdad. All these guilds if they affranchise a boy apprentice, pray first to Mohammed Ekber Yemeni as the common saint, and then to their particular patron."—p. 211.

Evliya passed his own life in travelling and visiting the tombs of the saints. He naturally encountered dangers of several kinds. For instance,

"On the third day, at noon, a wave upset the boat, and I fell head foremost, into the sea. Being a good swimmer, I worked with all my strength, recommended myself to the Lord, to the intercession of the Koran, and all the saints, all the great and pious men I had hitherto known on my travels, and by this kind of effort, keeping my head clear, I swam undaunted."—Vol. ii. p. 69.

He rather differs from Mr. Lane as to existence of traditions in favour of devotion to the saints.

"I now began to recite the Koran according to the intention of the saint with whom I made spiritual acquaintance, remarking the Prophet's tradition, 'If you are perplexed in your affairs look for assistance from the inhabitants of the tombs.' The mirror of my

heart was polishing and rubbing off the dust of sadness, when a woman walked in, who threw the body of a dead child and herself on the threshold of the tomb, (of a saint called Bardaklibaba) crying and lamenting that her child had been killed by the troops, who had cast it on the snow, and calling down Divine vengeance upon them, through the aid of the Prophet and the Saints. She was followed by a great number of injured men, who united their prayers and imprecations with hers.

"We passed through eleven quarters of the town (of Angora), and visited in passing all the tombs of the saints which I shall mention by and bye, if it pleases God! At last there appeared on the western side of the wood market a small cupola, which my companions pointed out to me saying, 'This is the tomb of Er Sultan'.....I layed my face on the threshold and prayed to the saint, saying that I had arrived by his blessing, and begged he would not let me depart void of benediction in this and the other world. I now commenced the recital of the Koran, and sheltering myself under the green Suf with which the coffin was covered, said, 'Protection, Protection, O Er Sultan!' I then fell asleep, and sweated to such a degree that when I woke my clothes were wet. Er Sultan appeared to me again, and I begged he would not let me go hence void of benediction. He replied, 'Thou wilt not be void of it, because thou art a Hafiz (knowing the Koran by heart) and a lover of the saints (Evliya), whose tombs thou always visitest. I led thee myself to this place,' " &c.—p. 225.

The story in the original is accompanied by supernatural circumstances which we omit for the sake of brevity. Besides the travels of Evliya those of Ibn Batuta and of Ibn Haukal are accessible to the English reader. They contain fewer single passages of the strength of those just quoted, but the general effect is very similar.

In the story of Enis el Djelis in the Thousand and One Nights, Nur-ed-din, in his dungeon, thus prays to God:—*

"O Lord, by the intercession of the Guide, the Messenger, thine Elect, who is an ocean of mercy, by the prince of intercessors, I invoke thee; pardon my sins, and put an end to my misery and sufferings."

In the tale of Aladdin Abushamat the hero is twice miraculously preserved in consequence of his invoking the saints.

* We follow here the text of M. de Biberstein Kazimirski, p. 114.

"A Bedouin took his spear and was about to thrust it into the breast of Aladdin, whereupon Aladdin said, 'O thy blessing, O my lord, Abd el Kader Gilani!' And he saw a hand turn away the spear from his breast, to the breast of Kemal-eddin, the Akkam; so that the Bedouin pierced the latter with it and left Aladdin."

Abd el Kader Gilani was a celebrated saint at Bagdad, at whose tomb Aladdin and his father had recently paid their devotions. Shortly after this adventure

"The Bedouin stopped beneath the cistern, and stretched forth his hand to seize Aladdin, whereupon the latter said, 'O thy blessing, O my lady Nefesa! (a female saint.) This is thy time!' And lo, a scorpion stung the Bedouin in the palm of his hand: and he cried out and said, 'O Arabs, come to me, for I am stung.'"^a

The hostile testimony of Abd el Wahhab, the founder of Moslem Protestantism in the last century, as quoted in the "*Journal Asiatique*" of February, 1848, agrees with the foregoing evidence.

"Do you not see the Moslem pilgrims adore and glorify the immaculate tomb of the prince of the Prophets, the burial places and sepulchres? Prostrate there on the pavement, rubbing their heads covered with ashes, and crushing them against the threshold of sepulchral chapels, what are they but idolators in the widest acceptation of the word? If you tell them so they will reply, 'These idols, these images, these monuments—we do not call them our God, these are our Kybla. We only turn our faces towards them when we pray; and we pray them to intercede on high in our behalf and to be the bearers of our supplications to the throne of the God of mercy.....It is the same with the Jews and Christians,' &c.—p. 170.

It is often taken for granted that the Wahhabees are justified in representing their own views as the genuine doctrine of Mohammed before it was corrupted by tradition. It has also been believed for many centuries that the Euhemerists were right in explaining the ancient mythologies by the deification of deceased men and women. It is commonly believed in Great Britain that the Reformers restored Christianity to the state in which it had been promulgated by its Divine Founder and His Apostles. Writers in the *Edinburgh Review* seem to be under the impression that if the New Testament be inter-

^a Mr. Lane's translation, vol. ii. chapter xi.

preted otherwise than in accordance with right reason, as understood by liberalism and modern science, the meaning of the sacred writer is odiously perverted. We believe that Wahhabees, Euhemerists, Reformers and Edinburgh Reviewers labour under the same illusion. They look at a past age through a medium which lends to all objects a colour and form which they identify with the objects themselves.

A religion which has lasted for many centuries may have become hopelessly corrupt, but it cannot be reformed. If the community has really lost the sense of its primitive meaning, that sense can never be recovered, either by the community itself or by any portion which may revolt from it. Nothing is so difficult for the most accomplished historian as to throw himself back into the mind of a generation wholly past away, particularly when the necessary contemporary documents are wanting. The feat has really never been accomplished by any individual, and that it should be accomplished by many together is a purely sectarian illusion. There never lived a Wahhabi who was capable of proving the authenticity of a single chapter of the Koran, or of a single tradition. The very first step in the reconstruction of his creed is an arbitrary *petitio principii*.

If all the Calvinist communities in the world were now found to be holding the doctrine of the metempsychosis, no amount of arguing would prove that this doctrine was not an essential characteristic of Calvinism, even though the writings of Calvin and his contemporaries were silent on the subject, or even unfavourable to it. The most pointed repudiation of the doctrine might only prove that Calvin did not know whether his principles led, or was afraid of them. One of the most thoughtful Protestant writers* of this century has said, "The consequence (of principles) may suffer an eclipse in the individual, but never in the masses." All "Reformations" start with a negation of this fundamental truth, without which history can never be read correctly.

We have carefully abstained from any reference to the Persian devotion to the twelve Imams, not only because this devotion is at once proved to be an innovation on the

* Vinet.

primitive creed of Islam by the fact of its being *local* instead of universal, but because it is not really similar to the ordinary cultus of the saints. It is rather to be compared to a heterodox Christian worship of our Blessed Lord. Still there is no doubt that the Shiites, who, in the worship of the twelve Imams, go far beyond anything to be found in the Catholic devotions to the saints, are as far from Polytheism, both doctrinally and practically, as any Protestant Christian.

We have also avoided referring to the Moslem doctrine respecting living saints, though the closest analogies might be quoted to the Catholic doctrine: the subject is too extensive a one, and it would be necessary to draw distinctions between the universally recognized doctrine and that only acknowledged in certain schools.

Before quitting the Mahomedan religion altogether, let us add that it has always acknowledged the value of prayers for the departed. Moslem tombstones often contain prayers of great beauty for the souls of the dead. Almsgiving for the dead is also universal. Readers of the *Thousand and one Nights* will remember, in the story of Aziz and Azizah, how the lady arose,

"And taking a purse containing some pieces of gold, said to me, 'Arise, and show me the tomb, that I may visit it, and write upon it some verses, and build over it a cupola, and pray for mercy upon her, and bestow these pieces of gold in alms for her soul.' I replied, 'I hear and obey.' And I walked before her, and she followed me, and employed herself in giving alms on the way as she went, and every time she did so she said, 'This is an alms for the soul of Azizah, who concealed her secret until she drank the cup of death, and revealed not her love.'"—*Lane's Translation*, vol. i. chap. viii.

Infants however, are considered as blessed immediately after death, and the prayer over them runs thus—

"O my God, let this child be the precursor of our way to eternal life. O my God, let this innocent be the pledge at once of our fidelity and of thy heavenly reward, as also our intercessor with thy divine clemency."

The DRUSES, of whom we have lately heard a great deal too much, profess a religion founded by Abu Ali Mansur, better known under the name of Hakem-biamr-Allah, the third of the Fatimeh Caliphs. It is, in princi-

ple and in fact, as thoroughly Monotheistic as the Moham-medan, Jewish, or Christian Creeds. One of its chief characteristics is the belief that God has, at different times, been incarnate in human form without sharing in the infirmities of humanity; but although Jews and Moslems may consistently accuse them of Polytheism, Christians at least have no right to take the same ground. Even their worship of the golden calf, which, at first sight, is certainly very suspicious, does not necessarily make them idolators. It is no mere theory of their apologists, but a certain fact, attested by the Druses themselves, that this gold figure is but an emblem of the sacred humanity of Hakem, in whom God is supposed to have been incarnate, and no more implies a worship of the creature, than the Christian emblem of the lamb. The Druses themselves are fanatical Monotheists. The name on which they most pride themselves is that of "Unitarians," and the most opprobrious term they can think of for an opponent, even beyond "devil of devils" is "polytheist."

In their "Second Catechism," published by Eichhorn, we find the following questions and answers:—

"What do we say of Mohammed?"

"He is a shaytan (devil) and son of fornication....."

"Why do we pray to Mohammed before men?"

"When we pray to Mohammed, we pray to Mohammed Almokdad, who is Soliman the Persian, the true Messias. But as for Mohammed the Koreishite, he is a shaytan, and a son of fornication."*

By the person here called Soliman the Persian is meant Hamza, to whom the religion of the Druses is indebted for the mystical form it has attained in its sacred books. Although the most exalted attributes are asserted of Hamza, he is not identified with God. He is but the Grand-Vizier of Hakem, and one of the five servants or great angels who sit upon the throne of their Lord.

Besides the Viziers, and other exalted personages of the celestial hierarchy, the Druses have saints more nearly resembling those of the Moslem faith. The same

* Repertorium für biblische und morgenländische Litteratur, Th. 12. p. 212.

is true of other remarkable Eastern sects, for instance, those of the Ansarii and Yezidees. But the doctrines of these other religionists are so mixed up with Pantheistic elements as to prevent our citing any one of their practices as analogous to those of Catholics. A curious document* belonging to the Ansarii speaks of their saints in these terms: "Their holy souls are the universal soul, their sublime intelligences are the universal intelligence." We find ourselves here introduced into a totally different range of ideas from those common to the religions we call monotheistic.

We now turn from Islam and the sects to which it has given birth and proceed to illustrate the JEWISH doctrines on the relations existing between the living and the dead.

Our first authority is the very learned and complete German work of Schröder, on "Talmudic and Rabbinical Judaism."†

"The dead, according to the teaching of the Rabbins, are in perpetual relation (in fortwährender Verbindung) with this world; they know, too, beforehand, all the circumstances that will befall men.‡ They lend their aid to the prayers, particularly of those belonging to them, in order that it may the sooner reach the ears of God; they lament or they rejoice over what passes upon earth.It is also highly agreeable to the departed to be assiduously visited by their living friends, and to be asked by them for their intercession with God."—p. 569.

"The Rabbins say that the grave-stones are not principally

* See the "Journal Asiatique," of 1848.

† "Talmudisch-Rabbinische Judenthum."

‡ Compare Buxtorf, *Synagog. Judaic*, p. 508. "Scribunt ibidem in Talmudo quemlibet oportere meminisse, vita functos honore maximo prosequendos esse: quod omnia, quæcumque fiant in mundo hoc, isti norint in altero." The same notion that departed saints are witnesses of what takes place upon earth has always existed among the Moslems. Ayesha, the widow of Mohammed, visited his tomb unveiled as long as her father Abubekr only was placed behind him, but she always covered her face after the corpse of Omar had been added. A similar belief (see *infra*) prevailed in the primitive Church. In the Moslem law relative to property, saints are not considered as dead.

placed for the sake of decoration, but in order that one may know who lies in the graves, so as to direct one's prayer to them, and move the dead to intercession with God."

At page 95, Schröder gives a long prayer which is said at the tombs, and then he adds ;

"We have given this prayer at full length because it contains in a most remarkable manner (if particulars, e. g. the names &c., be omitted) the very ideas of the Christian Catholic Church with reference to the merits of the martyrs."

The whole prayer is too long for quotation, and abbreviation spoils its effect, but the following passages will certainly bear out Schröder's remarks.

"Lord of the world.....hear my prayer and accomplish my desire, for the sake of the saints and just who were slain..... because they would not deny thee, the Eternal. In honour of them have I come hither, to pray by their souls and bodies who all repose in paradise with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah, and all the other just. Lord of the world, let me have the benefit of their merits,* that I and my friends, together with all Israel, may, for their sake, be protected from all (evil).....and that my soul may be found worthy to find rest with their souls, and the souls of the other just in paradise."

Our next witness, Mr. E. S. Calman, is by birth a Polish Jew, and is said to have been a learned Rabbi. He afterwards became a Protestant missionary in Palestine. The following extracts are taken from an article written by him, on "the present state of the Jewish religion," which appeared in the "American Biblical Repository" for 1840.

"Besides fasting and almsgiving, they pray to the dead to intercede for them, especially to their deceased relatives, and if they are separated by distance from the graves of these, they spare no pains to reach them. Distance presents no obstacles to the rich, neither poverty to the poor. Journeys of hundreds of miles are undertaken by myriads of both sexes for this purpose, while those who dwell near the graves not only invoke the spirits of the departed ones, but every day until the day of atonement has

* Cf. the Targum on Psalm lxxxiv. 10. "Merita patrum nostrorum respice Deus," &c. And on Psalm cxxxii. 10. "Propter merita Davidis servi tui ne avertas faciem uncti tui."

passed. The practice is known by the name of [kibre aboth] visiting the graves of their fathers. In passing the smallest cemetery in Poland or Russia, where Jews are residing, one may behold a promiscuous company of both sexes and of every age, prostrated upon the graves, and offering prayers to their mouldering relatives, in most lamentable strains. The Jews of the East carry this practice to greater excess than those of the West, having numerous saints to whom they pray, reckoning each person whose name is mentioned in Talmud as such, and whose countless graves are scattered over the countries of Palestine and Babylonia..... This superstition is recommended or rather commanded in the Talmud."—Vol. iii. p. 417.

"In one respect the Jews in the Holy Land are far worse than those of Russia, Poland and Turkey, inasmuch as they are much attached to the practice of praying to deceased saints and relics. The veneration which they have for the supposed stones of the temple is beyond description Praying to the dead is unlimited both by time and place. Every spot is frequented where there are supposed to be buried saints, whose names are found either in the Mishna, the Talmud, or the Bible. An annual resort for this purpose is at Safed, at the grave of Rabbi Simeon Ben Yekhoiah, the author of the Zohar, which closes with a drinking festival that lasts about three days..... When I passed through Tiberias on my way to Jerusalem, I met outside the gate a poor old woman, bearing a small pitcher in one hand and a lamp of oil in the other, and proceeding towards the declivities of the hills where are the caves of Rabbi Akiba..... and of Rabbi Mayer Baal Ness, which means, 'the Lord of miracles.' It is believed by all, that if any one meets with a misfortune, he will be set free from it by promising any sum of money to the latter deceased Rabbi. The income amounts to immense sums, a part of which is expended in burning oil in his cave day and night, and in the respective synagogues of the Holy Land, and the remainder the living Rabbis keep for their own use..... Last winter M. Nicholasson and myself and many others visited a cave on the summit of Mount Olivet, where the Prophetess Hulda is supposed to be buried. It is joined to a mosque. In the cave are two large oblong stones placed one upon the other, something in the form of a sepulchre. There we found several Spanish Jews barefooted, with their faces to the blocks, and praying very earnestly, though the day was very wet and cold..... This last summer I became acquainted with a Jew who came all the way down from the Crimea to the Holy Land on purpose to pray to the deceased saints there.....

"The practice of praying for the souls in Purgatory exists universally among the Jews, and is of course one of the corruptions of the Talmud."—Vol. iv. p. 193 and following.

The fact of the Jews praying for the souls of the

departed is so generally known and so undisputed that we shall omit what Mr. Calman says upon the subject. Some of our readers may find it interesting to examine an ancient Hebrew itinerary published by Hottinger* containing an accurate enumeration of all the tombs of the Jewish saints in Palestine and the neighbouring countries. It begins thus according to Hottinger's translation :

“Genealogia† Patriarcharum, Prophetarum et justorum, Tannarum, Amoræorum, super quibus pax, in terra Israelis et extra eam. *Deus justitiam eorum in bonum nostrum cedere jubeat. Amen.* Hæc sunt itinera filiorum Israel quæ fecerunt proficiscentes de virtute in virtutem, ut prosternerent se ad sepulcra justorum, super quibus pax. Accedant autem cum lacrymis et deprecationibus ut petant et exorent misericordiam pro se, et fratribus suis, qui in exilio morantur. Deus excelsus suscipiat preces nostras et maturet liberationem nostram. Amen.”

The old Hebrew Itinerary of Rabbi Petachia‡ is well known to lovers of geographical literature. It is so full of wonderful anecdotes, illustrative of the miraculous powers of departed saints, and of their intervention in human affairs, that the French translator, M. Carmoly, felt it necessary to apologize for them. And the whole tone of the narrative is much stronger than can be gathered from reading a few extracts from it. We therefore recommend our readers to refer to the Itinerary itself, of which the following may give an idea.

We are told of a periodical miracle which takes place at the tomb of the Prophet Ezechiel. The aperture in the wall of the enclosure round the tomb, which, on ordinary days, is too small to allow any one to pass through it without creeping, is, on the great Day of Expiation, pre-

* In his “Cippi Hebraici,” p. 26.

† The Hebrew word here translated *genealogia* has indeed this signification, but it should in this place, we think, be translated *recensio*.

‡ He lived in the twelfth century. Perhaps the most generally accessible edition of his Itinerary is that published in the sixth volume of Ugolini's Thesaurus. Another, with the French translation of M. Carmoly will be found in the Journal Asiatique of 1831.

ternaturally widened, so as to admit the crowds present on that occasion.

"This takes place in presence of the whole people, who bring votive offerings and lay their presents upon the sepulchre. And men and women who are desirous of offspring and those whose cattle are barren, are in the habit of offering vows and prayers at the tomb of Ezechiel. Rabbi Petachia was told that a man of note, who lived at four days' distance from the tomb of Ezechiel, had a barren mare. He made a vow that if his mare had a colt, he would give it to Ezechiel. In due time the colt was born, but as it was very beautiful, its master kept it and would not give it to the prophet. But the colt itself escaped and found its way into the enclosure before the tomb of Ezechiel, through the aperture, which opened sufficiently for its passage. The master sought his colt everywhere, but in vain, until he reflected within himself and said, 'Perhaps it is because I vowed to give it to the holy Ezechiel.' On arriving at the tomb he made fruitless efforts to get back the animal, because the aperture was too narrow to allow it to pass. A Jew who was present said, 'This beast can only have got here through a miracle. Perhaps you had dedicated it to the Prophet.' The master confessed the fact and enquired what was to be done. The Jew replied,—'Take money, and when you shall have placed the value of the colt upon the tomb of the prophet, the colt will go out freely.' The master followed this advice; the money was placed upon the steps of the tomb, and when the sum amounted to the price of the colt, the aperture widened spontaneously and the animal went out.

"Rabbi Petachia went himself to the tomb of Ezechiel, with the intention of offering some grains of gold. On arriving at the tomb he missed them and he said, 'My lord Ezechiel, it was in thine honour that I came hither with the golden grains that I have lost. But wherever they may be they are thine.' He had scarcely said these words when he saw something bright at a distance, which proved to be what he had lost. He brought it and dedicated it at the tomb of the Prophet.....

"Persons," he says, "who wish to travel, bring purses or other precious objects to Ezechiel, and say, 'My lord Ezechiel, keep for me this purse or other object, until my return, and do not permit any one, except my heirs, to touch it.' There are several purses lying there full of money, and rotten because they have lain there for many years. There are also some books entrusted to the keeping of Ezechiel. Some impious persons tried to carry off one of these books, but in vain, for he was stricken with blindness. Hence every one celebrates the praises of Ezechiel."

The most remarkable passages of the Talmud in favour

of the efficacy of the invocation of departed saints are well known. One of them is as follows.

"Rabbi Chama enquires why the sepulchre of Moses was hidden from the eyes of men. Because God knew full well that the house of the sanctuary would be laid desolate and the Israelites carried away from their own land. It was therefore concealed, lest they should fly to the sepulchre of Moses, and stand with tears, saying, O Moses, master, intercede for us. And lest Moses should intercede and the decree be rendered void; for the just are dearer to God after their death than when they were living."

The learned Wagenseil* says in a note on this passage "We cannot deny that the Jews often speak as if prayer addressed to the departed had some weight in obtaining from them that they should discharge the office of intercessor with God. We have ourselves noted sufficiently clear testimonies in this matter." He then quotes the treatise Chassidim.

"Barzillai, the Gileadite, says, (2 Sam. xix. 38.) 'Let me die in my own city.' For it is profitable for the dead if their friends visit their tombs and pray for their souls.....And they too, when they are asked, pray for the living. It was for this that Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, prostrated himself at the tombs of the Patriarchs."

And the 'Shalsholet hakkabala.'

"If, on the occasion of a public calamity the people betake themselves to the place of the tombs and pray there.....(the departed souls) intercede with God for the living."

Wagenseil also quotes Abarbanel, who speaks of the tombs of saints as channels of divine grace, "on account of the impressions left in the bones by the Divine Spirit whose dwelling they have been," from which the learned Protestant draws this strange conclusion. "Ergo si huic credimus, vis omnia placandi Deum, et preces gratas acceptasque reddendi, solis inhæret mortuorum ossibus, in mentibus vero eorum nihil est præsidii." In the same way he quite misinterprets a passage of the Talmud, where the discussion turns upon the tombs of Gentiles. According to one theological opinion, that of Rabbi

* Sota p. 332.

Levi, prayers might be said in a Gentile burying-place, because the practice of praying in such places was intended to exhibit the helplessness of the worshippers, who might say to God, "We are as the dead before thee." According to another opinion, that of Rabbi Chamma, the real motive of praying in burial places is to petition the departed to intercede for us, and therefore Gentile tombs are out of the question. Both opinions are perfectly consistent with a belief in the intercession of the holy dead, and in fact, as Wagenseil says truly, the opinion of Rabbi Levi as to the propriety of praying in Gentile burial-places has prevailed. The other passages quoted by Wagenseil simply amount to the well-known maxim (as common and proverbial among Catholics of all countries as among Jews) "*qu'il vaut mieux avoir recours à Dieu qu'à ses saints.*"

The allusion to Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, in the Chassidin, is thus explained in another Talmudic passage:*

"They ascended by the south, and *he* came unto Hebron. (Numbers xiii. 22.) And *they* came, it should be naturally. Rabu therefore says that it is implied that Caleb withdrew himself from the counsel of the spies, and went and prostrated himself at the tombs of the fathers, and prayed, "O Fathers! intercede for me, that I may be freed from the counsel of the spies."

The "Fathers of Hebron" are thus invoked in company with the angels of peace, in a Jewish prayer for the dead.†

"O Fathers of the world (*avoth olam*) who are at rest in Hebron, open to him the gates of the garden of Eden, and say, Let his coming be in peace!"

"Angels of peace, go forth to meet him, open to him the gates of the garden of Eden, and say, Let his coming be in peace!"

Such then have been the ideas of *orthodox* Judaism, from the time at least of the composition of the Talmud, till the present day. Before attempting to trace these ideas back to a time anterior to the Talmud, it will be

* Ibid. p. 715.

† Henric. a Porta de ling, Orient, p. 340.

well to examine the ideas of a religious body closely allied by origin to the Jews, but separated from them by an almost inconceivable amount of sectarian hatred. We mean of course the SAMARITANS, with whom "the Jews have had no dealings" for more than two thousand years. Whatever Jews and Samaritans have in common in matters of doctrine is certainly anterior to the time of their separation.

Although we are in possession of but few documents illustrative of the Samaritan doctrines, we shall find quite sufficient for our purpose.

In the fragment of commentary in the Arabic language first published by Schnurer, from a manuscript in the Bodleian, we find this interpretation of Gen. xlix. 22.

"I will fortify myself by his means (Joseph's) against misfortune, and avoid ill through him, for he will be my shield against it, and my arrow to repel adversity, for he supports me and my sons in this life, and will aid me by his prayers in the next."*

This interpretation indeed is not that of the author of the commentary, but he does not object to the doctrine contained in it. Could we find it in a Protestant commentary?

In their first letter to Joseph Scaliger, the Samaritans beg of him to send a donation for the maintenance of their priests and worship,

'And a votive offering and gift for the prophets and saints, Eleazar, Ithamar, Pinehas, Joshua son of Nun, Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and our father Joseph the fruitful bough. Peace be with them all for ever! For they all are buried in the territory of the city of Sichem, and votive offerings and gifts are brought to them from all cities and families.'†

Their second letter begins as follows:—

"In the name of the great Lord, the strong and terrible. The fear of the Lord be upon Moses, the son of Amram, the Prophet of all ages. Through his works, his prayers, his fasts, his (*the next word is unintelligible*) may the Lord multiply the life

* In Eichhorn's Repertorium, Th. 16. See p. 188.

† lb. Th. 13. p. 267.

of you all...may our God rise against those who shall rise against us and against you, through the merits of our fathers and your just men, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (upon whom be peace)."*

In the seventeenth century the Samaritans had been led, by certain Anglican divines, to believe that co-religionists of theirs were living in England, and the illusion was kept up by letters written to them in Hebrew by Dr. Marshall of Oxford. The Samaritans beg donations and votive offerings for their priests, and their poor, and their holy places, as in their correspondence with Scaliger. They complain that all Christians, Jews, and other religious sects except their English correspondents regularly send alms and offerings to their poor and the tombs of their prophets in Palestine. At last they write in bitter disappointment to their fellow Samaritans in Auksoina (Oxford),—

"You announce to us that you send us eight gold pieces. These have arrived. But, brethren, this is not what we had a right to expect from you...We thought you would send us a sum of two thousand pieces of gold for a religious foundation, and we would pray for you to the holy prophets, and on Mount Gerizim, and at all times."†

Some Protestant controversialists will perhaps exclaim, "What do we care for the authority of these wretched people, and what does it matter to us what Jews, Turks, Druses, and other infidels may happen to believe or practise?" It matters perhaps a great deal more than controversialists may imagine.

In the first place, we have an indisputable proof that the invocation of departed saints has not the slightest tendency to weaken the monotheistic feeling. All the Protestant arguments on this point break down when tested by the experience of many centuries in the religions of which we have been speaking. A belief in the existence of one Supreme Being from whom all other beings derive their existence and every thing else which can be positively predicated of them, upon whom they all depend,

* Ib. p. 271.

† Ib. Th. 9, p. 37, 42.

and from whom they are removed by a difference which is not only immeasurable, but *infinite*,—this belief is not found in any one of the profane religions of antiquity, but it has ever been the one leading and determining doctrine of all the forms of Judaism and Mohammedanism. That all things are as nothing in presence of God, that there is no Deity but God, that there is no strength or power but in God, the High, the Great, are truths no less deeply impressed upon the convictions of Jews and Moslems than on their memories and lips. The wildest fanaticism of European sects is tame compared to what would be excited by any attempts within the synagogue or mosque, to tamper with those truths. And this monotheistic feeling has certainly lost none of its intensity down to the present day.

In the next place, the historical question is well worth considering. When we compare the Christian cultus of the dead with the Jewish or Mohammedan, certain differences are at once apparent. The Moslems offer sacrifices to their saints, whereas Jews and Christians have always considered sacrifice as a homage reserved for God only. Jews apparently ask for the intercession of departed persons who are not saints, as well as of those who are generally recognized as such. But these differences, which are extremely important as showing how the religions have developed independently one of the other, are not such as even to obscure the points of resemblance. It is quite certain that Jews, Christians, and Moslems differ greatly as to the conception of *sacrifice*, and therefore as to the appropriate use of it. It is equally clear that when a Jew invokes the intercession of some departed person, it is under the supposition that that person is on good terms with the Almighty, and so far a saint. The three religions agree in the idea that the communion of saints is not interrupted by death—the living benefit the dead by prayers to God for pardon and mercy, the dead aid the living by their intercession, not only *in genere*, but in individual cases, because they are, in the words of St. Ambrose, “*speculatores vitæ nostræ et actuum nostrorum* ;”—invocations for their help and intercession are therefore not idle addresses to persons who cannot hear, but good and profitable. Now, where did this doctrine, common to the three religions, first originate? It is of course evident that Mohammedanism derived it, like

other doctrines, from Christian or Jewish sources, probably from the latter. But did Christians derive it from Judaism or Jews from Christianity—and when?

One portion at least of this doctrine is more ancient than Christianity. The practice of praying for the dead is found as early as the time of the Maccabees, and it must therefore have been the practice of the Jews in the time of Christ and the Apostles. It passed naturally from the synagogue into the church without any protest from the Apostles or their successors, and it is found in every one of the ancient liturgies.

The intercession of departed saints is also recognized in the Old Testament,* as Mr. Owen and others have shown. We shall here only notice two Jewish authorities anterior to Christianity. The first is Baruch iii. 4. "O Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, hear now the prayer of the dead of Israel," &c. We refer to this passage in consequence of the following observation of a learned Protestant writer in Dr. Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature. (*Art. Baruch.*)

"A translation into English of the Epistle of Baruch has recently been executed by Rabbi Dr. H. Jolowicz, who considers it a production at least twelve centuries later than the time of Jeremiah, and written by a Syrian Jew converted to Christianity. This conclusion rests on internal evidence, among which may be noted the mention of the Massorah, which was of comparatively late origin, and the allusion to the corrupt Christian doctrine of the intercession of saints or ancestors."

All our efforts to procure a copy of the work of Dr. Jolowicz have failed, we are therefore unable to say how far he is responsible for the almost incredible thesis attributed to him, if by the "Epistle"† be meant the *book* of Baruch. But as the absurdity of the thesis does not lie on the surface, particularly to persons who are not familiar with biblical science, we think it right to state that (1) according to the highest critical authorities, the Greek

* E.g. Jer. xv. 1; 2 Mac. xv. 14.

† There is a supposed Syriac Epistle of Baruch, but the context of the passage in Mr. Wright's article seems to refer not to this production but to the *book* of Baruch.

text of Baruch and the Septuagint version of Jeremiah are by the same person: (2) the Septuagint version of Jeremiah is quoted in the New Testament. (3) The book of Baruch is found in the Syro-Hexaplaric manuscript of Milan, with references to the version of Theodotion, a fact which not only proves the antiquity of the book, but seems to imply a correction of the Greek text from the Hebrew original.

Ewald's remarks* are well deserving of attention.

"The Greek translation of this book in many places agrees so little with the original, that the latter must already (at the time of translation) have been pretty ancient. It was evidently the same person who translated Jeremiah and Baruch (compare only the use of the words βαδίζω, μαννά for μαννα, ἀποστολή, χαρμουσίνη, γαυρίαμα, δεισμώτης) and he must therefore have found the book united since a long time with that of Jeremiah. Moreover, it is certain that the author of the Book of Daniel read this book, and that in Hebrew, united probably in the same way with the Book of Jeremiah."

The second Jewish authority that shall be cited is that of the Book of Enoch, which is quoted by St. Jude. It has generally been ascribed to the age of Herod, but a very high authority carries it back as far as the time of John Hyrcanus. Several passages might be quoted from it for our present purpose, but the following is the most remarkable.

"I saw another vision, I saw the habitations and couches of the saints. There my eyes beheld the habitations with the angels, and their couches with the holy ones. They were entreating, supplicating and praying for the sons of men; while righteousness like water flowed before them and mercy like dew over the earth." *Chap. xxxix. 4.*

We refer Protestant readers to Mr. Owen's pages for the proof that this doctrine of the intercession of departed saints has existed in the Christian Church from its very beginning. The Apostles brought it with them into the Church, not as a new doctrine, but as an old one. The author of the Apocalypse does but continue the tradition of the Deutero-canonical and older books.

* *Gesch. des Volks Israel*, Th. 4. p. 232 vol. 5.

Is it equally true that the Church followed the practice of the synagogue in addressing departed saints with a view to obtain their intercession? We have not here the same direct evidence as with reference to the two former points. The earliest positive evidence of Jewish invocations to departed saints is found in the Talmud, and the earliest positive evidence of Christian invocations in writers of the fourth century. We are, of course, not speaking of evidence adducible in behalf of the practice, but only of evidence of the practice itself. These two kinds of evidence are very different, and must not be confounded. Much evidence *tending to prove the lawfulness* of praying to Christ might be cited from the New Testament and early Christian writers. But it is not till the fourth century that we meet with historical proof that *in fact* prayers were generally addressed to Christ. In the same way when we find the early Christians believing* that in every place of prayer, not only Christ and the angels were present, but the souls of departed saints, and that the latter took an interest and part in the prayers of the living, nay, "that they *ministered* to suppliants the remission of their sins,"† it might fairly be inferred that persons holding this belief did actually ask the departed for their prayers. A Protestant does not address the saints because he does not believe that the saints can hear him or help him. If he believed this, he would no more scruple in addressing a departed than a living saint. There is also another kind of evidence, which we think the strongest of all, and that is the organic unity of the Catholic creed. But at present we wish strictly to confine ourselves to the facts before us, and to see what can be made out of them.

Although the earliest evidence of Christian invocations is found in writers of the fourth century, it is found in such a way as to imply that the practice was not a recent one. To say nothing of the case of St. Justina, men-

* See Origen de Oratione § 28 and following, also § 66, and compare St. Jerome's reply to Vigilantius. "Scriptum est, Sequuntur agnum quocunque vadit. Si Agnus ubique, ergo, et hi qui cum Agno sunt ubique esse credendi sunt." Tom. ii. p. 122.

† Origen Exhort. ad Mart.

tioned by St. Gregory Nazianzen, the Emperor Julian, who frequently reproaches the Christians with their worship of the dead, speaks of it as an ancient practice, and even attempts to show how the Apostles brought it into the Church. His attempt is, of course, absurd, but his evidence is sufficient, at least, to show the great antiquity of the practice in his time.* His assertion, too, that the practice was formerly kept secret is of considerable importance. The authority of Eusebius leads to the same conclusion, for he certainly does not represent "Post-Nicene theology."

The evidence of the Talmud extends also to a period anterior to its composition, sometimes indeed to a much earlier time. It gives, for instance, two different versions of an ancient legend with reference to the Exodus, in each of which various Moses is represented as invoking the Patriarch Joseph.

At some indefinite time, then, within the ante-Nicene period, both Jews and Christians are found admitting the lawfulness of invoking departed saints. Which of the two parties is likely to have borrowed from the other? It will, we think be universally allowed that the Jews are not likely to have borrowed any religious practice from the Christians during this period, one of the most trying in their history, and one in which their animosity against Christians was most highly excited. It is equally difficult to conceive that the Christians should have borrowed anything from the Jews after the rupture between the two religions was complete, nor is it easy to understand how any occasion for borrowing could present itself. There does not appear to have been any communication on religious matters between Jews and Christians. Jewish practices must have been as unknown to the infinite majority of Christians as they are at the present day, and as little influential. Whatever the Church and Synagogue had in common dated from the time anterior to the rupture. The fact of the Samaritans agreeing with the Jews in this matter is an additional reason for believing the invocation of departed saints to be of the greatest antiquity. Their sect is older than Christianity, and it cannot be

* Juliani imp. opera et S. Cyrilli cont. Julian libb. 10, tom. i. p. 438; tom. ii. p. 335, 339, 344, Ed. Spanheim.

proved that they have borrowed a single doctrine from Jews or Gentiles since the Christian era. The natural conclusion, then, to be drawn from these considerations is that the Jewish Church invoked departed saints before the time of Christ, and that the entire doctrine of the "Communion of Saints" at least in its external features is a legacy of the Synagogue to the Church. With this conclusion certain passages in the Gospels harmonize exactly, and derive a meaning which we believe to be more correct than that generally ascribed to them. We believe, for instance, that the true explanation of the conduct of the Scribes and Pharisees "who built the sepulchres of the Prophets and adorned the tombs of the just," is to be found in the description of the magnificent tombs, like that of the Prophet Ezechiel, built by the Jews, and described by Rabbi Petachia, Benjamin of Tudela, Pietro della Valle, and other travellers. And when some of the bystanders at the crucifixion said that our Blessed Lord invoked Elias, the remark was a natural one for men who misunderstood His words, but were in the habit of hearing invocations similar to what they described.* An ignorant Jew would, at the present day, give the same explanation of an exclamation such as that uttered by our Divine Redeemer.

Classical scholars are aware that they must look to Plutarch, Pausanias, and even very much more modern authors for the first traces in literature of myths or religious ideas and practices as old as the Hellenic religion itself. Since K. O. Müller the notion of judging the antiquity of religious ideas and practices by the first date of their appearance in literature has justly been exploded. And persons who believe that from the very first days of the Church the practice of praying, not only to the Father, but to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, was constantly observed, ought to know that they are highly interested in not having recourse to that exploded notion. Whatever

* The name of Elias is indeed connected with Messianic associations, but not only with these, but with many others. His presence and aid are, for instance, either tacitly or expressly invoked at every circumcision. See *Buxtorf Synagog. Judaic.* p. 84. *Mayer, das Judenthum, in seinen Gebeten, &c.* p. 240. *Schröder Talmudisch-rabbinisch-Judenthum*, p. 338.

may be the cause of the fact, the fact itself is undoubted that devotion, not only to the saints but to the Second and Third Persons of the Holy Trinity, assumes, to say the least, a much greater prominence and development in the literature subsequent to the Council of Nice than in the earlier literature. And we have no hesitation in admitting what appears to us historically certain, *a priori*, that the devotion to the saints was affected by the Arian controversy. We have spoken so much of the resemblance between the Christian notion of the Communion of Saints, and the Jewish and Mahomedan, that it is necessary to add that independently of the ethical difference between a Jewish and a Christian saint, there is a theological difference, (the union with Christ,) which must not be lost sight of. There is perhaps no sentiment more universally asserted by the fathers of the Church than this, "God became man, that man might become God," or in another form, "Christ became man, that man might become what Christ was."* In proportion then as the Arian controversy brought out more clearly and explicitly the truths involved in the belief of the Church as to the Person of its Divine Founder more and more light was thrown upon the glory and exaltation of the saints. But no new principle was introduced into the doctrine of their "cultus," and that doctrine as defined by the Council of Trent is as old as Christianity itself.

* See St. Irenæus *adv. Hæreses*, Præfat ad lib. 5, Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 21, St. Cyprian, *de Vanitat. idol.* c. 6: to refer only to Ante-Nicene authorities. The Christian Life was at this period already called "*deifica disciplina*," (St. Cyprian, *ep.* 68). And writers like Clement of Alexandria and Hippolytus speak unhesitatingly of men "becoming God."

ART. II.—*The Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius at Ægina and of Apollo Epicurius at Bassæ, near Phigaleia in Arcadia.* By C. R. Cockerell, R.A.; Professor of Architecture in the Royal Academy, London; Member of the Institute of British Architects; Honorary Doctor of Civil Law, Oxford; Member of the Dilettanti Society; Associated Member of the Institute of France, and Chevalier of the Legion of Honour; Member of Merit of the Academy of St. Luke in Rome; Foreign Member of the Academies of Munich, Copenhagen, Geneva, etc., etc., etc. London; John Weale. 1860.

THE religion and the religious worship of the ancient Greeks, and above all, the structural arrangements of their temples, can scarcely fail to be a subject of interest to the educated Catholic. He cannot but remember that it was from Hellas that the heathen civilization and worship of ancient Rome was derived, even long before the time when

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, et artes
Intulit agresti Latio;

And he must of course be aware that many of the churches of Christian Rome, and probably the general outlines and interior arrangements of most, are mere improvements on the ancient Basilicas, which themselves bore so close a resemblance to the Hellenic Temple.

Among classical architects Mr. Cockerell's name stands confessedly very high, if not the very highest; and though it is fifty years ago since he explored the two magnificent temples, with the details of which he has now favoured the world, yet there are a freshness and elasticity about his narrative and description which make his work most readable; and we doubt not that if it had been published in a simple octavo instead of a gigantic folio, and divested of many strictly professional details, the present work would have been in large request at Mudie's Library, who would probably have seen no reason for placing it on his "Index Expurgatorius," as it treats, not of High Church Anglicanism, but of Hellenic Polytheism.

It appears from Mr. Cockerell's introductory remarks that in the year 1810, before he had entered on the active

business of his profession, he extended his travels into Greece, and that at Athens he met with Lord Byron, Baron Haller, Baron Stackelburg, and some other gentlemen deeply interested in the antiquities of Greece, whose zeal in those matters had probably been stimulated by the publication of three out of the four volumes of Stuart's Athens, and by the explorations carried out by certain architects in the employ of the late Earl of Elgin. These gentlemen accordingly determined to investigate some of the more remote and less accessible sites, and were not deterred by the privations and dangers to which such researches exposed them at a time when Greece was under Turkish rule; to say nothing of the chance of fatal sickness from malaria, and the attacks of a lawless race of freebooters and brigands, who appear to have inherited the characters and dispositions, if they did not inherit the blood, of the famous marauders of the Homeric age, to whom Thucydides so graphically alludes as a kind of "gentlemen" pirates.

Mr. Cockerell tells us how,

"Full of the brightest anticipations, a party of four, consisting of Baron Haller, Messrs. Foster and Lynckh, and the author, determined, in April 1811, to pay a lengthened visit to the island of *Ægina*, for the purpose of exploring the Temple of Zeus Panhellenius—a monument which, as they knew, from its reputed antiquity and its extraordinary preservation, presented to the antiquarian and the artist, an object not inferior in interest to any edifice existing in Greece. Accordingly, having spent the evening with Lord Byron in pouring out libations in propitiation of his homeward voyage to England, to reap the rich harvest of fame which awaited his return, they left the Piræus just after midnight, and arrived at break of day under the Panhellenian Mount. Fortunately, even at that early season, they were enabled to bivouac without fear, owing to the settled fineness of the weather, and they found their accommodation completed by making use of the cave at the north-east angle of the platform on which the temple stands,—originally, perhaps, an oracular adytum or recess. The party, together with their servants, (including a Turkish janissary by way of guard) were sufficiently strong to defy the pirates who infested those seas in the nineteenth century of the Christian era with as much audacity and impunity as they showed in the days of Homer; and accordingly they passed twenty days and nights upon the spot without molestation, under the agreeable excitement of the enterprise which they had undertaken. The neighbouring village the modern capital of *Ægina*, furnished the provisions and the

labourers necessary for the excavation. The mountain thyme afforded fuel, partridges were in abundance, and the shepherds provided the party with kids, which were roasted on wooden spits over a blazing fire, when the labours of the day were brought to a close. The unusual bustle of the little encampment soon increased; and the good-humoured descendants of the *Æacidæ* proved at once their hospitality and their interest in our labours by the readiness with which they assisted us, lightening our toil with the rustic lyre, the song, and the dance—now, as in former days, the constant accompaniment of all combined operations in those countries."

It was not long before the excavators found their labours rewarded by bringing to the light of day, besides many buried pillars, &c., no less than seventeen exquisite statues, and the fragments of at least ten more, all of the most finished style of *Æginetan* art, in its best day,—materials sufficient to enable Mr. Cockerell to restore the tympanum and cornice of the Eastern and Western Pediments with tolerable exactness, and so to complete (on paper) the restoration of one of the most magnificent remnants of Hellenic art. In spite of every difficulty that the jealousy of the natives and the cupidity of the Pashas could throw in their way, Mr. Cockerell and his companions were enabled to get their newly found treasures transported, first to Athens and then to Zante; whence they were shipped to Malta, en route to Rome, where they arrived in safety. How it came to pass that, having come so far on their way, they did not reach their ultimate destination, the British Museum, Mr. Cockerell shall tell us in his own words, as he is naturally anxious to exculpate himself and his friends from the charge of any want of regard for the interests of their own country. He writes as follows:

"On the first discovery of the marbles, information was sent to the British Ambassador at the Porte, and also to the British Government at home, through Mr. Hamilton. Shortly afterwards, two English travellers of distinction—the late Messrs. Gally Knight and Fazakerly—who happened to arrive at Athens, offered a sum of £2000. to the two German co-proprietors to relinquish their shares, engaging, together with the English proprietors—Messrs Foster and Cockerell—to present the whole collection to the British Museum. These terms, however, were declined on the part of Messrs. Haller and Lynckh, from an equally honourable desire to secure the statues for their own countrymen. With both parties thus situated, and both equally anxious to strain every nerve

for their respective countries, it was clear that no other mode of solving the difficulty remained, except that of offering them for public sale. Advertisements were accordingly inserted in the *Gazette* of every country in Europe, announcing that they would be offered to public competition in the following year at Zante; and Mr. Gropius, who was permanently established as a merchant at Athens, was appointed by common consent to act as agent in the business, in the absence of the several parties directly interested. In the midst of the political anxieties of the period, the attention of the British Government was directed to the subject through the good offices of Mr. Hamilton, at whose instance H.M.S. *Paulina*, Brig of War, was sent out under Captain Percival, with a most liberal offer for the immediate purchase and transport of the treasures. The engagement already entered into with the public, and the zeal of the German co-proprietors, unfortunately combined to render it impossible to accept the offer; but still, under the immediate apprehension of an attack by the French upon the island of Zante, the proprietors were induced to consent to the removal of the marbles to Malta, as offering an asylum of greater security. Captain Perceval, on the part of the British Government, undertook this duty. But though the marbles were deposited at Malta, no change in the previous arrangements was made by the agent, Mr. Gropius, to whose hands the matter had been confided by the principals, who by this time had separated and were following their respective avocations, the one in Sicily, and the other at Smyrna. The home authorities, bent earnestly on the acquisition of the treasures for the British Museum, despatched Mr. Taylor Combe, the keeper of the antiquities of that institution, to bid on their behalf, not doubting but that the sale would be held at Malta, as indeed was most natural, seeing that it was the place of their deposit. Meanwhile the sale took place as originally intended, at Zante, in the absence of the treasures which were to be submitted to the hammer; and the statues were purchased, through M. Wagner, who had been despatched from Rome for that purpose, for H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Bavaria.

"The disappointment of the English parties on learning the result may be more easily conceived than expressed in words. On re-assembling, they found themselves committed through their legally appointed agent, Mr. Gropius, to support a sale effected much to their own disadvantage, and bound to assert, at the risk of much odium, the legal right of the Prince to the purchase. After some discussion and correspondence between the respective governments, that right was at length confirmed, and the statues were given up to the Prince, by whom they were finally deposited in the Museum at Munich."

The statues, we may add, still occupy a gallery in the *Glyptothek* in that city, where many of our readers

doubtless have seen them, and those who have not will find them carefully described in Murray's Hand-book for Southern Germany: and Mr. Cockerell, to use his own words,

"Has always the consolation of knowing that they have been placed in an asylum where they have been appreciated by the entire European public, and in the hands of a prince who is surpassed by none in his enlightened patronage of the fine arts, and especially of the master-pieces of Grecian skill, in a country renowned for its devotion to such glorious and elevating studies."

We cannot find room here for any abstract of the history of the little island of *Ægina*, between the commercial enterprise and self-relying energy of which state, and the Great Britain of the nineteenth century Mr. Cockerell draws out a very striking parallel, on the ground of which he claims from the English reader, a peculiar interest in his subject. We will therefore pass to an account of the edifice of Jupiter itself, first placing on record a few apposite remarks upon the templar architecture of the ancient Greeks, which will be at once suggestive of a similar train of thought having been uppermost in the minds of our chief Christian architects, the founders of our parish churches and cathedrals.

"The temples of the Greeks were generally placed within the precincts of their cities; not only for the obvious reasons of accessibility and ornament, but also on account of the trophies and treasures which were generally deposited in them, and which, in addition to the influence of the prevailing religion, required also the aid of artificial defences, such as strong walls and citadels, and were especially entrusted to the charge of appointed guardians. A departure was made from this very natural custom only in the case of a site sanctified by some remarkable religious association, as in the present instance, in which, as we read in the passage of Pausanias quoted in the previous chapter, the prayers of *Æacus* and the Deputies from all Greece having been heard, and health having been restored, the *Æginetans* built a Temple to Zeus, under the title of the God of all the Greeks (*Panhellenius*), on the very spot where the hero had offered up his intercessions. When temples were thus situated, their remoteness, as well as the grandeur of the scene and the wildness of the country by which they were approached, formed a powerful contrast with the highly finished object to which the prayers and the footsteps of the devotee were directed. This often must have added greatly to the impressions created upon the mind, when abstracted from the busy world to religious contemplation in the course of the pilgrim-

age. We are strikingly reminded of the opinion of Socrates on this particular, as reported in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. 'The most becoming site for temples and altars,' says the philosopher, 'is one which is most conspicuous, and least crossed by public ways; for it is sweet for those who see them from afar to offer up their prayers, and sweet also for those who approach from a distance and who are piously disposed.' Placed on such an eminence, and surrounded by such scenery, we at once admit the fitness of those sturdy and stern proportions, both of the parts and of the whole, so much in accordance with the nature of the site, but so lamentably ineffective in a less conspicuous situation, or when placed in the midst of a crowded metropolis, and on a level with the public streets.

"The Greeks themselves were so sensible of this fact, that we find different proportions generally adopted when the temple was placed on a plain or in a city, as at the Temple of Minerva in the city described in this volume, at Nemea, in the city of Athens, in the instance of the portico of Augustus. Generally too we may be permitted to remark that architects have adapted a low and horizontal system of architecture to a lofty country, and a perpendicular and aspiring system to a level and flat district, as if convinced of the inefficacy of all attempts at loftiness amidst the wonders of mountain scenery, and seeking rather by the regularity of art and succession of horizontal lines, to present a contrast to those rugged irregularities of nature. Only in the plain, where nature presents no such contrasts, we may indulge all our ambition of loftiness with some hope of effect. Thus we see throughout Greece and in Egypt, enclosed within rocks and mountains, the horizontal temple prevailing; and find in the plains of Assyria the Tower of Babel, and in the low countries the lofty Gothic spire."

"In conformity with the principle laid down in this extract, we find that the Temple of Panhellenian Jove was placed upon a lofty ridge, which still to this day bears the name of Oros, or the Mount; and to judge from the plate which stands at the head of the chapter, its situation must have been very grand and imposing. Compared with temples dedicated to the King of the Gods in other countries, the Æginetan Temple must have been small in its dimensions, though in the character of the architecture, in its order, and in the distribution of its plan, it was probably the most magnificent of the edifices erected at that time in Greece, and entirely suited to the majesty of the deity to whom it was dedicated. It was hexastyle, peripteral, with a double order in the interior, and hypæthral. Some idea of its size may be

formed, when we state that the colossal eye of ivory, and other fragments of the same material, found *in situ*, prove that the statue, though the latter was in a sitting posture, must have been fully twenty-five feet in height; for, as Mr. Cockerell observes, "a figure of that magnitude, if erect, would have left no proportionate space between the head and the ceiling of the 'Temple'—and we know that proportion was, and is, the very essence of the beauty of Hellenic architecture.

"The platform or 'High Place,' on which the Temple itself was situated," writes Mr. Cockerell, "was partly formed out of the solid rock, and partly built up of large polygonal stones. This platform is about 230 feet long by 130 deep, and was paved with large square slabs in two courses, of which the lower one only now remains. The temple is so placed as to leave open a much larger space towards the east, where probably the sacrifices were performed. There are some foundations of an ancient building, very probably of a Propylæum, approaching with great taste upon the south-east angle of the temple, and showing the east front of the south flank in the same view. A similar approach is found at Sunium and at Priene, and in other examples. It is probable that a wall connected with this building may have enclosed a peribolus, formed into a succession of terraces, which are still observable to the south, and where possibly the games in honour of Æacus may have been held. At the north-east angle is a cave, partly formed by art, in the solid rock: this cave was undoubtedly connected with the ancient mysteries connected with the worship of the temple: the surface of the platform, having been sown with barley when explored by us in 1811, was, of course, in some parts deep with vegetable soil which had accumulated round the mouth of the cave, and which so obstructed its entrance as to conceal from us its innermost recesses."

We have said above that the temple of Jupiter was 'Hypæthral'; the following remarks of Mr. Cockerell will explain our meaning, and at the same time will show how thoroughly the Catholic doctrine as to divine worship is anticipated by, and therefore so far confirmed by, the dictates of natural religion.

"The ceremonies of the Hellenic religion consisted principally of sacrifice and prayer; the cella, therefore, of the Greek temple was never intended to receive a congregation, or to serve any other purpose than of a receptacle or habitation for the god, as the word *Nāos* (Latin, *ædes*) implies; upon the idol every resource of costly material and of art was employed to dignify its worship; and the architecture with which the interior was decorated was calcu-

lated to enhance the impression of the image of the god, and was made wholly subservient to that purpose. Pausanias has left us many descriptions of temples so adorned; and it is clear that no very great capacity was required. The interior was adorned with a double order of small but proportionate columns (much after the manner of our own Gothic cathedrals), dividing the cella into a nave and two side aisles: the whole of the nave was occupied as a niche by the colossal figure of the god, the aisles by statues of deities more or less associated in this worship. The design of the artist, of course, was to procure, by the contrast of proportions, the utmost effect on the mind of the beholder. And that his calculation did not fail is illustrated by the declaration of Quinctilian, that 'the Jupiter of Olympia (disposed upon this principle) added to the influence of religion by its majesty;' and Livy relates that Paulus Æmilinus was so affected at seeing the statue of the Olympian Jove, as to feel the presence of the deity. In a clear and brilliant climate, the opening or eye (ὄρασις) of the Hypæthral roof was not required to be large, and it was enough that the principal object (the statue) received the full force of its light, heightened by the comparative gloom over the other objects in the cella."

Mr. Cockerell and his friends further ascertained that the centre of the ivory eye must have been a precious stone—a proof (if proof be needed) that the Greeks considered no ornament too costly to be lavished on the central figure of the 'Præsens Divus,' to whom all the worship of the temple was directed. It is almost superfluous to add that the adytum, or part of the Temple where this figure stood or sat, though in sight of all the worshippers, like our own chancels, was not open to the 'profanum vulgus,' but reserved for the use of the ministering priests alone.

The reader will be interested in perusing the following inventory of the sacred vessels and furniture used in the Temple of Jupiter. The list of utensils begins with those of brass, and then enumerates those of iron, as "two chains, four iron window bars and two hooks." It proceeds,

"The following are of wood: one box for containing perfumes; three chests; the rails round the base of the statue complete; one throne; one chair; four benches or stools; one small throne; one small couch; one bench with a back; three small boxes; one base or stand for a crater; one small broad chest in the Amphipoleium (the vestry or apartment at the back). The following of brass: one vessel for heating water; one wash-hand bason; two bowls; one axe; one bolt; three knives, and also two of wood; one brazen vase for washing; one spoon; one strainer."

It is to be observed that the original of this inventory is not in Attic, but in the Doric dialect; from which Mr. Cockerell infers that at the time when it was engraved, the temple must have been in the hands of the old enemies of *Ægina*, the Athenians, and is thus enabled to fix the date as certainly more than four hundred years before the Christian era.

Among the most interesting points established by Mr. Cockerell and his friends in the course of these researches was the large use of colouring applied to the sculptures as well as to the pediments and architraves, and indeed throughout the exterior embellishments of the building. On this he remarks—

“In considering a custom which appears so extraordinary to us, as the external painting and gilding of architecture, it must be recollected that though the Greek buildings were grand in their conception and idea, their scale was small; hence they required a greater nicety and delicacy in their execution: the colours served as a means of distinguishing and heightening the effect of the several parts otherwise inanimate. To paint white marble or other stone exposed to the open air, is discordant with the northern prejudices; but if we take into the account the fact, that in Greece all nature is full of vivid colour and variety, the unvaried white which might be in unison with our northern grey, would have seemed spectral and monotonous in *Ægina*. It may also be observed, that the mildness of the climate and the purity of the atmosphere, rendered works of finished execution much more secure from decay, and admitted refinements in sculpture and painting that would be thrown away in these. The inhabitants of those more settled climates, passing much of their time in the open air, or under the shade of porticoes, would contemplate the highly wrought detail of ornament in the exterior with the same convenience as we do those lavished on our interiors. Indeed it will be found that the scope of the Grecian architect was chiefly the exterior effect, while within all was secondary, except the work of providing a receptacle for the image of the god.”

As to the sculpture of the exterior, we much regret that we have not space at our disposal for any lengthened description. The eastern and western pediments were both filled with most exquisite groups, the one illustrative of a scene in the *Iliad* where Achilles plays a prominent part; the other an event in the story of Hercules and the Amazons. The countenance of each figure is distinct and appropriate, though the faces of all are of the conventional heroic type, and they all wear the flowing

locks, the shapely brows and chin, and, above all, the gallant smile which marks the chiefs who took part in the Homeric battles. They were executed in Parian marble, a material very friable, and requiring great mechanical skill in the execution. The skill shown here was only surpassed by the artistic effect produced by the partial application of colour to their faces and dresses from first to last, traces of which colouring still remain.

“The dresses of the statues were composed of the same number of pieces. Thus, the Minerva has a helmet of antique form, like that which is found on early Athenian medals. It was painted with chequered beads, unlike the style of Phidias, or that found on medals and coins of a later date. The hair, too, is dressed in a peculiar form; the figure had earrings, and three tresses on either side, terminating on the breast. These were of lead, and were attached subsequently, as were also the Gorgon's head, and the tassels or serpents' heads which formed the fringe of the *egis*. The latter is oval in shape; it has literally the leathern appearance of the inside of a goat's-skin, and was painted all over with scales. A shift, of fine elastic texture, appears on the arms and elbows, hanging down in large sleeves: this is covered with a tunic, having a large plait, with three smaller ones on either side, giving free action to the ankles and feet, which are seen and have sandals upon them, whilst the feet of the other figures are bare. Where the figures are naked, the helmet belonging to each is different. That of Patroclus is most elegant in form, such as, being borrowed from Achilles, might have been the work of Vulcan. The cheek-pieces, and the piece which protected the nose, when drawn down, must have been admirably suited to defence, and when drawn up, must have added to the effect; the hair is curled in front, and bound up with a fillet, under which the long hair at the back is gracefully folded. In the Ajax there is a helmet less perfect in form and in workmanship: it is capable of being drawn down; the hair is curled in front, and it appears that leaden curls were inserted behind. Another helmet fits close to the head, whilst two side pieces turn on a sort of hinge, sometimes up, and open upon the cheek. These were wrought in separate pieces and inserted afterwards, so that they could not appear of the same material as the face, the separation being evident. This is remarkable in the heads of the eastern pediments, and was a principle always observed. The lances, swords, and belts were of some other and more perishable material, not found; but the discovery of small bronze fastenings upon the spot, suggests that these were probably of bronze. The quiver is worthy of remark for its capacity: the holes into which the arrow heads were fastened are still visible. The length of the quiver agrees closely with the specimens sculptured at Persepolis,

as also do the curls, and the manner in which the dresses are plaited."

We have not space to follow Mr. Cockerell upon his excursion into Arcadia, or to narrate the story of his explorations, carried out upon similar principles, and under similar difficulties to those at Ægina, and, we may add, with the like results. However, the statues obtained by him at Phigaleia in Arcadia are now in the British Museum, where they are well known by the artistic world; while we must have recourse to Murray's *Handbook for Southern Germany* for a description of the treasures gathered at Ægina, which now stand, as we have already mentioned, in the Glyptothek at Munich. It is a satisfaction, however, to feel that they are in the hands of a prince who feels a real interest in sculpture and architecture, and who gladly renders them accessible to his own people and to British travellers.

ART. III.—*Introduction Historique et Critique aux Livres du Nouveau Testament*, Par Reithmayr, Hug, Tholuck, etc. traduite et annotée par H. de Valroger, Prêtre de l'Oratoire de l'Immaculée Conception. 2 vols. Paris, Lecoffre et Cie.

THERE are few countries in which any of the clergy have time for literary work, even though it be of the kind that most nearly concerns them. In France, where perhaps there is more intellectual activity than elsewhere, many circumstances are adverse to its development in the Church. Learned and laborious professors are to be met with in all the seminaries, but their hours are so completely filled by the duties of the day, that little time remains for the composition of anything beyond the outlines of a course, which their reading enables them to fill up by word of mouth during their lectures. The Cathedral Chapters, which once were nurseries of writers in every department of Church learning, are now filled by men worn out in the ministry, to whom they afford an appropriate and well deserved retreat; but who,

with rare exceptions, have not physical or mental activity to qualify them for what their countrymen call strong studies or deep writing. Although Jesuit Houses have once more made their appearance in nearly every diocese, the professors are quite too few in number, and too busy with the ordinary work of the school to attend to anything outside it; and the Faculty of Theology in the University of France is no substitute for the old Sorbonne, and has nothing in common with those great ecclesiastical corporations, the English Universities. A fellow of college in one of the Universities, or a dignitary without the cure of souls, in a benefice overrun with dissent, has free range over the whole field of literature, and may string a "Catena Patrum," or edit a Greek play, according to fancy or to circumstances; but to a working clergy, without the resource of Universities similarly constituted, or of religious orders having uninvaded leisure, literary work is, to say the least, extremely difficult. Where any degree of liberty prevails, religious orders crop out in a way which shows that revolution may have mown them down, but has by no means uprooted them. Their estates have been confiscated, their libraries have been scattered, their old homes have been changed into barracks or factories, and they themselves, are tolerated rather than acknowledged; but they still continue the work of re-establishment with a confidence and a reliance perfectly astonishing. In the present stage, however, of their new and precarious existence, it is not to be supposed that they have the old opportunities of cultivating the literature that was once the reason of their existence. In Catholic Germany, it is true, ecclesiastical literature as distinct from theological or professional learning, is found to prosper more than in other parts of Europe; and as might be expected, there is a greater show and more fruit of such studies there than elsewhere. But even in Germany the results, although more hopeful daily, are yet disappointing, and bear no comparison with the results which flow from the opportunities and the labours of the German Rationalists, whom it appears an abuse of terms to call Protestants, as the word is understood in this country. There are Catholic Universities in Austria, Bavaria, and the Rhine Provinces; but they are, in general, poorly endowed, and not unfrequently crippled and discouraged by the State.

On the other hand, both in England and in Germany, all the resources and all the favour of the State, and of public opinion, are at the command of those who devote their great talents and greater learning to the extinction of Christianity in due course of criticism. There is no occasion to speak of Ireland. She has perhaps done a great deal more than could be expected from her under existing circumstances, but the same causes which, in a smaller degree, obstruct the advance of ecclesiastical literature in other countries, are more common and more mischievous in Ireland than in any other country. She has one great ecclesiastical seminary, and several minor establishments of the same kind; but they admit of no dilettante study, and leisure is unknown in them. She has no university, save one infant and struggling institution, which may be, and it is to be hoped will be the parent of great men and of great works; but which cannot, in the course of nature, produce either men or works of great account for years to come. She has no cathedral chapters, no libraries, no great conventual establishments, in which serious literary works can be completed; and, while she is as faithful to sound doctrine now as in the days of Columbanus, her resources are far more slender at this moment than they were before the English invasion. Notwithstanding the prevalence of so many influences hostile to the recovery of ecclesiastical literature, its progress is unquestioned and even marked. Studious and active men have contrived to save an occasional hour from their scanty leisure for the composition of historical and critical works which prove abundantly that if that leisure and resources were more liberally measured, there is no deficiency amongst us in learning or skill. As might be expected, Catholic Germany has contributed a large proportion, not perhaps quite in the degree of her opportunities, but still a large proportion, to modern Catholic literature. France will take the next place, and although she seems to have lost somewhat in depth what she has gained in surface, a marked improvement is noticeable in the accuracy and the soundness of her ecclesiastical scholarship within the last few years; an improvement which is traceable to her better acquaintance, not only with German, but with Greek. There do not exist in France the same incentives to the pursuit of ecclesiastical and more especially of biblical litera-

ture, which we know to exist in Germany. The French Church is not nearly so much concerned as the German in the defence of the Catholic Canon of Scripture, or of the authenticity of the Scriptures generally. The same may be said of Church History and patristic studies in France, which, when they were more closely followed than at present, were studied from a point of view quite different from that at which German students take their stand. In France the Church historian has to deal with nothing more formidable than Gallicanism, as far as French interests merely are concerned; whereas in Germany he has to construct his history so as to encounter not only the Protestant but the rationalist theory. The French Protestants are so mere a fraction of the population, and make up so little by intellectual activity for the smallness of their numbers that it is not found worth while to spend much learning upon Protestant controversy. Their only great man, M. Guizot, has given an altogether different direction to his activity; and the more zealous members of his Confession, as it is called in France, have abandoned speculation and criticism for the more practical arguments of soup, fire-wood, and child-snatching. The enemy with which religious literature has to cope in France is Voltarian Scepticism, upon which learning would be totally thrown away, for it has inherited all the shallowness of its author, and relies upon popular fallacies which a German Rationalist would feel ashamed to take into his service. German Rationalism, on the other hand, equally with German Protestantism, is the child of much learning, which, although it may have made its followers mad, is much learning still. It is the usual course of medicine to cure a hypochondriac by humouring his fancies; and when a man is set beside himself by learning, the only human agency that can seat him in his own place is a still stronger and more active learning. It is thus that hermeneutical studies are of more importance to Catholics in Germany and England than in France, or in countries similarly circumstanced, and it is not surprising that a biblical scholar in France should go to Germany and to England for the materials of an introduction to hermeneutical studies. M. De Valroger's work professes to be nothing more than this. Its object is to revive in the French clergy, as far as circumstances will allow, the critical study of the Sacred

Scriptures. In what might be called the pastoral study of Scripture the French clergy are unrivalled. They do not, it is true, in preaching or in writing make use of a scriptural slang; but their references to Scripture texts are more frequent, and their applications of the text more various as well as more ingenious than are to be met with in the spiritual writers of almost any other nation. Still, it must be admitted that, from whatever cause, they are less eminent in the critical study of the Scriptures than are the clergy of Germany, England, or Italy; and it is equally certain that, should they once apply their clear minds to the study with which M. De Valroger is already so familiar, they could not fail to be at least as successful as others. It so happens that the boldness of the German Rationalists has alarmed whatever of positive belief is still found to exist amongst the German Protestants. The denial of inspiration, of miracles, and of mysteries, is a legitimate exercise of the right of private judgment which it would be illogical to refuse to the members of Reformed Churches. And yet, when the German Rationalists, be they pastors or professors, in the exercise of their undoubted right, deny the inspiration, the authenticity, and even the historical character of the Scriptures; Protestants, who uphold the Scriptures, are compelled to reason as if they were Catholics, and to write treatises, of which, in the main, a Catholic might be proud, and the learning of which he might safely appropriate on the principle, "*Je reprends mon bien partout où je le trouve.*" Acting upon this principle, M. De Valroger, in his introduction to the critical study of the Sacred Scriptures, has not scrupled to use the learning and the reasoning of distinguished German Protestants, as well as of the eminent Catholic writers who have laboured in the same field. With the exception of a few introductory pages, M. De Valroger's work consists of chapters translated, with some slight exceptions, from German Biblicalists Catholic and Protestant. Wherever he finds it necessary to exercise an independent judgment, he does so, whether in the text or in the notes, but with full warning to the reader; and, from the arrangement of his book, the parts hang together very naturally, notwithstanding the varieties of style and of thought from which they are drawn. Something of this, as has been just observed, is due to the order and connexion of parts

in M. De Valroger's book, and something also to that wonderful alembic, a French translation, which breaks down and assimilates all differences of style. Certain it is, however, the work has much more the appearance of an original and digested piece of authorship than of a mere compilation. Indeed, the fact that the author has drawn together, translated and noted so many works upon the subject, is evidence of large reading, and also of a real love for the study to which he seems so anxious to introduce his countrymen. As an elementary book upon hermeneutics, scientific in arrangement, and yet sufficiently popular in style to meet the requirements of the less learned, the volumes in question are of undoubted value, and they leave few subjects untouched about which they ought to be conversant. M. De Valroger has not fallen into the too common mistake of supposing that every one of his readers, is as familiar with the learning, even the most difficult learning, of the subject as he is himself. The very sources from which he has derived so much of his information are of a character to encourage this mistake, because you seldom meet with a scientific German author who does not seem to write for a public of professors rather than of students, and to forget that the terms of art which are so clear to his own mind, often convey no more distinct idea to the mind of his readers than if they were written in an unknown language. The names of Reithmayr, Hug, Cureton, and Tholuck, are familiar to Biblical students, and it is principally from those authors that M. De Valroger has borrowed the chapters of his work.

"We must admit," he says, "that the learned men beyond the Rhine have upon those subjects a manifest advantage over us. They have kept up with an increasing ardour, and an untiring patience, the biblical studies which had been interrupted amongst us, by the revolutionary tempest which at the close of the last century destroyed the religious orders and our ancient universities. Before we think of surpassing them we ought to study with care and sift what they have written during the last sixty years. My wish in publishing this manual was to contribute somewhat to the eclectic analysis I have alluded to. The pretended results of German Science are unceasingly quoted against us, and it nearly concerns to understand well, and to point out the true results.

"We have little occasion to trouble ourselves with the varying soliloquies which every day have their beginning and their end, in each of the German Universities. Why do battle with errors which have no echo in our own country? Why give importance to

sophists who have none of their own? The only useful way to meet enemies of this sort is to show up in a faithful picture their divisions and their discord. The public does not sufficiently understand that in the heat of argument most of the heterodox critics work out a mutual refutation. Such an one who denies the authority of Genesis, is refuted by another who denies the authority of the prophets. And then every theory is haughtily paraded as a truth, an established gain for science, until the next day's hypothesis upsets with a crash that of the day before. What a telling and instructive book might be written upon the variations of this protestant scepticism!

"In the midst of this confusion which it would be enough to sketch in bold strokes, there certainly are men whose writings deserve a thorough examination. Such are the critics and philologists who have found amongst us translators, or what is more dangerous still, abbreviators and skilful panegyrists. It behoves us to prove that the incredulity of those learned men is no more the logical result of their learning, than were the paradoxes of Père Hardouin the result of his deep erudition. But what concerns us most of all is to bring clearly forward those truths which have been obscured by the abuse of science.

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"The collection which I offer to the public, being the summary of a Science whose details are almost innumerable, is not merely to be read quickly, but to be studied with perseverance; or to be consulted upon special questions. It is addressed to serious and learned men, who wish to know exactly the history and the result of the critical studies of which the sacred texts of the New Testament have been the subject for eighteen centuries. Many of those men have been reduced by want of leisure to study in this long history none other than the most important questions. Each page of this manual having a title which sums it up, every reader can easily find in it the information he stands in need of. If with the help of these titles the various parts of this collection be run through as one runs through a dictionary, many a man who would not endure the regular reading of the book will succeed I hope in becoming penetrated with its substance by a gradual assimilation of its matter without fatigue. This manner of initiating oneself in sacred criticism, is the least repulsive, and in this respect it is the best. The order of the materials drawn together in these two volumes would not suit in an equal degree all minds; but each one can easily guide himself through those materials, discern those which suit himself in a special manner, and make out for himself a plan of studies appropriate to his own point of view.

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"Among the masters of sacred criticism whom Germany has recently produced, I have sought out not the most brilliant but the

wisest, and tried to borrow from them the clearest and most solid portion of their works, without ever taking from them to ascribe it to myself, the honour which they have earned by their learned labours. I have translated, but I have also selected. I could not in the least degree give up the measure of independence which conscience and my object require ; but where I considered it my duty to introduce some explanatory and qualifying notes amongst the notes of the authors whom I was engaged in translating I have marked those additions with a particular sign."

The first portion of the work is an introduction to the canonical books of the New Testament by Dr. Reithmayr, a Catholic Divine of high character in the university of Munich, somewhat paraphrased rather than translated by M. De Valroger, and this is followed by a dissertation upon the authenticity of the books of the New Testament by Dr. Hug, one of the most distinguished lights of biblical criticism that adorned the church of Germany during a dark and evil age. After the completion of his classical studies, he entered the university of Friburg in Brisgau, and qualified by the usual course of ecclesiastical studies in the Seminary of the same city for holy orders, and competed successfully for the chair of Scripture before his years would admit of his promotion to the priesthood. In 1793, being then twenty-eight years of age, he took his degree as Doctor of Divinity, and thenceforward in good and evil days, although solicited to fill other posts, he continued to study and to teach the Scriptures until his death in 1846, at the age of eighty-one years. He had been invited to fill the chair of Theology in the universities of Breslau, Tübingen and Baden: but he preferred the studious activity of his Alma Mater Fribourg, to the seductions of any other post in any other university. His great work was the Introduction to the New Testament, which was translated to some extent by M. de Valroger, full of valuable learning, and somewhat bold in its views; although in German works great allowance must be made for the habitual singularity of language, which is not confined to the authors or favourers of strange doctrines. This introduction is followed by a curious notice of the ancient Syriac version of the Gospels, of which use has been made by Cardinal Wiseman in his "*Horæ Syriacæ*," and it also includes a supplementary dissertation upon the credibility of the Gospel History by Dr. Tholuck. The whole is interspersed with the independent opinions of M. De Valro-

ger, given for the most part in the foot notes, and in a more substantial shape in the additional notes at the end of each volume, in which he not unfrequently differs to a considerable extent from the theories which he records in the text. There can be no second opinion as to the respect due to his skill and learning, however much some of his ideas may be open to fair criticism.

No book such as that of M. De Valroger, would be complete without some allusion to the celebrated controversy respecting the 1 John v. 7, commonly called the text of the "Three witnesses." To Catholics, the authenticity of this verse is comparatively unimportant, for the simple reason that their rule of faith does not contract or expand with the dimensions which verbal criticism may give to the sacred text; and though criticism should establish or discredit half-a-dozen readings, the articles of Catholic faith would continue just the same. With us the question has more of a literary than of a religious interest, and we can afford to touch it with calmness; but if you withdraw the passage from the Protestant Canon, one of the principal supports of Trinitarian doctrine is taken away. As a rule, Catholics are strongly disposed to uphold the genuineness of the text in question out of respect for its undoubted presence in Latin MSS. of higher antiquity than any Greek MS. except the Vatican and Alexandrine. Nevertheless, Catholic critics of unquestioned orthodoxy have not been wanting to dispute the authority of the passage, while Protestant scholars of great eminence have taken part in its defence. M. De Valroger, as might be expected, is a strenuous supporter of the "Witnesses," and grounds his defence upon what may be called the Latin evidences of the text. It is certainly matter of regret that the text should not be found in almost any MS. of the Greek Testament which dates before the discovery of printing, with the exception of the Montfortian or Dublin Codex, which has been the subject of much animated controversy. The text is found in the Greek version of the Complutensian Polyglott, and no one disputes the fact of its having been inserted there upon the authority of manuscripts which have unfortunately perished by fire. Of the positive value or antiquity of those MSS. we cannot form an opinion, but we are fairly enabled to presume from the circumstances of the time, and from the character of the work in which they are found, that no labour or expense was spared by

the magnificent Ximenes to procure the most valuable materials for his darling work. The very fact that Ximenes was in the field, or as the present age would say, in the market, might of itself account for scarcity of MSS. containing the text, as it is highly probable that wherever any such was known to exist he made himself master of it at any cost. Simultaneously with the publication of the Complutensian Polyglott between the years 1504 and 1522, went on the compilation of the Erasmian Greek Testament, which was published by Frobenius at Basle in 1516, and from which the text of the three witnesses was omitted. It is quite possible that Erasmus may not have seen a copy of the Complutensian edition which was not to be had for money before the year 1522, and in his own version of the Testament he followed a single MS. whose cursive characters bring its date forward to the eleventh century. It is just possible, on the other hand, that he may have been aware of the fact that the text appeared in the yet unpublished Complutensian Polyglott, and that, although knowing the authority on which the text was received by the great scholars concerned in the preparation of that edition, he yet rejected the text in the exercise of an independent judgment. It is most unlikely, however, that such was the case, for, after the appearance of the second Erasmian edition, an appeal was made to the great scholar to restore the text, and he undertook to do so, were the authority of one Greek MS. to be produced to him. That authority was produced, and not by the Complutensian editors, but by the University of Oxford, in whose possession was the manuscript which has since been known by the name of the Montfortian or Dublin MS. Ruled by that authority Erasmus introduced the text into his edition of the year 1522, and since then it has found its way into all the printed versions of the Holy Scriptures, and has been received as canonical by all the Churches of the East and West, Schismatical or Orthodox, notwithstanding the vigour with which its admission has been opposed by eminent critics, Catholic and Protestant. The Greek Testament of Stevens—the third edition of which appeared in 1550—adopts the Complutensian reading, and the editor quotes the authority, not only of the Oxford MS., but of seven others, in addition to those relied on by the Complutensian editors. These have all been lost, and considering the number of

hands through which the Montfortian MS. has passed, and its changes of name, it is surprising that it also should not have shared the fate of the Complutensian and Stevenian MSS. From the University it came into the hands of Froy, a Franciscan friar; from him it passed to Clements, Clark, Dr. Montfort, and finally to Ussher, with the rest of whose books it has come into the possession of Trinity College, Dublin. Its title of Montfortian is due to the fact that, while yet the property of Dr. Montfort, it was collated for the London Polyglott.

Notwithstanding the controversy to which it gave rise, and the contemptuous names that were freely given to it by hostile critics, it is a curious circumstance that no one thought of ascertaining its date and origin by a comparison with other MSS. and by actual inspection of those features with which experts are just as familiar in manuscripts as in coins or monuments. This was first attempted in 1808 by the well-known Dr. Barrett, who collated a portion of the Codex Dubliniensis with the text of Wetstein, (in print,) and came to the conclusion that the Book of the Apocalypse, in that version, was copied from a Leicester MS. of the thirteenth century. In the year 1855, however, the Rev. Dr. Dobbyn published the results of a complete collation of the Montfortian MS. with the Wetstein text, and other manuscripts of the University of Oxford, catalogued by Wetstein as 56, 58, 59. The comparison instituted between the Montfortian and the other MSS. has led Dr. Dobbyn to the conclusion that the Gospels according to Luke and John in the Montfortian MSS. have been copied from the New College MS. Wetstein 58; and that the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles have been taken from the Lincoln MS., Wetstein 39, save that the Lincoln MS. does not contain the text in controversy. This conclusion of the learned Doctor is grounded upon numerous and striking coincidences between the Montfortian MS. and the others, coincidences which reproduce, not only peculiarities of expression, but the orthographical and grammatical mistakes occurring in the Oxford MSS. As far as the text of the witnesses is concerned, the most important comparison is, of course, with the Lincoln College MS. from which that part of the Montfortian Codex containing the text is presumed to have been copied; and, as the text is not found in that MS., Dr. Dobbyn concludes that "its presence in

the Montfort Codex is an arbitrary and unauthorised interpolation" although he does not seek to fasten any imputation of design or fraud for controversial purposes upon the copyist. "The passage was written," says Dr. Dobbyn "before the Erasmusian controversy began, and it may be accounted for on the same principle as many other variations from the original which mark this transcript. Its introduction was purely self-suggested, originating in no polemical purpose, and leaves our confidence in the good faith of the transcriber unshaken. Let a moderate share of Greek scholarship be combined with a high veneration for the Latin Vulgate, and a desire to complete what is evidently a tentative text throughout, one designed for private edification, not for sale—and this supposition meets all the phenomena of the case; the existence of the reading in one codex is accounted for, and the fair fame of the author is untarnished."

It is true that such a supposition may meet most of the phenomena of the case, but it remains to be seen whether it will meet all of them, and whether they may not be more effectually met by other and very different suppositions. Dr. Dobbyn has quoted very remarkable coincidences between the Montfortian MS. and its supposed originals, including whole passages common to both and not found in the Vulgate or in other editions of the Sacred Text; but we must not leave out of sight no less than four hundred and fourteen places in the Acts of the Apostles alone in which the readings of the Montfortian MS. differ from those of the Lincoln MS. its supposed original. Indeed, the number of passages in which the Dublin Codex differs from the printed Wetstein is scarcely more than double the number in which we find it to differ from the Lincoln MS. Would it therefore do any violence to common probability to suppose that both the Lincoln and the Montfortian MS. had been copied from the same original, retaining coincidences sufficient to mark their common origin and discrepancies enough to show that one was not a direct transcript from the other? Or we might go farther still, and suppose that they had both been copied from copies of the same MS., a supposition which would fairly account for the large number of discrepancies between the Lincoln and Montfortian codices. But it still remains to account for the omission of the famous text from so many Greek MSS. and for its presence in

the Montfortian. As to its absence from so many Greek MSS., there can be no doubt whatever that many Greek MSS. have been lost, and that time and accident must have been more busy with the ancient than with the comparatively modern MSS. Let us for a moment suppose the text to have existed in some ancient MS. from which the first of the defective MSS. was copied, and let us suppose the passage to have been omitted by the transcriber from his copy, whether by accident or design, and then we shall have that omission multiplied and perpetuated in all the MSS. copied from that first. It is by no means necessary to suppose that the omission was a suppression, and was made on purpose. According to the present enumeration of the verses, the seventh and eighth verses of 1 John v. end with the same words, καὶ οὗτοι οὐ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσι. Is it possible to imagine any more likely cause of omission than this circumstance with which biblical students are so familiar and which is of such frequent recurrence as to be known to them by a term of art, ὁμοιοτέλετον or likeness of conclusion between successive members of sentences? The copyist having already transcribed the first number ending with the words ἐν εἰσι has his eye carried on to what appears to him to be the next succeeding words, and, in point of fact, the next word he copies after the accidental omission of an entire member do come next in order to the same words as those which close the first member. A priori, a deliberate omission of the passage by the Arians, would be a much more likely occurrence than an interpolation by the Trinitarians. The Arians had more than once, possession of the principal churches of the East, and, but for the fact that in the keen controversies of the day there is no allusion to any such suppression, there is no improbability in supposing it to have been made, when those not very scrupulous gentlemen, the Arians, had a full opportunity for it. Nor, on the other hand, do those same controversies contain any imputation that the Latin versions in which the text appears, and which are of older date than the oldest Greek MSS. in existence, had been interpolated to bring in this passage, or that the Latin Fathers who have quoted the text in support of the Nicene doctrine were hitting foul. Critics adverse to the text dispose easily of the Latin authorities for the genuineness of the text. They simply throw them overboard without argument or

speculation, because they are Latin, and for no other reason. Now, with all respect for these critics, it appears from the best possible secondary evidence, that the passage existed in Latin versions as early as the time of St. Cyprian; for the saint himself quotes the passage as undoubted Scripture. We have also quotations of this passage as Scripture during the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, when neither the Vatican nor Alexandrine MS. existed, and if we except those two MSS. which have no remarkable merit in themselves, we have Latin MSS. of far more respectable antiquity than any known Greek MS. The ancient copy of the Vulgate in the Library of La Sala, in uncial characters, and said by Cardinal Mai to belong to the seventh century, contains the text of the three witnesses in a slightly different shape. Then comes the "*Libri de Speculo*," referred to by M. de Valroger, and which Cardinal Wiseman, amongst others, estimates as belonging to the 6th or 7th century, and in which the writer strongly relies upon the text as proof of the Catholic doctrine. The quotations are all from the "*Vetus Itala*" or African Version, the first Latin translation of the Scriptures, and the MS. itself, besides being written in uncial characters, bears other undoubted marks of antiquity. Such is the short substance of the celebrated controversy regarding the text of the three witnesses, which modern German critics are disposed to treat very cavalierly, and which M. De Valroger discusses with much learning and judgment. The author is entitled to full credit for this chapter of the work, as it forms no part of the translations of which the body of M. De Valroger's introduction to the Holy Scriptures is composed. Upon the whole, M. De Valroger has given to the French public, and to Biblical students generally, a valuable compilation of well-selected and well put together materials for the critical study of the Scriptures. In France that study may be said to be in its infancy. As M. De Valroger has observed, the Revolution destroyed all the seats of ecclesiastical learning in France and in every country to which the direct influence of that revolution extended. All the ancient Universities as well as all the monasteries were suppressed, and the literary treasures which had accumulated in them for centuries, and had been there applied to one express purpose, the furtherance of ecclesiastical studies, were transferred

to state libraries, in which they remained like articles of vertu in a museum.

The Biblical student of the highest promise may perhaps be found at the present moment in an old cathedral town some fifty leagues from Paris, while it is nearly certain that all his books of reference are to be found in the Bibliothèque Impériale. There is, of course, a faculty of Theology in the University, but it is well understood to be of a purely formal character. It is a mere tradition of the old Sorbonne, it is in some sort the unquiet ghost of the University of Paris, still hovering near its ancient seat. The Faculty of Theology does little more than confer Theological Degrees upon the candidates for those distinctions. As a teaching body, or as a nursery of learned men, it cannot be said to exist.

The duty of teaching is substantially, if not altogether, thrown upon the Professors in the ecclesiastical seminaries throughout the country. And, considering the limited resources of those establishments, the only wonder is that so many works of merit and learning upon those matters should issue from the French press. What we have said of the function of teaching, as discharged by the Faculty of Theology in the University of France, must be taken with some qualification. The chair of moral theology is filled by one of the most eminent men, whether as a philosopher or as a divine, of whom Europe can boast. The Abbé Bautain, of one of whose works, "*La Belle Saison, à la Campagne*," there was a slight notice in this journal some years ago, is the occupant of that chair. His lectures are daily crowded by the studious youth of Paris, or, more properly speaking, of France. Young men in training for the bar, for what the French call "*l'administration*," for diplomacy, for the study of medicine, or of engineering; members, in a word, of all the special schools with which Paris abounds, crowd the benches of the Sorbonne in order to hear, not the doctrine, but the eloquence of the professor. He is well aware of the spirit in which they attend his lectures, and he arranges his lectures to meet their requirements. He knows perfectly well that many of those who listen with pleasure and with interest to a lecture upon moral theology, as a scientific dissertation, would never be tempted to listen to a sermon. It is his study, therefore, to make them acquainted in a popular form with the

truths of religion, while they believe that they simply follow a course of lectures delivered in a style which attracts and fascinates them. But this, as every one knows, is not a scientific treatment of moral theology, as it was understood in the old universities, and as it is still understood in the ecclesiastical seminaries. Nor, were there a chair of scripture filled in this way, would it contribute much to the critical study of the Scriptures, however much good it might effect otherwise. For this, as for any study that you may name, leisure and resources are needed; and both of those are wanting in France. Nor is the want likely soon to be supplied; although, beyond a doubt, it will be eventually supplied, should no worse days be in store for the Church of France than those upon which she has lately entered. Religious communities are springing up all over the French territory, not under state patronage, but of their own independent strength. Communities of this kind always accumulate the resources of which we have been speaking, slowly it may be, but fully and judiciously. M. De Valroger himself is an instance of this; he is a member of the Oratory of the Immaculate Conception, one of those religious orders which not only spring up with the rapidity already noticed, but which soon strengthen themselves and seem to have every promise of duration. There is hardly one department in France without a Jesuit College, and if we do not find that modern Jesuits occupy the same place in literature which the order held before its suppression, it will not be very difficult to account for the circumstance. When the French empire was suddenly opened to the activity of the society in 1849, the harvest was great, but the labourers were few, and it was found almost impossible to meet the more pressing wants of the time. Diocese after diocese put forward its claims for a Jesuit College, but the society, during several years, had not wherewithal to satisfy the demands upon it. The French Jesuits were not then a numerous body; some few remained in France and took their place amongst the secular clergy; the majority, however, were distributed among the Swiss and Belgian Colleges; and the inmates of the former had already been dispersed by the war of the Sonderbund, when liberty of education and freedom of association, to a limited extent, were granted to French subjects, under the administration of M. de Falloux.

At present, although the Jesuits' colleges have been in operation some fourteen years, and others for shorter periods, it is not to be supposed that within such a space of time the society could withdraw subjects from the more active duties of literary and pastoral teaching, for what may be called the closet work of literature. In the course of time it will be different. The houses of the society have a great power of reproduction, and we may expect, that in proportion as the numerical strength of the body increases, many of its members can be spared for services more varied than can be allotted to them now. Meanwhile the book before us is sufficient evidence that sound biblical studies are gaining upon the French taste. Hitherto, since the suppression of the society, and of the old universities, Greek scholarship has been at a low ebb in France, notwithstanding the production of some dictionaries and school books of undoubted merit. This is attributable in a great measure to the limited academical course which precedes the baccalauréat, supposed to correspond with the bachelorship of arts, the lowest degree in our universities. The candidate for the "Baccalauréat" has seldom reached his twentieth year, and presents himself for his degree after a course of studies not much more extensive than the entrance course for any British University. Most commonly he crams for this examination from a thick book called the "*Manuel du Baccalauréat*." A Frenchman generally, as far as Greek is concerned, resembles the Professor in the Vicar of Wakefield, who had his three hundred florins a year without Greek, and his doctor's cap without Greek, and who therefore could not see the good of Greek. In this respect the Germans as well as the English have a great advantage, and it is hardly to be expected that France will outstrip or rival either England or Germany while her present university system remains unaltered. It does not favour deep or solid studies, and at one period a French minister of public instruction was not ashamed to say that what academical studies in France had lost in depth they had gained in surface; as if any gain in surface could make up for the loss of depth. There are, however, indications that this state of things is drawing to a close; and that, although serious literature may have been impoverished and the French mind may have been crippled during one or two generations, by state interference with

public teaching, still the intellect of a people in every way so great will outgrow the swaddling bands that tie it up in this second infancy which has been forced upon it. It need hardly be said that the revival of Biblical studies is amongst the most healthy of the symptoms to which we have alluded. It is impossible to have any measure of success in those studies without sound learning. To write a commonly decent book upon the subjects treated by M. De Valroger you must have solid and respectable reading at the very least. Shallow reading is more endurable in any thing else than in scriptural criticism, because, however strange and fanciful may be the theories of German critics, their learning is unquestionable. Nor, in our opinion, can any more effectual corrective be applied to the dreaminess and obscurity of German notions upon those matters than can be derived from the clear mind and transparent style of a French scholar such as M. De Valroger.

ART. IV.—1. "*All the Year Round*," No. 117, July 20, 1861.

2. "*Secret Instructions of the Jesuits*."

3. Correspondence between Dr. R. R. Madden and Charles Dickens, Esq.

"WE no sooner answer one of their satires but they have half a dozen more ready to be published. They keep magazines full of them: they have them remitted from all parts of the world. Those that were refuted a hundred years ago, on which the world laughed as though they were not refuted, they revive again at present, with the same confidence as if they were new pieces or had remained unanswered."*

In the article headed "*Secret Instructions of the Jesuits*," published in Mr. Dickens' periodical above referred to, of the 20th of July last, the following passages occur:—

* Tellier, in reference to the charge of neglecting to answer habitual calumniators.

"A copy (of the *Monita Secreta Societatis Jesu*) of which recent reprint in Paris three Editions in Paris have been sold in ten days, and the fourth is already out, dressed in red and black (the garb of a melodramatic demon), with the Latin original and a French translation on opposite pages, is now lying on the writer's table. ...

"If the deed (of republication) has been done with Imperial connivance, it can hardly have obtained Jesuitical permission. On the contrary, there is a loud ultramontane shout denying the authenticity of the document; but to dissipate all doubts on the subject, it suffices to turn to history, and compare the conduct of the Society of Jesus with the secret instructions now divulged to the world. This is not the first time they have been brought to light; but every time the Society has contrived to secure the copies, and put them out of sight, as soon as the first excitement of publicity had passed away. The Superiors of the Jesuits are ordered to retain and to hold these private instructions, with great care, in their own hands, and to communicate them only to a few of the professed; some of the instructions may be imparted to non-professed persons, when advantage to the Society is likely to follow; but it must be done under the seal of secrecy, and not as if they were written rules, but merely suggestions drawn from the actual experience of the person who gives the advice. ...

"Special care is ordered to be taken that these admonitions fall not into the hands of strangers, who might put upon them an unfavourable construction, through envy of the Order. Should such ever happen (*quod absit!*—far be it from us!), it must be stoutly denied that these are the real sentiments of the Society, confirming the assertion by calling to witness such members as remain still in ignorance, and by opposing to these the general instructions and the printed or the written rules." ...

"The place of confessor is, with all Catholic princes, a sort of ministerial office more or less powerful, according to the age, the passions, the temper, and the intelligence of the penitent.

"Père Lachaise held this post for a long period, and obtained for his Society great consideration. Supple, polite, adroit, with a cultivated mind, gentle manners, and an even temper, he knew how to alarm or to soothe his penitent's conscience according to occasion, and never lost sight of his own interests nor of those of his Company. A masked opponent of all opposite parties, he spoke of them with moderation, and even praised some few individuals belonging to them. A few days before his death, he said to the king, 'Sire, I entreat you to do me the favour to choose my successor out of our Company. It is extremely attached to your majesty; but it is very wide-spread, very numerous, and composed of very different characters, who are all very susceptible touching the glory of the corporation. No one could answer for it if it fell into disgrace; and a fatal blow is soon struck.' The king was so surprised at this address, that he mentioned it to Marechal, his head

surgeon, who spoke of it to other intimate friends. A fatal blow is easily struck, in more than one way. Pope Clement XIV. issued in 1774, a bull abolishing the Society of Jesuits, and was poisoned very shortly afterwards. ...

"Apropos to which policy we will dip into the second chapter of the instructions: 'How the Fathers of the Society are to acquire and keep the intimacy of princes, great men, and persons of the highest consideration.'

"Above all things, every effort must be made to gain the ear and the mind of princes and persons of the first quality everywhere, in order that no one may dare to rise up against us, but, on the contrary, may be compelled to depend upon us. But, as experience teaches that princes and great men are particularly well affected toward ecclesiastics, who conceal their odious acts and put a favourable interpretation upon them—such as their marriages within the prohibited degrees of kindred and the like—they are to be spurred on in such and similar conduct, under the hope of obtaining through our agency such dispensations from the Pope, which his holiness will grant, reasons being given, and precedents quoted, and arguments adduced, having for their pretext the common good and the greater glory of God, which is the object of the Society.....

"The wives of princes are most easily to be gained through their *femmes de chambre*, for which purpose they are to be made much of by every possible means, for thus we shall obtain access to every circumstance, even the most secret, which occurs in the family.'..."

"How to gain rich widows for the Society" furnishes a chapter of considerable interest. For this purpose must be selected Fathers advanced in age, of a lively complexion and agreeable conversation. Let them visit these widows, and as soon as they perceive in them any liking for the Society, let them place at their disposal the good offices and the spiritual merits of the Society. If they accept, and begin to visit our churches, let them be provided with a confessor, by whom they may be well directed, with the intention of keeping them in their widowhood, by enumerating and lauding its advantages and pleasures. He may promise and answer for their certainly thus obtaining eternal bliss and avoiding the pains of purgatory. ...

"Women who complain of their husbands' vices and the sorrow they cause them, may be taught that they may secretly take any sum of money needful to expiate their husbands' sins and purchase their pardon.

"From these specimens, 'The choice of young people to be admitted into the Society, and the mode of retaining them,' 'How to behave to nuns and devotees,' and other equally racy chapters, may be imagined to a certain extent."*

On July the 27th, 1861, Dr. Madden addressed a letter to

* "All the Year Round," 20 July, 1861.

Mr. Dickens which was forwarded to him and left *at his residence* by a literary friend in London. A carefully-written statement accompanied that letter, in refutation of the authenticity of the publication entitled "Secret Instructions of the Jesuits," which had been dealt with as a genuine trustworthy production in the periodical conducted by Mr. Dickens. In that statement, drawn up upwards of nine years ago by Dr. Madden, on the occasion of another reprint of the same fraudulent production, Dr. Madden showed from eminent historical writers, critics, and men of learning too, of high character, that the "*Monita Secreta*," or so-called "Secret Instructions" of the Jesuits was a spurious production, a literary or rather a polemical imposture that had been fabricated with the design of defaming and discrediting the Order of the Jesuits, and had been frequently republished during the past two centuries with the same malignant intention.

Dr. Madden therefore called on Mr. Dickens to give insertion to that statement and the letter that accompanied it in the same periodical in which the calumnious article had appeared, in justice to those who had been outraged by it.

Unfortunately the only copy of that letter that was in the hands of Dr. Madden was sent to a gentleman connected with the press by whom it has been mislaid. The following, however, is the substance of it.

Dr. Madden was quite sure that the very objectionable article published in Mr. Dickens' periodical of "*All the Year Round*," of the 20th July, had been inserted therein without his knowledge or assent. It was replete with calumnies involving charges of murder, swindling, falsehood, treason, and hypocrisy; not against one man or several men, but against an entire community of men professing to be ministers of religion and members of a Christian institution.

In more than one of the works of Mr. Dickens, the baseness, meanness, and cowardice of calumny were depicted in strong colours. It would be needless to point out to him the inconsistency of men calling themselves Christians who, in their ruthless enmity to persons who are not not of their creed, cast aside all feelings of regard for their fellow men, all sentiments of piety and charity, all sense of justice in regard to them, and, utterly forgetful of the obligations they owe to the claims of humanity,

mangle the characters of their brethren who differ with them in religion, outrage all laws, divine and human, and "despise their own flesh."

It would be needless to observe to Mr. Dickens that calumny was a vile weapon, and was generally found in the hands only of malignant, unmanly, reckless, and vindictive persons.

It would also be unnecessary to observe to Mr. Dickens that the crime of calumny, whether it was committed against the exalted and popular or those who were not in either category, was the same outrage on morals, and that it did not matter whether the person calumniated was a Jesuit or the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Prince Consort. The character of a Jesuit was as dear to him as that of either of those exalted personages. And if he was slandered the same justice would be due to him at the hands of those by whom he had been wronged, that the most illustrious personages in the land, if similarly wronged, would be entitled to.

On these grounds Dr. Madden called on Mr. Dickens to give insertion in his journal to the present communication and to the following statement in refutation of the authenticity of the "*Monita Secreta*," which Dr. Madden had published in the "*Catholic Guardian*," June 12th, 1852.

PIOUS FRAUDS AND FORGERIES ON THE JESUITS.

A Treatise is now in large circulation in this city, and in all the principal towns in England, ascribing to the Society of Jesus, and the religion they profess and defend, all the atrocious crimes which can be conceived or committed, including in the frightful catalogue of enormities, murder, robbery, perjury, prevarication, sacrilege, cupidity, hypocrisy, and impiety in all its forms, a devotion in a few words, of all the powers of the mind, all the feelings of the heart, all the influences and aspirations of the soul of man, to the service of the satanic spirit of lies, lust, avarice, and ambition!

This terrible impeachment is made on the alleged evidence of a code of instructions framed by the Jesuits for the religious government and regulation of the order of which Loyola was the founder, and which necessarily makes him an accessory to and an accomplice of murderous men who devised most iniquitous schemes and measures.

The work we have referred to is a new edition, and English version of a Latin work that made its first appearance in print in 1612. It was stated to have been discovered in Germany and purported to be secret instructions of the Jesuits for the use of the members of their order. It was first translated into English and

published by Compton "the acute and learned Bishop of London" in 1669, and having been again "done into English" recently in London, is now being circulated most extensively. This last edition has completed a stock of slander for circulation, among the Saints of the United Kingdom, of twenty-nine thousand copies. The former edition in 12mo. with the Latin on one side and the English on the other, entitled "*Secreta monita Societatis Jesu*," was published in London by Seeley in 1824.

The slanderous book that so scandalously maligns a great body of the clergy of the Roman Catholic religion, and that has been so unscrupulously adopted and circulated by the ministers of another church, is thus entitled :—

"The Secret Oath, and a Fresh Translation of the Secret Instructions of the Order of the Jesuits. With a slight sketch of the Society and its principles, *from their own accredited standard works*, their actions on the testimony of Roman Catholic authorities, and their strenuous exertions at this moment to overturn every constituted authority throughout the Empire of Great Britain, to establish their own sovereignty." &c. &c.

"Beware of false prophets which come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly they are raving wolves." Matt. vii, 15. Twenty-ninth thousand. Seeley and Co., Fleet Street, London, 1848."

The introduction commences with the following paragraph :—

"As the members of this Society are now *unsuspectedly* (by the great body of the people of this country) working themselves into all our institutions in Church and State throughout the Empire of Great Britain, it seems important to set forth, in a form for extensive circulation, who and what the Jesuits are, by a plain statement of *facts*, to accompany the disclosures of their *real* training, as laid down in their *standard works*, *secret instructions* and *secret oath*, that the public being in possession of the *truth*, may as they value their civil and religious privileges set themselves to oppose and expose the *stealthy* progress of the fearful order, in the *treacherous* and *deceitful* operations, it is now carrying out for the destruction of this country."

A little further on we are informed :—

"The assassinations brought home to this body are innumerable—they have a secret form for *consecrating* individuals for *assassination*, (see the ceremony in Dalton's work,) after which the assassin is not allowed out of sight of four Jesuits until the deed is perpetrated. All efforts of our authorities to trace assassins must continue ineffectual so long as Jesuit Colleges are tolerated in the country. Their indirect influence accomplishes the dark deed while they escape detection. They assassinated Henry IV. of France, after fifty plots : Innocent the XIII : the Prince of Orange. They formed numerous plans to destroy Elizabeth of England—amongst

them 'a poisoned chair.' All these facts *prove* the carrying out into action the following principles laid down in the Jesuits' *acknowledged accredited defended standard works*."

Towards the conclusion the loyalty of all subjects having Protestant souls to be saved in these kingdoms is seasonably alarmed by the following blast of the No-Popery trumpet :—

"Is it to be expected that Queen Victoria will long be permitted to wield the sceptre of Great Britain, if this body is allowed to exercise its *secret* influence as it is now doing for the *annihilation* of all that is valuable in the British Constitution, both in Church and State? We ask again what can any rational man expect from the toleration of a society, trained up in the system developed in these and the following small portion of the extracts which might be given if space permitted?"

Then comes the final mysterious note of preparation for the great revelation of the mystery of all iniquity. "In imitation of the Oracular voice of the obscure Sphinx," some dread notes of admonition and solemn warning are given :—

"We will now," quoth the editor, "give their secret oath and secret instruction, guarding the reader against any denial of the Jesuits on the subject of either—words against facts are not worthy of a passing thought: they were found in several of the Colleges from which they were expelled, and are to be seen in MS. at the end of the work published in Venice in 1596, now in the Library of the British Museum. But their conduct as delineated by the Roman Catholics themselves, is the most conclusive evidence to the positive fact that they act upon exactly such instructions."

Then follows an extract from the Secret Oath, which every member of the Order of Jesuits is obliged to take in the most solemn manner:

"I do renounce and disown any allegiance as due to any heretical king, prince, or state, named Protestants, or obedience to any of their inferior magistrates or officers. I do further declare that the doctrine of the Church of England, of the Calvinists, Huguenots, and of other of the name of Protestants to be damnable, and they themselves are damned, and to be damned, that will not forsake the same. I do further declare that I will help, assist, and advise all or any of his Holiness' agents in any place wherever I shall be, in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or in any other territory or kingdom I shall come to, and do my utmost to extirpate the heretical Protestants' doctrine, and to destroy all their pretended powers, regal or otherwise. I do further promise and declare that I am dispensed with to assume any heretical religion for the propagation of Mother Church's interest".....

The amiable editor of the secret oath and instructions of the Jesuits, shocked as he evidently is at this awful aspect of Jesuitism here so reluctantly shown forth by him in its true colours, in the innocency of his guileless nature asks, "Can any thing be more appalling?"

The Secret Oath being disposed of, "the Secret Instructions of the Jesuits" are then given to the Protestant public, and these are contained in seventeen chapters of densely printed matter, more iniquitous in its nature than any that the perverted ingenuity of man ever put together before or since the fabrication of these so-called instructions.

It is to be borne in mind that the history of the discovery of these marvellous arcana is thus given by the editor of the last English version, in an extract taken from the French edition of the work.

"This little collection was formerly known under the name of the 'Monita Secreta,' and certainly amongst the multitude of writings brought to light through the quarrels of the Jesuits, none surpass this in curiosity. All their mysteries are here developed, it's an exact representation of the moral and political working of all past or existing usurpations—it's a little ultramontanic encyclopedic, and there is nothing so perfect besides it, except 'the Prince' of Machiavelli. It was found in the Jesuits' College, in Paderborn, in Westphalia, when Christian, Duke of Brunswick, took possession of that place."

Now, the persons who published, and re-published, and who circulated this work, cannot possibly be ignorant of its being spurious, and having been fabricated for malicious purposes, and could never have believed in its authenticity, had they made any critical enquiry into the origin of it, or had even given any commonly careful attention to the perusal of it.

The majority of the readers of our fashionable No Popery productions; in charity it is to be hoped, are incapable of examining a work of this kind, with the critical acumen that is requisite for a due understanding of it. They are accustomed to be thought for by others, and are unused, unable, and disinclined to think for themselves on any subject relating to Rome and Romanism, terms which are synonyms with them for superstition and debasement of the soul and understanding. Otherwise, surely before they gave implicit faith to the account of the alleged discovery of this iniquitous production, they would have enquired into the question of its authenticity.

It would be useless to refer them to the pages of the astute Bayle, the enemy of the Jesuit Order, but also a critic, with some sense of the obligations of truth and justice for information respecting the origin of such a work as "*La Religion des Jesuits*," or its counterpart, "*Secret Instructions of the Jesuits*." It would be

useless, of course, to expect of them, that before they received a book as genuine most detrimental to the character and principles of thousands of members of a Christian community, they would have inquired into its authenticity of authorities capable of affording them just information. But those who re-edited and republished this work, were mostly ministers of the Gospel, who ought to have consulted the duly authorized and legitimate defenders of the impugned Order; they should have referred to the "*Histoire Religieuse Politique Literaire, De La Compagnie de Jesus, Composée sur les documens inedites et authentiques*," Par J. Cretineau Joly. En 5 Tomes 8vo. Paris, 1815. There, in the first volume, page 84, they would read:—

"The Constitutions of Loyola are such as were left by him at his death. We ourselves have compared them with the Spanish text at the principal house of the Jesu at Rome. They have been composed at different intervals, and addressed in manuscript to the first members of the company for approval and promulgation. Some of them, it is true, seem to an inattentive observer to have been detached in the process of editing, but on reflection they will be found to have been framed in the same intelligence. This is the only legislation given by Loyola, and it is in force everywhere amongst the Order. *As for concealed instructions—secret monitions—* which, according to the enemies of the Order, should regulate their mode of life, or teach them the means of governing the world—there was never anything of the kind in the Society of Jesus. The company only knew them as the world did, when they were invented and sent forth on their wicked errands (*lors quelles furent inventées et jetées a la malignité publique.*")

In the third volume of Bayle's Critical Dictionary, 2nd edition' art. Loyola, page 891, they would find these words:

"The fate of the Jesuits and that of Cataline are much the same. Several accusations were given in against him without any proof, but they met with credit on this general argument:—Since he has done such a thing, he is very capable of having done this, and it is very possible he has done the rest."

Bayle goes on commenting on a work published at the Hague in his day, entitled, "The Religion of the Jesuits."

"The author," he says, "confesses that the prejudice against those gentlemen is so general, that whatever attestations of innocence they fortify themselves with, it is impossible to undeceive the world." This anti-Jesuit author gives many singular proofs of the truth of his allegation, and in regard to them Bayle observes:—

"He means that a man need only confidently publish whatever he pleases against the Jesuits, to be assured that abundance of people will believe it. I believe him to be in the right; at least

that in this he will prove a true prophet. It was doubtless on this presumption that he published the story of Vienna, (of a Jesuit conspiracy to poison the Emperor of Germany in the Blessed Sacrament,) though he believed it false. But if other authors have taken the same method, what will become of all the facts which the enemies of the Jesuits have published? Should we not have reason to believe that they have divulged several which they knew to be false or doubtful, and which, nevertheless, on their reckoning would appear as certain, and be received as undoubtful facts? I cannot think the rules of morality will allow of the making so ill a use of public prejudice. They command us to be equitable towards all, and never to represent people worse than they are."—Bayle. Art. on Loyola, p. 892. Des Maizeaux's 2nd Ed. 1736.

In a very rare work in our possession, entitled "*Fasti Societatis Jesu Res et Personas Memorabiles Ejusdem Societis opera et studio Rev. P. Joannis Drews,*" (Praga 1750, Tom. I. p. 167.) among the memorable occurrences of year 1616, we find a record of the condemnation, by the Sacred Congregation of the Index, of the book entitled "*Monita Privata Societis Jesu,*" "anno 1616 a S. Congregatione Indicis prohibitus est liber, cui titulus *Monita Privata Societatis Jesu.*"

In 1848, a tract in Italian was published in Palermo, entitled, "*Difesa della Compagnia de Jesu contro Antichi e Recenti Calornie. Per Gulielmo Turner Della Medesima Compagnia.*" At page 64 the author gives the history of this calumny of the "*Istruzioni Segreti.*" "Some manuscript copies of this work began, (he says) to be disseminated in 1611, and from some internal evidence it was supposed the author of this imposture was a Pole. The first printed copy of it appeared in Cracow, in 1612, and the account given of its origin was that the MS. was procured in Venice, had been brought there from Padua, and had been faithfully translated from the Spanish, which statement was generally disbelieved. "*La qual favola non fu creduta da nessuno.*"

It was condemned in 1615, at Cracow, as an infamous and calumnious forgery, by the Bishop of Cracow, Monsignor Tylicki, who was desirous of instituting legal proceedings against the author, who was suspected to be a certain Jerome Tzaorowski, a member of the Company of Jesus, who in 1611, had been turned out of the society for turbulent conduct. But it appears that the fact could not be proved, and there were persons who attributed the work to a Bohemian heretic, others to Osiander. In the "*Dizionario degli anonimi e dei Pseudonimi,*" tom. 3, the author Barbier, no great admirer of the Jesuits, acknowledges that the "*Monita Secreta*" is an apocryphal book.

In fact it is utterly impossible to read any of several refutations, old and new, of the authenticity of this infamous work, without being fully convinced that it was a literary imposture devised and exe-

outed by the enemies of the Jesuits, to calumniate and discredit them.

Finally, it was condemned at Rome by the Sacred Congregation, and the decree of its condemnation is dated 10th May, 1616, as "falsely attributed to the Jesuits, calumnious and full of defamations," and therefore it was placed on the Index, as a forbidden book, "*Difesa della Compagnia*," p. 64.

About the same time this infamous book was proved to be a forgery by several Catholic writers, Jesuits and others, as Adam Tanner (Matthew Bembo) and the Jesuit Gretser, by the orders of the General of the Order, Aquaviva. Nevertheless, though nothing was wanting to the proofs of the utter falsehood of the charge against the Jesuits as being the authors of this work, various editions of it appeared in Protestant countries, and it continued to be read by Protestants as a genuine Jesuit performance. It was most clearly proved that the alleged original discovery of this work in MS. in the Jesuit College of Paderborn in Westphalia, by the Duke Christian of Brunswick, when he sacked the said College, could not have been true, inasmuch as the said sacking took place in 1622, and the book was printed at Cracow ten years previously, and had been condemned at Rome so early as 1616, six years before this "original discovery" of the work by the Duke of Brunswick.

It must be borne in mind that this foul calumny on the Jesuit Order, published in Mr. Dickens' periodical, would have been comparatively innocuous if the writer of it had not at the very commencement of the article taken on himself the task of vindicating the authenticity of this book, and imputing the conduct of the Jesuit Society to the principles proclaimed in the Secret Instructions. The following passage fully supports this grave charge:—

"There is a loud ultramontane shout denying the authenticity of the document; but to dissipate all doubts on the subject, it suffices to turn to history, and compare the conduct of the Society of Jesus with the secret instructions now divulged to the world. This is not the first time they have been brought to light; but every time the Society has contrived to secure the copies, and put them out of sight, as soon as the first excitement of publicity had passed away."

In reply to Dr. Madden's communication to Mr. Dickens of the 27th of July the following answer was received, in regard to which it is unnecessary to do more than to express feelings of deep concern for the injury Mr. Dickens has inflicted on his journal and on himself.

(Copy.)

"Office of 'All the Year Round,'
11, Wellington Street, N. Strand,
29th July, 1861.

"Sir,

"In answer to your letter of the 27th inst., addressed to Mr. Charles Dickens, I beg to point out to you that we gave the origin, mode of publication, and reproduction of the 'Monita Secreta,' in full detail, in order that our readers may judge of the authenticity of the translation for themselves. Nothing in your letter invalidates our statements, and as for these alone we are responsible, we think it better not to open a troublesome controversy by publishing your letter; necessarily the consequence of such a revelation appearing in any form, would be strong contradictions of its truthfulness from the Jesuit party.

"Believe me,

"Faithfully yours,

"W. H. WELLS."

(Signed)

To R. R. Madden, Esq.

To the above communication no reply was made.

ART. V.—1. *The Noble and Gentle Men of England.* By Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq. M.P. F.S.A. (Second Edition.) 1860. London: J. B. Nichols and Sons.

2. *The County Families, or Royal Manual of the Titled and Untitled Aristocracy of the three Kingdoms,* by Edward Walford, M.A. formerly Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. London: Hardwicke, 1860.

IT is strange that in the midst of this prosaic, commercial, and utilitarian age, so strong a tide of taste should be setting in, as appears to be the case, in favour of genealogical studies. At first sight it would seem to be almost unaccountable, were it not all but certain that, together with the study of Gothic architecture, and the revival of mediæval principles in the erection of our churches throughout the length and breadth of the land, a vast amount of long dormant zeal has been called forth of late in favour of what is ancient, and venerable, and worthy of respect and regard, at least on æsthetic grounds. Accordingly, in the wake of Church architecture and Church embroidery, we believe that genealogy and the sister

science of heraldry have floated in with the tide, which at present shows no signs of ebbing.

We cannot, of course, have other than most pleasing and hopeful feelings at witnessing the revival of a public taste for anything that can plead antiquity as a ground for challenging veneration: and therefore we welcome most cordially the return of a retrospective tendency, believing that from cherishing it some good will of necessity result, over and above the merely utilitarian advantages for which we can imagine it encouraged by the Manchester manufacturer and Liverpool merchant—such, for instance, as the likelihood of its throwing light upon cases where titles or property are in dispute. Such a man would say, (and rightly too,) that if genealogical studies had been in favour a century and a half ago, the “Great Shrewsbury case” would have been cut short, or more probable still, would never have arisen; a long and costly litigation would have been avoided, and the lawyers’ pockets would have been sufferers *pro tanto*; and we should have had the satisfaction of knowing that the question at stake between Lord Talbot and the young Lord E. B. Howard was transferred from the domain of probability to that of fact, and that the right man was in the right place beyond all dispute.

The two works above mentioned, by Mr. Shirley and Mr. Walford, are the two most recent efforts to meet the current of this popular taste, by giving the public the same kind of information about the pedigree, connexions, &c. of the leading landowners of the country, whether titled or untitled, with which the “Peerages” of the last century and a half, from Collins down to Burke and Lodge, have made us familiar. But when we have said this, we have stated the only point in which the two books are identical. In the application of the principle Mr. Shirley and Mr. Walford are as far apart as the poles—the former advocating the necessity of confining the term “County Families” to the very strictest limits possible, while the latter includes in his catalogue every family that, by hook or by crook, can pretend to hold any position in the county to which it may chance to belong—embracing every High-Sheriff and ex-High-Sheriff, and every Deputy Lieutenant about whom he has been able to ascertain the needful particulars, and even very many

of the local magistracy, if they happen to be well connected by birth or marriage.

Mr. Shirley, however, shall state the rule on which he has proceeded in his own words.

"The following imperfect attempt to bring together a few notes relating to the ancient aristocracy of England, is confined in the first place to the families *now existing*, and regularly established either as kingly or as gentle houses before the commencement of the 16th century: secondly, no notice is taken of those families who may have assumed the name and arms of their ancestors in *the female line*: for the truth is, as it has been well observed, that 'unless we take the male line as the general standard of genealogical rank, we shall find ourselves in a hopeless state of confusion':* thirdly, illegitimate descent is of course excluded; and fourthly, where families have sold their original estates, they will be noticed in those counties in which they are at present seated: if however they still possess the ancient estate of their family, though they may reside in another county, they will be mentioned, for the most part, under that county whence they originally sprung."

"In those cases where the whole landed estate of the family has been dissipated, although the male line still remains, all notice is omitted, such families having no longer any claim to be classed in any county. For 'ancient dignity was territorial rather than personal; the whole system was rooted in land; and even in the present day, though the land may have changed hands after, it has carried along with it some of that sentiment of regard attached to the Lordship of it, as surely as its earth has the fresh smell which it gives forth when upturned by the husbandman.'†

"This list also, it must be remembered, does not profess to give an account of all those families whose descent may possibly be traced beyond the year 1500, but merely of those who were in the position of what we should now call '*County Families*' before that period. Indeed the line of demarcation between the families who rose upon the ruins of the monastic system, and the more ancient aristocracy of England, is often very difficult to be traced, depending as it does on documentary evidence often inaccessible and obscured by the fanciful and often too favourable deductions of the heralds of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." •

On the other hand, Mr. Walford, in his preface, remarks very justly: "I am well aware that such a book as this must always remain, in one sense, imperfect, in a country like our own, where, mainly owing to the influ-

* Quarterly Review, January 1858. p. 37.

† Quarterly Review, January 1858, p. 31.

ence of trade and commerce, individuals are constantly crossing and re-crossing the narrow line, which severs the aristocracy from the commonalty."

It will at once be seen from this that whereas, Mr. Shirley's work, once done, will be complete, and, at all events, incapable of being increased in size, that of Mr. Walford is really infinite in point of extent, and such as, when he has devoted to it the labour of a life-time, must present at best a very remote approximation to perfection.

The rigid and really crucial test to which Mr. Shirley has subjected his "Noble and Gentlemen of England" is one which we were prepared to believe would have operated rather severely upon both our titled nobility and our untitled aristocracy. But really, until we saw the result in print, we were not prepared for the very small residuum which it leaves behind, after eliminating the more modern pretenders to the rank of "generosi." We must remember, in speaking of Mr. Shirley's work, that he includes only England in the scope of his book, ignoring the existence of Welsh, Irish, and Scottish antiquity; (subjects to which, for all that we know, he may intend to devote another volume,) and also that he gives only one member of each family, and that the chief or head—except, we believe, in one single instance, for which he may perhaps be forgiven—we mean where he places his cousin, Earl Ferrers, under the Shirleys of Eaton, instead of ranging the latter under the wing of the noble Earl. Thus, for instance, we find the Marquis of Winchester, though premier Marquis of England, ranged under the Pouletts of Hinton, county Somerset, now represented by Earl Poulett; Viscount Falkland, under the Carys of Tor Abbey, Devon; the Marquis of Donegall under the Chichesters of Youlton; the Earl of Mount Edgcumbe under the Edgcumbes of Edgcumbe, Devon; Lord Skelmersdale under the Wilbrahams of Delamere; and the Earl of Verulam under the Grimstons of Grimston Garth.

Again, the exclusion of all descents which have been tainted by passing through a single female operates most severely on half the members of the House of Peers whose titles are of the highest antiquity—such as Trevor, Lord Dacre; Touchet, Lord Audley; Stapleton, Lord Le Despencer; De Ros, Lord de Ros; Mostyn, Lord Vaux of Harrowden; Fox, Lord Couyers; Verney, Lord Wil-

loughby de Broke; Drummond-Willoughby, Lord Willoughby d' Eresby. On the same principle, (even if there were no other grounds for their exclusion) Mr. Shirley eliminates from his category the Pagets, Lords Paget, (now Marquis of Anglesey) because the last two generations are not Pagets at all, but Bailies; so too His Grace the Duke of Northumberland knocks in vain at the door of Mr. Shirley, who roughly and contemptuously (in effect) tells him to go away, for that he is no Percy but a Smithson. In like manner he objects to recognise the right of the Dukes of Wellington and Marlborough, to appear among his noble and gentle men, the one being not a Churchill, but a Spencer, (and, in that case, owing allegiance to his head and representative, the present Earl Spencer), and the other not a Wellesley but a Colley. For this too, or for other reasons, (more or less obvious to the genealogical student) we observe that Mr. Shirley makes no mention of the great houses of Montagu, Dukes of Manchester and Earls of Sandwich; of Somerset, Dukes of Beaufort; of Devereux, Viscounts Hereford; of Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; of Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; of Vane, Earls of Darlington, and Dukes of Cleveland; of Bathurst, Earls Bathurst, and several others of the highest order—some of whom (including the families of Herbert and Bathurst) seem to us to fulfil the very stringent conditions which Mr. Shirley has laid down in his preface.

The result of the application of so very strict a rule is to be seen in the fact that after the most wide and careful search through every accessible work of reference in the shape of a County History, Mr. Shirley (to use an Oxford phrase) plucks all candidates for admission into his select order, except about 325 or 330 families who have passed the ordeal and obtained their *testamur* of *satisfecit examinatori*. This result, however, is one which cannot but suggest some sad thoughts in the retrospect, when one considers how many of our *Lamiæ* and *Junii* fell beneath the axe of the remorseless and relentless Henry, and of this daughter Elizabeth—to say nothing of those who threw away, not only their lives but their families, in the Wars of the Roses, and in the Great Rebellion, while fighting under the standard of royalty.

It is not a little singular, and not a little interesting to our readers to know that among the above families the

following Catholic houses are found, after a searching enquiry, to satisfy the requirements of Mr. Shirley :—Sir John Acton of Aldenham; Acton of Wolverton; Lord Arundell of Wardour; Sir Henry Bedingfeld of Oxburgh; Sir Edward Blount of Sodington; Mr. Bodenham of Rotherwas; Mr. Berrington of Winsley; Mr. Cary of Tor Abbey; Mr. Clavering of Callaly Castle; Lord Clifford of Chudleigh; Mr. Eccleston of Scarisbrick;* Mr. Eyston of East Hendred; Mr. Ferrers of Baddersy Clinton; Mr. Fitzherbert of Norbury; Sir Robert Gerard of Bryn; Sir J. Haggerston of Ellingham; Mr. Hanford of Wollashall; the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk; the Jerninghams (Lords Stafford) of Cossey; the Plowdens of Plowden; the Salvins of Croxdale; the Scropes of Danby; the Selbys of Biddleston; the Stonors (Lords Camoys) of Stonor; the Lords Stourton; the Tempests of Broughton; Sir R. G. Throckmorton of Coughton; Sir James Doughty-Tichborne of Tichborne; the Towneleys of Towneley; Sir H. de Trafford of Trafford; the Turviles of Husband Bosworth; the Watertons of Walton; the Welds of Lulworth Castle; the Whitgreaves of Moseley; the Wolseleys of Wolseley; the Wreys of Trebigh; the Wyberghs of Clifton; the Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury; the Ropers, Lords Teynham; the Giffards of Chillington; the Swinburnes of Capheaton, &c. The last four families named in this list, we are aware, are no longer represented by Catholic heads, but they have adhered to the old faith down to so recent a date that we have thought it best to include them along with the rest.

As Mr. Shirley's principle is that of exclusiveness, Mr. Walford appears to us to err on the side of laxity, and to grant admission to his "County Families" on too easy terms. We notice there the names of persons who not only do not now hold land or own a seat in any of our counties, but who cannot point to parents or grandfathers that have ever maintained the position of "County Families." No doubt it is with the view of making his work serviceable as a Directory of the Upper Ten Thousand that he has included, as far as possible, not only the Magistracy and the Deputy Lieutenancy of each county,

* Since deceased.

but almost every living person who either holds or has held a seat in Parliament. Thus we find Mr. Edwin James recorded, and Mr. Chisholm Anstey, Mr. J. F. Maguire, and Mr. J. P. Murrough, not one of whom has any pretensions to a place in such a work, if the author adheres to his title. In a future edition he will do well to remedy these defects, and also to exclude, however highly born and connected, all such clergymen as have not a real *bonâ fide* and permanent connection with their several counties, as being both parsons and squires at once, or at least as patrons of the livings they hold; for when this is not the case, although they may happen to have been placed in the commission of the peace, death or promotion severs the local tie, and the Rev. Mr. Smith who appears in the edition for 1860 as Vicar of Sleep-cum-Snorley in the Fens, will figure in 1862 as Rector of the populous but well endowed parish of Drowsyton in ———shire.

We give the following specimens of the notices of Catholic families as they stand in Mr. Walford's work which will serve as a sample of the performance.

"WHITGREAVE, George Thomas, Esq. (of Moseley Court).

Only surviving son of the late Thomas Henry Francis Whitgreave, Esq., of Moseley, by Mary, dau. of John Lockley, Esq., of Sardaw, co. Stafford; *b.* 1787; *a.* 1816; *m.* 1st. 1814 Amelia, dau. of Benjamin Hodges, Esq., of London (she *d.* 1848); 2nd 1849 Charlotte Juliana, eldest dau. of the late Admiral the Hon. Sir John Talbot, G.C.B. (she *d.* 1854); 3rd 1856 Mary Anne, dau. of ——— Sandford, Esq. Is a Magistrate and Dep. Lieut. for co. Stafford (High Sheriff 1837). This family were settled at Whitgreave, co. Stafford, in the reign of King John. His ancestor, Mr. Whitgreave, sheltered Charles II. at Moseley Court after the battle of Worcester.—Moseley Court, near Wolverhampton, Staffordshire; 22, Eaton square, S.W.

Heir, his son Henry Benjamin George, *b.* 1816; *m.* 1st. 1841 Henrietta Maria, dau. of the late Hon. Thomas Clifford; 2nd 1858 Mary, dau. of the late Walter Selby, Esq."

"MAC DONNELL, Francis Edmund Joseph, Esq. (of Donforth, co. Kildare.)

Eldest surviving son of the late Sir Francis Mac Donnell,* of

* This gentleman, having held a commission in the Spanish service, was employed in the British commissariat, under Sir J. Moore and the Duke of Wellington in the peninsula. He ultimately returned to Ireland and purchased the Donforth property,

Donforth, by Bridget Mary, dau. of James O'Conner Esq., of Madrid, *b.* 1823 ; *s.* 1840 ; *m.* 1859 Ellen, only child of the late Henry McNamara, Esq., of Barbados. Educated at Clongowes Coll ; is a Magistrate for cos. Kildare and Meath. This family held large properties in cos. Mayo, Galway, and Roscommon, which they lost under the penal laws against Roman Catholics,—Donforth, near Enfield, Ireland ; Stephen's green Club, Dublin."

"Acron, William Joseph, Esq., of (Wolverton).

Only son of the late William Acton, Esq., of Wolverton, by Anne Constantia, dau. of ——— Davies, Esq. ; *b.* 1803 ; *s.* 1814 ; *m.* 1833 Mary, Widow of William Trafford, Esq. Educated at St. Mary's Coll., Oscott ; is a Magistrate for co. Worcester. This family is of Saxon origin, and has been seated in Worcestershire since the times anterior to the Norman Conquest.—Wolverton, near Pershore, Worcestershire."

"*Heir*, his son William Robert. *b.* 1835."

"MACNAMARA, Francis, Esq., (of Ennistymon).

Eldest surviving son of the late Francis MacNamara, Esq., of Ennistymon ; *b.* 1780 ; *s.* his brother the late Lieutenant-Colonel William Nugent MacNamara (who was M.P. for co. Clare 1830-52) 1856. Educated at Trinity Coll., Dublin ; is a Magistrate and Dep. Lieut. for co. Clare, and an Officer in the Clare Militia ; was M.P. for Ennis 1835-7. Represents a branch of the old Milesian house of MacNamara, long resident at Ballinacraigie Castle, and descended from the old native Irish families of Thomond, Inchiquin, MacDonnell of Antrim, and O'Neill of Tyrone, as also from the ancient Admirals of Munster, from whose office is said to have originated their name, which means "Son of the Sea."—Ennistymon and Doolen Castle, near Ennis, co. Clare."

"LAWSON, Sir William, Bart. (cr. 1841).

Second son of the late John Wright, Esq., of Kelvedon Hall, Essex, by Elizabeth, dau. and co-heiress of Sir John Lawson, Bart., of Brough Hall, co. York ; *b.* 1796 ; *s.* 1834 ; *m.* 1825 Clarinda Catherine, dau. of J. Lawson, Esq., M.D. Educated at Stonyhurst ; is a Magistrate and Dep. Lieut. for North Riding of Yorkshire ; received the order of Christ from Pope Gregory XIV., 1844 ; assumed the name of Lawson in lieu of Wright, by Royal Licence in 1834. This family was formerly of Cramlington, Northumberland. Ralph Lawson, temp. Elizabeth, married the

and took a leading part with O'Connell in the agitation for Catholic emancipation. His death in 1840 set aside the intention of the Government to create him a baronet, which had been notified to him.

heiress de Burgh, of Burg, *alias* Brough.—Brough Hall near Catterick, Yorkshire."

"*Heir*, his son John b. 1829 ; m. 1856 Mary Ann, eldest dau. of F. S. Gerard, Esq., of Aspull House, Lancashire."

We wish that Mr. E. Walford had followed Mr. Shirley's example, and had appended to his account of the families whom he records their armorial bearings ; for heraldry, though out of fashion as a science, is really after all, and to rate it at the very lowest, a great aid to the study of genealogy. This is not the place for, nor indeed have we the inclination for an essay on the "nobil and gentil scyaunce;" but there can be no doubt that, as Mr. Walford observes in his preface, "it is the bearing of arms, not of titles, that forms the real test of nobility;" though the lax and mistaken usage of English writers appears to have indoctrinated the nation with the belief that the members of the peerage and their wives, sons, and daughters alone form "the nobility."

If we remember rightly, the late Sir J. Lawrence, Knight of Malta, some twenty or thirty years ago, published a work which he entitled the "Nobility of English Gentry," in which he urges this point most strongly, but the work has long been out of print. In a recent number of *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, however, we find some remarks which are so appropriate to the subject that, by leave of our reader, we will transfer them to our pages by way of a conclusion to this article.

"Court armour, borne by right of descent or legal grant, constitutes nobility in the European acceptation of the term, though English custom limits the distinction of nobility to the Peerage and their descendants. No foreigner comprehends all this finessing. If you are a patrician, he says, 'you should bear a coronet, or be a Count or Baron, or at least a Chevalier; if not, you have no business with arms at all.' So he shrugs up his shoulders at Mr. Bull, and gives him up as a hopeless riddle. But John Bull is used to an isolated position in other than a geographical sense. On account of sea and religion, of language and customs, he has long been sent to Coventry by the other members of the European family, and he takes the deprivation most lightly and easily. He is rich and likes to have his own way: nor, in spite of all the ridicule and abuse that have been poured on it,—in spite of keen democratic wit and down-right abuse—does Mr. Bull choose utterly to renounce the old heraldic toys that his fathers cherished so sincerely and tenderly. He uses them, he sneers at them, he scarcely knows whether he has at his heart more contempt or more affection for them; but he will

not give them up. Writers may flout them, orators may denounce them, philosophers may pick holes in them ; but still John likes to retain them on his glowing carriage door, his neatly engraved spoons, his elegant hall chairs, his snug hatchment, his gold signet, and his embossed envelopes."

If the taste of John Bull for "the old heraldic toys" be so widely spread and so deeply engraved in his disposition as is suggested by the writer whose words we have just quoted, cannot Mr. Walford endeavour to gratify that taste in future editions of his "County Families"?

Ann. VI.—1. *Correspondence Relative to the Affairs of Hungary, 1847-8.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, 15th August, 1850.

2. *Hungary and Transylvania.* By John Paget, Esq. London : Murray, 1850. 2 vols. 8vo.

3. *The War in Hungary, 1848-9.* By Max Schlesinger. Translated by John Edward Taylor. Edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by Francis Pulzsky. London : Bentley, 1850. 2 vols.

4. *Hungary : its Constitution and its Catastrophe.* By Corvinus. London : Murray, 1850, 8vo.

5. *The North American Review*, for January, 1850, and January, 1851.

AUSTRIA and Hungary form a topic upon which we have not yet addressed our readers ; yet, in the whole range of European politics, there is not one of keener interest or more practical importance. The associations connected with their past history, the peculiarities of character in their soil and peoples, their local position, their agricultural and mineral products, their present capabilities and future prospects, and the degree of influence which their destiny may have upon the course of events in Europe, combine to concentrate the recollections, the thoughts, and the hopes of many upon this portion of the continent. Yet little is known or understood about it, and that little but inaccurately. It is not in the beaten track of either reading or travel. The information and

sentiments of most on this subject are derived from the newspapers of the day, and they, on such a subject, form a very questionable source of information, because they usually aim at, and write to accomplish a preconceived purpose, and their accounts are coloured and bent from the simple directness of narrative by the necessity of being accommodated to the previous design. Most English newspapers write in the interest of a particular party, and their accounts, especially of matters distant and unknown, are, perhaps unconsciously, adapted to suit the wishes of their party, whilst the *Times*, through the medium of which, perhaps, more than of any other paper, accounts reach us respecting Austria and Hungary, from its foreign correspondents, is a huge but mere commercial undertaking, designed and conducted to supply such articles of merchandize as will best suit and find the most ready sale in the public market, such opinions as the majority of the public happen at the moment to be most eager for, facts of such a colour, and sentiments of such a tone as will most largely be swallowed. In fine, the object is to "make things pleasant" to the public taste, and suit the supply to the demand—hence the gross inconsistency to be seen at different times in the columns of the *Times*—hence the brag and the bounce of popular championship which it often assumes, the vehement rush and swoop down upon every gainsayer of whatever is the popular fancy at the moment, the parade of fair play in its columns along with the denial of publicity or of any thing like fair play to any one who attempts to make a stand for what he believes to be the truth, against the temporary torrent of prejudice; its occasional bold attack upon a great man pleases the public who are gratified with the apparent display of independence; but a persistent support of any unpopular truth, a persevering warfare against any popular delusion, cannot be found in the columns of the *Times*, is contrary to the principle of its existence and its success, which is to supply the greatest possible quantity of whatever people are most willing to buy.

Through publications which are designed for either the purposes of a party, or only the profits of a trade, it is not likely that full and accurate information can be obtained, without resorting to and comparing many different accounts, and culling what may seem least suspicious

from each. It is not therefore so easy as might be at first supposed to obtain a correct appreciation of the affairs of Austria and Hungary.

We may be supposed by some to have prejudices in favour of the great Catholic empire of Austria; but in this aspect the Hungarian claims upon our sympathy are quite as strong, the great majority both of the aggregate inhabitants of Hungary, and of every distinct race at present opposed to Austria, being Catholic, whilst two important races which side with Austria against the Magyars, viz., the Saxons of Transylvania, and the Wallachians are, the former Protestants, and the latter of the Greek Church. And the Catholics are not only numerically but prominently engaged in the Hungarian national cause. In the *Times* of 28th January, 1860, the Paris correspondent quotes from a letter he had received from Pesth, dated 21st January.

"The high Catholic clergy (in Hungary) lose no opportunity of showing how heartily they sympathise with the national movement in which their countrymen are engaged. The Bishop of Erlau, Monsignor Bartakorris, has, for example, just sent the magnificent sum of £1000. English to the fund to build a palace for the National Academy at Pesth, and his chapter has given a like sum. Nothing causes more anxiety to the Austrian Government than to see that the Roman Catholic clergy are every whit as national, and are as earnestly bent on regaining the national treaties as the rest of their countrymen."

And Kossuth, in January 1860, wrote to the Committee of the citizens of Glasgow, after reference to various other classes in Hungary :

"It has but one party—the body of patriots : but if there was a class to whom he would bow with admiring veneration, it is the Roman Catholic clergy of Hungary, from the priest to the mitred prince ; for they support the national cause, and, jealous of their own liberty of conscience, defend that of their Protestant brethren. They are priests in the church, but they are citizens without—patriots everywhere."

Catholics therefore and Catholic clergy are ranged on both sides in this political contest ; the majority indeed, and the leaders on both sides are Catholic, for Paget says, "the Hungarian magnates are almost entirely Catholics," and it may therefore be fairly conceded to us that, whilst we feel a peculiar interest in appreciating the grounds and progress of the dispute, and a peculiar wish that it may be

concluded with honour to both and without injury to either, there is no just reason to suspect us of partiality, and our opinion may be received as that of an observer, not indifferent, only because his interest in both is equal. We have approached the consideration of the facts with no prepossessions except in favour of a constitutional government, by which we understand one in which the rights of the sovereign, of the aristocracy, and of the people in all their classes and orders are defined and assured by known laws, in preference to a despotism in which the will and pleasure of the sovereign has the force of law, and is, in fact, of itself, the supreme law. We confess also, in the interest of Europe generally, and of Great Britain in particular, a strong desire to see in that part of Germany which is most wealthy both in agricultural and mineral produce a strong government, strong we mean with reference to its neighbours, east and west, and a free, prosperous and contented people. The former cannot exist without the latter. And we therefore who wish to see the people of central Europe enjoying and recognizing a good government, improving with intelligent industry their peculiar local advantages, and whilst thus occupied with internal progress, so satisfied with their condition, and so firmly and unitedly prepared to maintain it as to be free from all risk of external attack—presenting an impregnable barrier alike to France and to Russia—must also wish all divisions between the different races of the Austrian Empire healed, and all these races cordially united as one people. That we are interested in the attainment of such a result is universally admitted. Let us consider whether it is practicable, and how? Will Austria, Hungary, and we may add, Venetia, continue united in one strong empire? The question has, at this moment, a peculiar interest. That such a result is *desirable* all admit, whilst our own recent experience teaches us that it is *probable*. Ireland was in the position both of Hungary and Venetia. She asserted like both of them a distinct nationality. Like Hungary, she claimed the repeal of the Union and the restoration of her domestic legislature. Like Venetia she complained of wrongs, greater probably than any of which Venetia can complain, and was taunted with being not only alien in tongue and in race, but unlike Venetia, alien also in religion. Neither Hungary nor Venetia ever had so great a grievance to allege against Austria as the establishment of

the religion of the minority amongst the majority of the people, which monster grievance of Ireland still oppresses our country. If either Hungary or Venetia had such a grievance as this to complain of, we admit that union or prosperity might appear hopeless. Why then, with less grounds for disunion than existed between England and Ireland, may not Austria, Hungary, and Venetia become as united and as prosperous as England and Ireland are now? Will any one, after a fair examination of the state of things fifty, forty, or even thirty years ago, say that the probabilities of such a happy result to England and Ireland were then greater than, or even so great as they now are, to Austria, Hungary, and Venetia? It is suggested that Austria yields only to fear and is not to be trusted. Whether true or not, was not the same thing said of England in respect to Ireland? And was it not true? From the first relaxation of the penal laws down to the Act of Emancipation did England ever yield anything to Ireland except from fear and the pressure of necessity? And was not this even avowed? Did not Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington urge the fear of civil war, rather than the love of justice, as the motive for passing the final Act of Emancipation? And, had it not been for this fear, would there have been a majority in its favour? Much as we appreciate and feel grateful for the exertions of many who were sincere friends, we are old enough to know well that the measure would not have been passed had it not been for that very fear which the same men who were then influenced by it, are now alleging against and throwing in the teeth of Austria. They know, we presume, how they felt themselves, and they attribute the same feeling to Austria. And what reason had Ireland to put trust in England more than Hungary and Venetia now have to put trust in Austria? To go no further than a single instance. Was not the legislative union between England and Ireland carried by means of a pledge by Pitt, which was afterwards broken by the King? Whatever, therefore may be the reasons for attributing motives of fear to Austria and distrusting her liberality, Ireland had, but a very few years ago, at least equal reason, we believe far stronger reason, for attributing such motives to England and distrusting her liberal measures. England was, a very few years ago, in a worse position with respect to Ireland, than Austria now is with respect to either Hungary or Venetia. Eng-

land had wronged Ireland more than Austria has wronged either Hungary or Venetia. England grudgingly, dilatorily, and from motives of fear only, proffered every concession to Ireland, and was justly distrusted. Yet we see the result! Why may not the same result be consummated in Austria, Hungary, and Venetia? The obvious interests of all parties have necessarily led to various measures of improvement. Are not the interests of all the best guarantee that the Austrian constitution will be maintained with good faith and be followed up by corresponding measures to complete the union and promote the prosperity of the whole Austrian Empire?

An article in the Times of 21st August, furnishes a singularly apt illustration of the parallel view we have suggested; for surely the following remarks indicate that the prospect of any cordial union between England and Ireland was, or appeared, within the memory of those not yet old, as hopeless as can now appear the prospect of any cordial union between Austria, Hungary, and Venetia. The Times of 20th August, in reference to the Queen's visit to Ireland, thus writes:

"It is now forty years since George IV. visited Ireland on a similar errand. Little more than twenty years before, the island had been convulsed by a *sanguinary rebellion*, which had inflamed the minds of both parties to the highest pitch of desperation. The rebellion was crushed, but the fire still smouldered under the deceitful ashes. Men were still engaged in the pursuits of active life who had taken part in scenes which the world shudders to remember, and history would willingly omit to record. George IV. went to Ireland, not as the King of a whole people, but as the representative of a small and dominant minority—the representative of the policy of persecution and restriction, under which Ireland had groaned for one hundred and thirty years, and was still to groan for several years more. George IV. went to Ireland in her evil days, and evil were the days that were to succeed the Royal visit. The most dreadful outrages, fire raising, murders and little civil wars occasioned by the collision of permanent political and religious organizations, which swallowed up all other distinctions, and divided society into hostile camps; the boon of emancipation, *granted without kindness and sympathy, and received without gratitude*; the successive agitations of O'Connell, and the final break down of the old state of things in Ireland through the agency of famine and the pestilence which never fails to wait upon it; all these things were lowering in the future when George IV. set his foot on the pier, &c."—"the past was sad, the present gloomy, and the future menacing."

Can anything worse, or even so bad, be said of the relations existing now between Austria and Hungary, or even between Austria and Venetia? Why then, may not the following language of the Times to-day be equally applicable to Austria, Hungary, and Venetia, in we trust, less than forty years hence? Thus the Times contrasts the present with the past:

"Forty years have passed—everything is changed. Then the principal grievances of Ireland were religious and political, and the cry was separation from England! the dreams of repeal, the delusion of a separate government and nationality are exploded. Any one who carefully examined the state of Ireland at the coming of George IV. must have seen nothing before him but discord and disaster; any one who makes the same examination now, sees nothing before him but increasing union and prosperity."

Why may not "the dreams of repeal, the delusion of a separate government and nationality" be equally "exploded" in Hungary and Venetia, and they and Austria also become, in spite of present untoward appearances, like England and Ireland in spite of appearances which were still more untoward, happier because they are more united? England and Ireland never can be *perfectly united*, i.e. contented and satisfied, until the removal of the great grievance of Ireland, a Protestant Church established amongst a people, seven-ninths of whom are Catholics; if Englishmen doubt this, let them ask themselves whether they would be content and satisfied if, at the present day, the Catholic Church were the Church by law established amongst the Protestant people of England. If not, let them only concede to Irishmen the same feelings which they, in similar circumstances, would experience themselves. And if the very idea of a Catholic Church established amongst a Protestant people, be to them grievous and intolerable, let them be conscious that the fact of a Protestant Church established amongst a Catholic people must be equally grievous and intolerable to us. But though it is not in human nature that a perfect union can exist between England and Ireland until this grievance be removed, and until that which has been announced in the Austrian constitution, viz., equality of all religious professions be also accorded in this country, why, we repeat, may not as complete a union and as much prosperity be attained in Austria, Hungary, and Venetia, as now prevail in England and Ireland?

Why, indeed, may not the union there become more complete, since the one cause of disunion which remains here does not exist there? We trust that such a happy result may not, with them, be owing to the intermediate agency of "famine and pestilence;" and, remembering how recently England was in such a crisis herself, it does appear to us that it would be only appropriate for *her* to look hopefully and encouragingly upon the efforts of Austria to give one government, one parliament, one constitution, one law, to all the peoples and races of her empire.

That such a result is *desirable*, we repeat all admit. The Times expressly says, "What Francis Joseph wished to do was exactly what ought to be done, and his method of doing it was precisely the method which we might have taken ourselves. He desired to bring all the provinces of his empire under one effective administration; and with this end, he proclaimed a new constitution and established a representative in the place of an absolute government. He created an Imperial parliament, on which he conferred liberal privileges and genuine power, and to this parliament he summoned deputies from all parts of the empire, so that every province might make its wishes known, and be governed according to the conclusions of the assembly. In this measure, careful heed was given to the claims and even prejudices of nationalities. The system of centralization was openly repudiated for that of local government, with the provision only that there should be a single High Court of Parliament for the whole empire. The provinces might have separate administrations in most respects, but not separate parliaments. There the Sovereign, for the good of the empire, put in his claim. The unity of the State required that there should be thus far unity of government, and the populations, therefore, of the several provinces were for these purposes to form one people. Now, it is impossible that we in this country, can deny the cogency or the reason of the arguments thus propounded. The principles at least recognised by the Imperial Government were exactly those on which we have acted ourselves with perfect success. We, too, who are opposed to centralization and are resolute sticklers for self-government, have discerned *the necessity of an Imperial parliament*, and into that assembly the representatives of Scotland and of Ireland have been successively received by formal acts of union. When, therefore, the Hungarians turn round upon

their Sovereign and say that, though they acknowledge his title and are willing to live in unity with all the people of his empire, they must still insist upon having a parliament of their own, their demands seem as unwise in themselves as prejudicial to the true interests of the Imperial State. We have learnt by actual experience not only that this amount of centralization is indispensable to the strength of the nation, but that the misgivings which it might suggest are groundless. Our own parliamentary history shows conspicuously enough how ample a proportion of power the smaller States retain, and how absolutely unqualified by any kind of loss is the gain which Scotland and Ireland have reaped from union with England. Accordingly, when the Emperor of Austria declares that all nationalities shall be duly respected, but that the consolidation and strength of the empire *imperatively demand the union of all representatives in a single parliament, the justice of the requisition appears evident*, and we feel more than half disposed to blame the contumacy of Hungary in refusing so reasonable a summons."

Thus far the Times; and whenever the Times makes admissions against the popular inclination in England we may regard them as too clear and certain to admit of question. What, then, are the obstacles and difficulties which impede the accomplishment of so desirable and fair and sound a constitution? The Times states them also:—

1st. "Hungary, from its territories and resources, might reasonably claim to be the nucleus of the Imperial State—the central mass, to which the rest should gravitate.

2nd. "The new Constitution is the result of fear and polity; the Hungarians do not trust Austria, and that is the secret of the whole quarrel. Francis Joseph is liberal and constitutional to-day, but he was not so a short time ago, and he may not be so a short time hence.

3rd. "Before our unions were effected at home, the consent of the Scottish and Irish parliaments were asked and obtained. The acts were accomplished by negotiation and agreement. The Emperor has not proceeded by any such way of consultation and appeal. He has simply summoned the Hungarians to send deputies to his new parliament assembled at Vienna. Unless the Emperor pretends that the events of 1848-9, made a *tabula rasa* of the Hungarian institutions, he cannot deny that the Magyars possess already and without any thanks to him, a constitution of their own."

Would all these narrow and technical objections, even were they well grounded, amount together to a sufficient reason for rejecting a constitution admitted to be so good? But are they well grounded?

The first as to the comparative gravity of Hungary is answered by the Times itself, which, on 6th March, said, "The 343 seats in the Lower House, are distributed among the several nations, *nearly in the proportion of their population;*" whilst on 4th September it writes, "Hungary's quota in the Reichsrath would be equivalent to a proportion of 160 members in our own House of Commons;" which proportion seems to settle the claim of Hungary to be the Sun of the Austrian system.

The second objection is precisely what, with even greater reason, Ireland always urged against England; and yet, as we have seen, the Times is loud in its posans of congratulation on the prosperous results of their union. If the Austrian Constitution be what the Times describes it, fair and just and equally beneficial to all, will not the common interest of all be the best security for its faithful fulfilment?

But thirdly, however good the Constitution, however necessary for the Austrian empire that its various races should be *united* with *one* parliament and *one* effective administration, it was not proposed in a strictly legal manner. Assume for a moment this to be so, does it lie in the mouth of England to back such an objection? Is the English Constitution remarkable for the strictly legal manner in which it was accomplished? Hallam writes, "It was only by recurring to a kind of paramount, and what I may call hyper-constitutional law, a mixture of force and regard to the public good, which is the best sanction of what is done in revolutions, that the vote" (which transferred the crown from James to William) "could be defended." Could anything be worse or more illegal, or more unconstitutional than the means by which the legislative union with Ireland was carried? But, to come to the current opinions of the day, will the Times and its readers be consistent enough to judge the Emperor of Austria by the same rule which they apply to the King of Piedmont? Has everything been done legally by the latter, and yet have not his acts been approved by those who considered them useful? What says the Times, on 1st Jan., in reference to Piedmont? "The laws of nations and even *the*

first principles of morality have been violated for an object which all have hastened to recognize." They who thus regard the acts of Piedmont may surely look with leniency on an alleged irregularity of procedure in the Emperor of Austria. Again, the *Times* on 2nd March, writes, "There can be no doubt that Cavour, to *compass* the independence and *unification of the country* has thrown aside the traditions of dynastic courtesy and the maxims of international law, and has shown little regard even to the stipulations of treaties." They who have approved of the conduct of Cavour cannot consistently find fault with *the mode* in which the Emperor of Austria has sought to accomplish *the unification of his country*. The *Times*, of 6th March, after referring to the conduct of the Piedmontese, asks,

"Does any one suppose that Italy, one, united, organized, represented, will be turned back from the pursuit of the glorious destiny which is opening to her, by any criticisms, however pointed, on the means by which these results have been obtained? France also acquired unity by her great revolution, but how different was the price, in misery and crime, from that which has been exacted from Italy! Unity was the one great achievement of the French Revolution—the one thing which has survived where all else has perished. If France thinks she did not buy that unity too dearly, may not Italy well afford to be of the same opinion?"

And may not the same question be put with regard to Austria? If Austria shall, by means of this constitution, assuming it to be a stretch of power, secure the great object of *national unity*, at how small a comparative cost will it have been purchased by her?

And, still continuing the assumption that the Emperor of Austria has exceeded the strict limits of authority in framing the constitution, there is to be found in Hungarian history an illustrious precedent. Paget, in the 1st vol., p. 295, of his *Hungary and Transylvania*, says,

"In the Diet of 1761, the third and last held under Maria Theresa, the grievances of the peasants were most strongly urged on the attention of the nobles, but no ameliorations were obtained; occupied with their own affairs, those of the weaker classes were delayed to some future period. The next year the natural consequences of agitation of such a question without any steps being made towards its solution, were manifested in a rising of the discontented peasantry in several parts of the country, and in the commission of the usual outrages before the forces of the government could allay the ferment. Taking advantage of the alarm

which these excesses had impressed on the public mind, the great Queen determined by an act of arbitrary power, herself to apply the remedy to so crying an evil; an act which, if it cannot be defended as strictly constitutional, will never want apologists among the friends of humanity. The result of this determination was the celebrated *Webarium*, the *Magna Charta* of the Hungarian peasantry."

We do not, however, agree with the *Times* and many of its readers, that the end justifies the means. We prefer the sentiment of Cicero, "*Non modo falsum esse istud, sine injuriâ non posse, sed hoc verissimum, sine summâ justitiâ rempublicam regi non posse.*" The *Times* which, on 29th July, said "the independence which Hungary demands would practically sever the kingdom from the Austrian monarchy," and they who approve of the mode in which the English constitution was attained, of the mode in which the union with Ireland was carried, and of the recent acts of Piedmont, cannot consistently complain of any illegality in the mode of promulgating a constitution by which the severance of Hungary from Austria may be avoided, and the whole of the Austrian Empire be consolidated and united—the end in their judgment justifies the means.

In this principle, however, we cannot concur; and we therefore proceed to enquire whether the new Austrian constitution need any such apology, whether, in fact, it be in its inception legal or not. In doing this it will be requisite to refer generally to the nature of the previous Hungarian constitution, and to the events of 1848-9, and to consider whether they, according to the recognized law of nations, justify and legalize or not the constitution lately promulgated by the Emperor of Austria.

The position maintained by the Austrian Emperor in his recent message to the Parliament at Vienna we prefer to state in the language of the *Times* rather than our own.

"In this document," writes the *Times* on 26th August, "Francis Joseph directly affirms that 'the ancient Hungarian constitution was abolished by a revolutionary power,' and that all the Acts and Charters to which Hungary appeals were annihilated by an act of its own in defiance of those compacts—namely, the dethrouement to which, in Diet at Debreczin, it doomed the dynasty of Hapsburg-Lorraine. The famous Act called the Pragmatic Sanction, while it enshrined in irrevocable words the rights of Hungary, did also establish as inalienably the rights of the reigning family to the succession for all time. When, therefore, the revolutionists de-

clared those rights forfeit, they forfeited their own also. The Act was in the nature of a compact. One half of its conditions could not be abolished without the abolition of the other half. The Pragmatic Sanction came to an end by the hands of the Hungarians themselves, and cannot now be pleaded, as M. Deak would plead it, in proof of the national privileges. That is the position taken up by the Emperor in his message to the Parliament in Vienna. The Hungarians have no rights or privileges whatever. They lost them all by a national crime, and the propositions recently made to the Diet, instead of conveying an offer of terms to a free parliament, represented, in reality, only so many 'concessions' made by an indulgent sovereign. Whatever institutions the Hungarians appear to possess they owe to the clemency of the Emperor who has so far, on his mere motion, 'reestablished' their constitution. The 'demands' they put forward are not only inconsistent with the common interests of the whole monarchy, but are utterly unjustifiable, as proceeding from a nation whose liberties are forfeited, and whose rights have been annulled."

And on this the Times remarks, "that certainly is a very clear argument. This plea does, indeed, dispose of all M. Deak's manifesto, with its elaborate reasonings and its accumulated vouchers. On this ground, if it be but tenable, the Emperor can undoubtedly support his case. But," says the Times, "we deny both the validity and expediency of such an assumption." With the question of expediency we are not at present concerned, and will confine ourselves therefore to that of validity. What has the Times to say on this point? The following is its argument in reply.

"Certainly the Hungarians were conquered twelve years ago, though not by Austrians, and it is natural, perhaps, that the Emperor should make the most of the fact as a political deluge. But surely, on this view of the case, a great deal too much recognition has been given to Hungarian pretensions. If the Magyars are a conquered people, with no more rights remaining than such as the Emperor might occasionally concede, we cannot understand the manner in which the Diet has been addressed, or the terms on which the negotiations between Austria and Hungary have hitherto been conducted. It seems rather late in the day to take such very high ground, and somewhat inconsistent to claim a right to command after so many months have been devoted to negotiation."

And this is the whole of the argument of the Times on the question of validity, for in the next sentence it proceeds to that of expediency.

There is in argument a kind of thimblery practice.

which sometimes deceives the unwary, and it consists in adroitly slipping in one expression instead of another, and then replying upon the substituted phrase as if it expressed the original meaning.

The original statement was that "the acts and charters of Hungary were annihilated *by an act of its own* in defiance of those compacts—namely the dethronement to which in Diet at Debreczin, it doomed the dynasty of Hapsburgh Lorraine." The reply substitutes for this the remark, "Certainly the Hungarians *were conquered* twelve years ago, though not by Austrians, and it is natural perhaps, that the Emperor should make the most of the fact as a political deluge." The statement attributes the annihilation to "the act of the Hungarians themselves," whilst in the reply the word "conquest" is slipped in instead, and the question is then dealt with as if the annihilation had been attributed, not to the act of the Hungarians themselves, but to the act of another namely *conquest*. There is not in the statement a word of reference to conquest; however natural it may have been for the Emperor to make the most of that fact, he does not in fact make anything of it, or refer to it at all, but he *does* refer to the fact that the Hungarian Diet, by their Declaration of Independence on the 14th April, 1849, at Debreczin, "solemnly proclaim that the House of Lorraine-Hapsburgh has forfeited its right to the throne of the United States of Hungary and Transylvania, and is hereby deprived of the style and title belonging to the House of Hungary and declared to be deposed, degraded and banished for ever from the Hungary territory." This is the language of the Magyars themselves. Waiving for a moment all question of the right or wrong of the matter, does not this make of the previous institutions of Hungary something like a tabula rasa? Surely the forfeiture must have been *mutual*! With what face, after this, can the Hungarians, or they who argue for them, refer to their ancient rights as any legal obstacle to the new constitution?

Hungary thus *by its own act* annihilated its right to appeal to previous acts and charters. This is the position taken by the Emperor in his message to the Reichsrath, as stated by the Times itself, and to *this* the Times gives no reply whatever; but instead thimblerys the idea of *conquest* into the sentence and deals with *that*. The

Hungarian Diet after being for some time engaged in civil war against their Sovereign, passed a solemn resolution deposing him, and declaring] themselves independent. Vattel expressly says, p. 425.

“A civil war breaks the bonds of society and government, or at least suspends their force and effect. It produces in the nation two independent parties who consider each other as enemies, and acknowledge no common judge. These two parties therefore must necessarily be considered as thenceforward constituting (at least for a time) two separate bodies, two distinct societies. They stand in precisely the same predicament as two nations who engage in a contest, and being unable to come to an agreement, have recourse to arms.”

It is indeed idle for the Diet to refer to old acts and charters and compacts, all of which they have torn asunder by their own solemn resolution. The Emperor does not declare them forfeited by the right of conquest, he merely reminds the Hungarians that they have themselves cancelled their claim to any such privileges. They have elected, in lieu of them, to appeal to arms, and they cannot therefore now, at their own mere will and pleasure, revert back again to the status quo ante bellum. The Hungarians having by their own act disentitled themselves to any old or peculiar privileges, all they can now claim is what every other human being is entitled to claim, good government, and this we have already seen the Times admits the new Austrian Constitution is calculated to confer upon them and upon all the subjects of the empire alike.

As to alleged inconsistency in thus addressing the Hungarians “after so many months have been devoted to negotiation,” that is a practice of every day’s occurrence. Sensible men both in public and private life, even when they have the right to command, often prefer to negotiate and obtain voluntary assent to what is right and proper; but if negotiation become futile through obstinacy, then they necessarily fall back upon their original rights. This is a course of proceeding which every man of good sense must be conscious that he frequently follows; he tries to persuade men into the voluntary adoption of what he proposes, even where he might at first have spoken with the authority to which he is sometimes obliged to resort at last.

It is not however necessary to resort to the idea of forfeiture of ancient rights, as suggested by the Times,

in order to legalize the new Constitution; another aspect of the question is open to us. The Magyars take their stand upon their old constitution, and claim the arrangement of 1848 as if the one was consistent with and confirmatory of the other. This is not so. The arrangement of 1848 forced by them in a revolutionary period upon a weak Sovereign introducing two independent and possibly conflicting governments under one Sovereign, was an innovation upon rather than a confirmation of the ancient practice, and as it therefore had not even antiquity to recommend it, and obviously weakened and must eventually have led to the dismemberment of the state, the spirit of the ancient Constitution as well as the welfare of the whole people alike required that so much of that compulsory and unjustifiable arrangement of 1848 as introduced duality and probably therefore opposition of movement in the state machine should be omitted, whilst the other useful portions of that arrangement were preserved, confirmed and made simply practicable by national legislation being conducted by one parliament, and local matters left under the control of local authorities. And this is precisely what has been done, well done and done in such a way as to last if all parties will be satisfied with free and equal rights, which now only need the guarantee of universal assent to perpetuate them.

And here we might close our remarks, satisfied to have shown from the mouth of a most unwilling witness that the Austrian Constitution is just what it ought to be, and, as we presume to think by our further remarks, that it is not only good but legal in its inception. We think, however, that some additional explanation of events and of the question now at issue may not be unacceptable to our readers. Paget's *Hungary and Transylvania* gives an interesting account of his travels through those countries, though written with a strong bias in favour of the Magyars as a race, and against Catholicism as a religion; but to those who have the requisite leisure we would especially recommend the perusal of the Blue Book entitled "Correspondence relative to the affairs of Hungary, 1847-9," placed at the head of this article which consists principally, if not entirely, of letters from the British minister and consuls in Austria and Hungary, and comprises copies of most, if not all the official documents then published in that empire. A careful perusal of these dispatches and documents would

tend to remove many erroneous impressions, and give a more correct view of what is now but little understood. Many of our readers will be glad to learn that Paget found "the name of O'Connell, throughout all Hungary, a watchword among the Liberal Catholics, and many were the questions we were asked about his eloquence, talent, and appearance. He seems to be considered a living testimony that Catholicism and even ultra-Liberalism, are by no means inconsistent." We would venture to recommend those who would not confine their travels to the beaten track to go and see the natural beauties of Austria, Hungary, and Transylvania, and study for themselves the various races who inhabit them. Paget speaks in the strongest terms of the beauty of the scenery; and the following introductory sentences respecting Transylvania will probably surprise many whose affection for their own country, instead of being enlarged by their knowledge, is unfortunately bounded by their ignorance, of other countries. Paget exclaims—

"A strange little country is this Transylvania! Very likely the reader never heard its name before, and yet some hundred years ago it was in close alliance with England; long before religious liberty, annual parliaments, payment of members, and the election of magistrates were dreamed of amongst us, they were granted to Transylvania by a solemn Charter of the prince, the Emperor of Austria. Here is this country on the very limits of European civilization, yet possessing institutions and rights, for which the most civilized have not been thought sufficiently advanced."

But even Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany, published in 1838, says, p. 114:—

"It has been the fate of Austria hitherto to have been described almost exclusively by travellers who have taken a prejudiced and one-sided view of her government and institutions, and who have not even done justice to the beauties of the country, the flourishing conditions of her manufactures, the bravery and loyal spirit of her inhabitants and the happy condition of the majority of the inhabitants. In stigmatizing the government as the most tyrannical of despotisms, they have overlooked the fact, that the subjects living under it, especially the lower orders, are *the most contented and joyous in Europe, because actually the best off in worldly matters*, the least taxed or oppressed by fiscal burdens of any kind."

Indeed, whatever may have been the faults of Austrian government, its strong point has been care for the welfare

of the peasantry; and if any one will, as we recently did, take Alison's Europe and, glancing through the table of contents of the successive chapters, turn to those which describe the condition of the people of Austria, he will find Alison invariably describing them in terms corresponding with the words we have underlined. And Protestants will probably be surprised to learn that "There has always been great religious toleration in the whole Austrian Empire;" yet that is a sentence which we copy from the Turin Correspondent in the Times of 9th November 1855.

The Hungarians, for centuries, formed the Eastern barrier of Christian Europe, against which the invading armies of the Turks were broken. In 1526, however, they were defeated by the Turks at the battle of Mohacz, and lost their king. They offered the crown to Ferdinand the Emperor of Austria, and by the joint efforts of both Austria and Hungary, but not without the aid on one remarkable occasion of Poland, Europe was guarded from the further advance of the Mahomedan crescent.

Hungary, Transylvania, and Slavonia, are inhabited by various races of people, who have not socially amalgamated like the populations of Western Europe, and who, however locally intermixed, never intermarry, but perpetuate themselves, their languages, dress, and customs, in distinct parallel lines, without any intermingling. This is a great misfortune, but it is a fact, the sharp edges of which assimilation of laws and mode of government with prudence and in time may gradually smoothen. That the various races should be consolidated into one people with one national feeling, into the composition of which each may contribute some of their best qualities, is of course peculiarly desirable. The Slavaks of the hill country in the north and east, and the Croats and Slavonians of the belt of country on the south-west between the rivers Drave and Save, though originally split asunder by the invading wedge of the Magyars from Tartary, and now lying wide apart, are originally of the same great Slavonian race. Between them are the Magyars, originally a warlike horde from the far-east, who invaded the country and drove the original Slavonic inhabitants before them to the hilly districts northward and southward, and settled themselves in the rich plains through which the great rivers Danube and Theiss flow, and which they still possess. The majority of both the Magyar and Slavonic race are

Catholic. On the south-east lie the Wallachians, probably the descendants of the ancient Dacians; these are almost wholly of the Greek Church, and adjacent to them is a numerous colony of Saxons who are almost wholly Protestant. There are various other races, each less numerous than the above, but except the Magyars, the Saxons, or Germans, and the Jews, of whom there is a tolerable sprinkling, all the others are commonly understood to belong to the Slavonic race. Paget, vol. i., p. 7, writes,

“The Magyars, or Hungarians proper, the dominant race, and to whom the land may be said to belong, do not amount to more than three-and-a-half millions out of the ten millions at which the population is estimated. The Slavaks may be reckoned at two millions; other members of the Slavish race, but differing in religion and dialect, at two-and-a-half millions; the rest of the population being made up of Wallacks, Jews, Germans, Gipsies, &c. There is scarcely less difference of religion than of origin in this motley population. The Catholics are predominant, as well in number as in power; but the two sects of Protestants, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, and the members of the Greek Church, both united and non-united, are numerous, and enjoy nearly the same rights as the Catholics. The Jews are tolerated on the payment of a tax, but cannot exercise any political functions.”

The Magyars were the conquerors, the Slaves the conquered, whilst the Saxons came in by an intermediate immigration with distinct and recognized rights, which, like a stout and prudent people as they are, they have ever taken good care to preserve.

We wish that space admitted of our copying the entire account given by Lord Brougham in his *Political Philosophy of the Constitution of Hungary*, but we can only abbreviate it. The invading Magyars divided the lands amongst their chiefs, reducing the former inhabitants to a state of slavery. The family of Arpad, their principal leader, held the chief authority till its extinction in 1301. All of the Magyar race were noble, and they alone were entitled to own land and to vote in elections; and they were also free from taxes which were paid only by those who did *not* vote. The word *populus* in Hungary, meaning the nobles, the clergy, and citizens of free towns, all the rest of the inhabitants are termed *plebs*, and frequently *plebs misera contribuens*—a singularly significant expression designating at once the state of the people, and

the privilege or exemption which the nobles chiefly prized.

The Diet is composed of two chambers. In the upper chamber sit the prelates and magnates. The prelates are thirty-six in number, of whom thirty-four are Catholics, and one a Greek Bishop. The magnates are those who are barons or counts either by office, by descent or by tenure of land. There are six hundred or seven hundred in all who have a title to sit in this chamber, but comparatively few attend, sometimes only thirty or forty. The Lower Chamber is composed of Deputies chosen by the 46 counties, i. e. by the inferior and numerous nobility, each county sending two, the 46 counties have therefore 92 deputies, but only 46 votes (the two deputies for each county having between them only one vote), Croatia has one, Sclavonia has three, the free towns one, the chapters one, making in all 54 votes. The deputies are, however, only delegates, not to deliberate and express their own opinions, but to follow the instructions and be the mouth-piece of their constituents, and if they fail to do this satisfactorily, they are immediately displaced. The free towns may be almost said to be unrepresented, since they have but one vote. Croatia and Sclavonia are not much better, and the whole power is evidently in the hands of the Magyars.

The Crown alone has the power of convoking the Diet, and the law directs it to be assembled once in every three years. So little however has this been attended to, that only two Diets were convened in the forty years' reign of Maria Theresa; and Joseph II. never called a Diet at all during his ten years' reign. The most extraordinary part of its constitution is the uncertainty which still prevails as to what part of the magnates the right to vote resides in; for the right of created nobles to vote with those by office and estate, is so much a matter of dispute, that the Palatine or President who has, since the time of Maria Theresa, always been an Archduke, and is chosen by the Diet from four candidates named by the Crown, has frequently been known to reject the determination of an absolute majority, and to declare a question carried or rejected by the majority of the undisputed votes.

No measure can be originated in the Chamber of Magnates. The two chambers formerly sat together; their separation, which occurred so late as 1562, is said to

have arisen from the accident of the hall being too small to contain both. When the chambers differ recourse is had to what is called a mixed sitting, in which both sit, discuss, and vote together.

The Diet's principal function is legislative, that is, by the theory of the constitution, for we have already seen how that has been broken through by the celebrated *Urbarium* of the Empress Queen. The levying of taxes is also in the hands of the Diet, as well as their distribution for collection among the different districts. But, in practice this important right seems confined to direct taxation, from which the nobles being exempt, the Diet, their representative, is sure to refuse all such supplies as cannot be raised upon the townsfolk and the peasantry; and hence the sovereign has introduced a large amount of indirect taxes, which of course fall on the nobles as well as on other classes of consumers. Thus, of the whole revenue, amounting to three millions and a half, no less than two millions are raised by a salt tax, and £150,000 by customs. The raising a salt tax without consent of the Diet has been always held illegal by the Hungarians, but the imperfect federal system has always made their complaints in vain, and this tax falling equally on the poor and the rich, effectually neutralizes the privilege so highly prized by the nobles, of being exempt from taxation.

The Magyars are also exempt from the local taxes called *Cassa Domestica*, raised by the votes of county meetings, which is wholly paid by the non-nobles, and wholly administered, as well as imposed, by the nobles alone.

The king has the exclusive appointment of all officers, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and grants privileges of nobility at his pleasure.

The peasantry were originally astricted to the soil, but in 1405 a law was made suffering them to quit with the lord's leave, which, however, was not to be arbitrarily withheld. The language of one of the old laws is remarkable: it gives protection to the peasantry, "*ne omnis rusticitas deletur, sine quâ nobilitas parum valet.*" At the beginning of the 16th century, their rebellion under Dosa having been quelled, they were reduced again to complete servitude by a law which was repealed in 1547, and re-enacted the year after, and afterwards much modified in 1556. Then, in 1764 came the celebrated *Urba-*

rium of Maria Theresa, to which we have already alluded, which gave the peasant the power of leaving his lord provided his debts are paid, and there is no criminal charge against him, but his lord cannot remove him. A portion of land was allotted to him, his money payments were reduced to a mere trifle, and the service or labour called *roboth*, which he was bound to render to his master, was fixed at 104 days without his team, or 52 with it, by one or two days in the week, unless at harvest time, when it might be doubled. He was beside this to render a small amount in kind of poultry or vegetables, and to contribute, if the lord were to be ransomed in war, or to have a child married.

Mr. Blackwell, our Consul at Pesth, remarks, in 1847 :

"In conformity with these acts the *Roboth* may be commuted into a money rent, or even redeemed for perpetuity by mutual agreement of the parties concerned. However, notwithstanding these laws, the Hungarian peasants have much to complain of. It is on their property that county rates are exclusively levied, and that too in the most arbitrary manner imaginable; for the rates may be levied on the peasant's land, or his live stock, or any other kind of real property he possesses, as the county magistrates think proper. Thus, to cite one instance among a hundred—*Eötvös*, in his recent admirable work entitled '*Reform in Hungary*,' mentions that in a county in which the landed proprietors had begun to turn their attention to sheep breeding, the rates were mostly levied on the peasant's flocks, in order that the petty nobles might thus prevent plebeian competition, and have a trifling advantage in the sale of their wool. A peasant's holding, or session, as it is called, varies in extent according to the nature of the soil and local usage, but it is fixed by the *Urbarial* laws at a certain number of acres in each county, the minimum being about 25, the maximum 65 English acres. A peasant may hold a whole session, a half session, or a quarter session. For a whole session he has to work—to do *Roboth*—104 days in the year, or 52 days with a team, for the lord of the manor, besides making the roads, such as they are, and performing other *Urbarial* services for the county. The lord of the manor also takes one-ninth of the produce of the session in *naturâ*, and the Church one-tenth. The lord has likewise the privilege of being the butcher and vintner of the manor, one of the consequences of which is, that in an Hungarian village the traveller is sure to find the worst wine of the district."

Lord Brougham proceeds—

The power of inflicting corporal punishment was likewise reduced to the bestowing of 25 lashes. The griev-

ance, however, was still left of the lord's court having jurisdiction of disputes, not only between peasant and peasant, but also between the lord and peasant, the judge being named by the former. The new *Urbarium* of 1835, which, as Lord Brougham remarks, does the greatest credit to Prince Metternich, and which also was by imperial edict, provided that the jurisdiction of the lord's court should be confined to cases between peasant and peasant, and that all questions between lord and peasant, should be thenceforth tried by a new court, composed of the district magistrates and four disinterested persons. He abolished all right of inflicting corporal punishment, restricting the lord's court to imprisonment for a term not exceeding three days, in case the peasant failed to perform his services. Small tithes and extraordinary gifts were also abolished, and the peasant was not to be compelled to make long journeys with his team in order to do his appointed service for the lord.

It will be obvious from this brief explanation, and would have been even more clear, if we could have entered into more details, that the Hungarian Constitution was originally for the benefit of the Magyars or nobles only, and dealt with the unfortunate peasantry merely as beings subsidiary to the comfort of their masters, like so many head of cattle, and that every alleviation of this code has proceeded from the crown, and not from the nobles.

Croatia and Slavonia were, as we have seen, nominally, not effectively, represented in the Hungarian Diet, but, as Paget informs us, "they sometimes hold what they call Diets of the kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia. What the exact use of these Diets is, or how far their functions extend, I was not able to make out—indeed I believe it is a disputed point, the Croats wishing to consider themselves as confederates of Hungary, the Hungarians reckoning them as part and parcel of themselves. They sometimes, however, exercise the right of refusing to obey, or to adopt the acts of the General Diet when they interfere with their own peculiar privileges."

Transylvania, at a previous period, governed by a *Woiwode* appointed by the King of Hungary, in 1526 proclaimed herself an independent state, and so continued for a century and a half, paying tribute to Turkey, or seeking aid from Austria, as necessity arose, until the Emperor of Austria was elected Prince of Transylvania,

and its form of government was settled by the Diploma Leopoldinum, the purport of which we need not state further than that it established a separate Diet in correspondence with the government at Vienna.

The Hungarian Constitution for Hungary proper has never in practice corresponded with its original theory, Transylvania was never governed by it, and Croatia and Slavonia asserted the right to be governed by it or not, as they pleased, deciding, we presume, in the negative, whenever they felt themselves to be very illused, and thought themselves strong enough, or the Magyars weak enough, to make resistance prudent.

Lord Brougham concludes his account of the Hungarian Constitution, which we have endeavoured to abbreviate, with the following commentary :

“ Such is the Hungarian Constitution—‘ the ancient idol of the nation,’ as one of their own authors has said ; and an idol to whose worship they have sacrificed their country, and made themselves three hundred years behind the rest of Europe in every branch of social improvement. This Constitution means, in the mouths of its votaries, the privileges of the nobles, the oppression of the people, the neglect of national prosperity, the sacrifice of real and solid advantages to a nominal glory and empty pride. It is by another of these authors charged as the cause why he deeply grieves to see his countrymen wretched, degenerated, and grovelling in the dust.”
—Political Philosophy, Part 2, p. 96.

The Magyars had most of the virtues and vices of a dominant race, and the Slavonians most of the virtues and vices of a race subjected to compulsory labour, whilst a fertile and fine country remained in the state which would be the natural consequence of this condition of its inhabitants. The races, though in constant contact, despised and hated each other, never mingled, and the masters being the minority, and the servants the majority, the dissatisfaction of the latter not unfrequently broke out into open rebellion against the former, whilst the constant aim of the monarch was, as in such a state of things it naturally would be, to strengthen the social system by connecting the parts of it more closely together, and to improve the cultivation of the country by giving those who tilled it motives to industry ; we are not therefore surprised to find Paget saying, “ the fixed idea of Maria Theresa was the union of all her heterogeneous possessions under the same institutions and the same form of govern-

ment." That "during the forty years she reigned the Diet was only called together twice," and that "during the whole reign of Joseph II. he never summoned a Diet, but went forward unrestrained by anything but his own conscience to work out what he believed to be the happiness of Hungary." The nobles or privileged class were indisposed to surrender to the public weal the privileges which they regarded as their peculiar distinctions, and the fact of the great power of the aristocracy made it more difficult for the crown to introduce improvements, and protracted therefore to a later period than in any country in Europe (except perhaps Russia) a state of society out of which other European nations have long emerged. Paget writes:

"When Count Szechenyi lately obtained from the Diet an act for building a new bridge at Pest, and a power to make every one, noble and ignoble, pay as he passed over it, he gained as great a victory over prejudice and injustice as has been accomplished by any statesman of our day. Some of the more enlightened Hungarians would gladly see this principle carried out to a much greater extent; and it is not improbable that the Government would second them: but among many of the nobles, especially the lowest and highest, there is so great an ignorance and so strong a prejudice—on the one hand against losing what they consider their rights and on the other against raising the peasantry to think and feel like men—that much must be done before this act of justice can be accomplished."

To all the other sources of disunion and dislike amongst these various races the attempt of the dominant Magyars to impose their peculiar language upon the others may not improbably have been the last drop in the cup full of bitterness, which made it overflow in open resistance. Latin was the language of the courts and the Diet, but lately the Magyars have endeavoured not only to compel the introduction of their own language into all public transactions, but to make the knowledge of it a necessary qualification for all public employment. This is a point upon which mankind always seem peculiarly sensitive; nothing so touches the feelings of the people at large as any interference with their ordinary language. This perhaps, more than any other single thing, occasioned the revolution in Belgium, and its severance from Holland, and this probably it was which roused up the Slavonians to assert with arms in their hands, the rights of man-

hood against the Magyars. Paget thus warned them only a very few years ago.

"The Croatian language is a dialect of the Slavish, more resembling, however, that of Poland, than those of Bohemia, Russia, or even the Slavack dialect of the North of Hungary. Till within the last few years it has been totally uncultivated, and its use confined exclusively to the peasantry. Since, however, the Hungarian Diet has proposed to enforce the use of the Magyar language instead of the Latin, in public transactions throughout all Hungary, a spirit of opposition has been excited amongst the Slavish population which threatens very serious consequences. The first effect of the measure proposed by the Diet was the rousing up in Croatia, of a strong sentiment of nationality, which found vent in the establishment of a periodical, something like the Penny Magazine in form, in the Slavish language. This is the *Danica Ilirska*, edited by Dr. Gay. It is published once a week, is very respectably got up, and contains national songs, original articles, and translations. They are now endeavouring to improve the language by introducing new words in use among the Illyrians, whose language was originally the same, but which is now more polished. The Illyrian language is soft and agreeable to the ear, and, no doubt, to them contains a thousand beauties which no other language can possess. There seems too to be some idea among the *têtes exaltées* here of an Illyrian nationality. It is no uncommon thing to hear them reckoning up the Croats, Slavonians, Bosnians, Dalmatians, Servians, Montenegrins, Bulgarians, and then comparing this mass of Slaves with the three or four millions of Magyars, and proudly asking why they should submit to deny their language and their origin because the Magyars command it. I am very far from wishing this party success, though I cannot help in some degree sympathizing with a people who resist when they think a stronger power is willing to abuse its strength by depriving the weaker of those objects—language and religion—which they hold as most dear. The act has passed however which declares that in ten years time no Croat shall be eligible to a public office who cannot read and write the Magyar language, and the consequence has been the creation of a feeling of hatred against the Magyars which bodes but very ill for the speedy Magyarizing of the Croatian people."

Paget's book was published in 1850, and this must therefore have been written shortly previous.

With such a feeling existing amongst the people we come to the events of 1848-9.

One of the mischiefs of the imperfect union of Austria and Hungary was the existence of import duties payable on the line of frontier between them, as, within our

memory, import duties were payable between England and Ireland. On this subject Paget vol. i. p. 558, thus writes : |

"The population of Hungary is about one-third that of the entire Empire : of the revenue Hungary contributes little more than one-fourth. Now, though I feel certain that Hungary does not contribute a fair proportion, and certainly much less than she might do, there is no doubt the Hungarians are right in saying that the fault lies with Austria and not with them ; for under a more liberal commercial system, of which Hungary is deprived on the plea of protecting Austrian manufactures, the duties on importation and exportation alone would amount to more than the whole sum collected at present."

Assuming the blame to be here fairly and justly attributed, how does the Emperor of Austria attempt to heal the mischief? And then mark how the Hungarians purposely keep the wound open in order that it may fester.

To the Diet assembled at Presburg on 11 November, 1847, the then Emperor addressed various recommendations which certainly appear calculated to promote the welfare of the country, one of the most important of them being "the abolition of the custom-house barriers between Hungary and the other Austrian states," on which Mr. Blackwell, the British consul at Presburg, thus writes, on 22nd December, 1847,

"The contemplated removal of the intermediate customs' line is a measure that will *encounter the most violent opposition*. The Liberal party regard this measure as one of the *safeguards of Hungarian nationality*. Hence, a question that is apparently a purely commercial one, assumes, like every other question in this country, a political tendency. The line forms a barrier, though a commercial one, between Hungary and Austria. This, irrespective of its commercial advantages or disadvantages, is quite sufficient for it to find favour with the Hungarian Liberals, who declare that, if it were possible, they would convert it into a wall of brass. In a commercial point of view, the removal of the intermediate line would unquestionably be advantageous to Russia."

Here we see what is termed the Liberal party either so ignorant as not to recognize what would obviously have promoted the general interests of their country, or so infatuated as to sacrifice those interests to the animosities of race or of party ! And we trust our readers will not be misled by the terms "Liberals" and "Conservatives," which Mr. Blackwell uses to designate the two parties in

Hungary, but judge of them not by their *names*, but by their real character and objects, which Mr. Blackwell in the same letter thus describes :

"The Conservatives wish to carry out the necessary reforms with the cooperation of the Government and under what they term 'its legitimate and constitutional influence.' The opposition have lost all confidence in the Government, and hence are too apt to regard even the most wholesome measures that are supported by the Government party, with undue suspicion. The two parties have totally different objects in view. The Conservatives wish to effect a moderate reform in the existing institutions, in a manner that would strengthen the ties that unite Hungary with Austria. The Liberals, although with professions of loyalty, attachment to the Imperial Dynasty, &c., wish to sever those ties and make Hungary an independent kingdom. The final object which they profess to have in view is what they term administrative independence; but it is obvious that if this object should ever be attained and Hungary have its responsible ministry, its national treasury, national army, &c., administrative independence would soon be converted into national independence, and the ancient crown of St. Stephen again encircle the brows of a Magyar sovereign."

This was the observation of a calm impartial English observer, on the spot, in December 1847, and it seems prophetic and to supply us with the key to all that follows. It is also obvious from these remarks of Mr. Blackwell that he considered the independence at which the latter party aimed as no part of the ancient Hungarian constitution but an innovation upon it.

The Emperor's address, from which we have quoted, seems to have been delivered in the Magyar language. The Diet, in their reply, state "they have heard it with pleasure, because this has been the first time for centuries that the Hungarian nation has had the happiness of hearing from the lips of its crowned sovereign the cherished tones of its native tongue." This native tongue being, it must be recollected, native only to about one-third of the inhabitants! The feelings of the majority of the inhabitants are sufficiently indicated by this sentence.

The following concluding sentence of the reply is remarkable.

"We are convinced that if the old constitutional rights and liberties of the Austrian hereditary states still existed, if these states, in conformity with the demands of the age, and the principles of equity and justice, could be ranked among the constitutional

nations of Europe—and the government of the entire monarchy in its general system as well as in every department of the administration, was grounded on constitutional principles and animated by a constitutional spirit, we are convinced, we say, that our interests could then be easily combined with those which are at present in conflict with and even inimical to them and that, by a greater unity of interests and a greater degree of confidence being thus established, every part of the empire would be invigorated by a common tie, and the United Monarchy, by a guarantee being thus afforded for its material and intellectual development, be entitled to brave with impunity the storms and convulsions by which it might hereafter be assailed."

A practical test is now applied to the sincerity of these expressions. All the states of the empire *are* now put upon a constitutional basis, and the Magyars are still found objecting and holding back from that unity of interests here so much lauded. What now impedes that invigoration and development which it is here stated would ensue if only a certain state of things existed? Such a state of things *does* now exist and yet they are still objectors! Is it not obvious that, whether grievances exist or whether they be removed, they are still equally determined to be dissatisfied? That their complaints are not for the genuine object of improving and consolidating, but for that of dismembering the empire?

On the 15th Jan. 1848, was passed a bill decreeing that the Magyar language be exclusively used as the official language of every department of the state, civil and ecclesiastical, with certain temporary exceptions, that official documents drawn up in any other language be invalid, and that the Magyar language be exclusively used in all the schools, colleges, and universities of the kingdom. Mr. Blackwell remarks that "this bill gave rise in its progress through the House to very warm debates, that is to say, to the usual conflict between Magyarism and Slavism, that takes place on such occasions; the former of course domineering by an overwhelming majority."

The following fragment of the discussion on the bill, as reported by Mr. Blackwell, is a sufficient indication of the feelings which prevailed.

"Goldbrunner, delegate of the free town of Schemnitz, celebrated for its mines, tried in vain to show that an exception ought to be made in favour of the Schemnitz Mining Academy. This, he said, was one of the most celebrated institutions of the

kind ever established, and was annually frequented by students from every country in Europe, as well as from America. If they persisted in making Magyar the exclusive language for public instruction, it was evident that the Schemnitz Academy would soon be deserted, as it could not be expected that foreigners who came to Schemnitz to acquire a knowledge of mining, would take the trouble of learning an isolated Oriental language, which in their future career would not be of the least service to them. 'If Hungarians,' exclaimed one gentleman, 'are obliged to learn a foreign language when they frequent a foreign academy, why should not foreigners be obliged to learn Hungarian when they frequent a Hungarian academy?' 'But, I defy you,' rejoined Goldbrunner, 'to find a professor capable of giving a lecture on mining and mineralogy in the Magyar language. You will first have to coin a number of technical words, which the language at present is totally devoid of.' 'They shall not be wanted,' replied the Magyarists. 'You ought also to take into consideration,' said Goldbrunner, 'the pecuniary advantage which the town derives from the residence of such a number of students.' Let the town of Schemnitz perish, so that *Hungarian nationality be preserved*, was the only answer this German could get from the gentlemen he had to contend with.

It may seem tiresome to copy these details, but we cannot in any other way so effectually show the overbearing conduct of the Magyars, reckless of everything but their own supremacy, and the feeling which it must have produced in the minds of those over whom they thus domineered, and whom, as we shall see soon afterwards in armed resistance, or what the Magyars called "rebellion" against the Magyar rule. And miserable indeed must the majority of a people be who would submit to such treatment from the minority!

In this state of mind they entered upon 1848, the year of European revolutions. The Paris revolution was like a spark applied to trains of gunpowder, ramified into most European countries. In France Louis Philip abdicated, and Lamartine, the barricades, and Cavaignac gleamed in rapid succession across the scene—a Germanic Assembly inaugurated itself, chose an Austrian Archduke as its leader, and disappeared like a dissolving view—collisions between the troops and the people occurred both at Berlin and Vienna, and both the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria left their capitals—and the ideas of race and nationality, which were one ingredient in so many of these revolutions, seemed to have taken full possession of the population in some of the Austrian provinces. The

Magyars demanded an independent ministry, with the ultimate object, as Mr. Blackwell suggests, of arriving at an independent monarchy.

But the feeling of race, nationality, independence, or freedom, whichever it might be, extended beyond Hungary into Croatia, and the Croats were at length roused into action against the Magyars. We now quote from Thompson's *History of Austria*, published in London in 1849, p. 391.

"Hungary had seized the opportunity afforded by the crisis to plunge into the arena, and to demand the recognition of the independence of the kingdom. The concession was at once accorded with its own King and Diet, with an independent administration, and with political institutions modelled according to the demands preferred; but, as if instigated by terror or bewildered by the pressure of events, the Austrian Government conceded to that of Hungary the power to exercise over others the very prerogative against which they have themselves rebelled, namely, to bring the Slavonian provinces on their borders into the same relation with the Diet at Pesth which they had themselves so strenuously repudiated at the Court of Vienna. Dissensions and jealousies had for many years existed between the various races inhabiting Hungary; but the Magyars, though the dominant and, physically considered, the superior race, were so numerically weak, as to furnish barely a fourth part of the total returns of the census, the remainder, except an inconsiderable number of Germans, and about a million of Wallachians, being made up entirely of Slavonians. Formerly, the use of the Latin tongue stood in the same stead to this motley population as it did in the old times to the literati of Europe, and enabled them to meet for common purposes on a neutral ground. But this compromise was terminated some time back by the overweening Magyars substituting their own national language for the conventional Latin; and this example and foretaste of their oppressive ambition was naturally ill received. At the late crisis however, the Diet availed themselves of a situation in which the Court of Vienna seemed scarcely to have retained the power of refusing any thing, and obtaining the imperial sanction for definitively and absolutely incorporating with the kingdom of Hungary those provinces of Croatia and Slavonia on their southern border which had hitherto retained a quasi independence of their own—the whole constituted kingdom being of course intended to represent only the dominant nationality of the Magyars. But in this project they met with an opposition quite unexpected, at least in such force. The nationality of the Slavonians had been quickened by the revolutionary epidemic into a passion quite as lively as that of the Magyars; and they very reasonably considered that if the new

system of politics emancipated the Hungarians from the control of the Germans, it could hardly be so anomalous in its operations as to subject them to the control of the Hungarians. Accordingly, the Provincial Diet of Croatia returned a flat refusal to the proposal despatched from Pesth."

The following is the very language resolved upon and addressed to the Imperial throne.

"At a national meeting of the three kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia, held at the capital Agram, in March, 1848, 1. The extraordinary position in which the nation finds itself, as well as the restoration of its legal order, requires an authorized head, and with this view it has unanimously elected Baron Joseph Jella-chich principal magistrate of the three united kingdoms, a man who possesses the confidence of the whole nation and wishes that the command of the frontier troops and the right of calling together the Diet may be granted to him. 2. That the Diet of these kingdoms be summoned to meet at Agram by May 1st of this year at least. 3. A strong and new union in every respect of the Kingdom of Dalmatia, which, by tradition and by law belongs to us, with the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, as well as the annexation of the military frontiers as regards their political administration, and the incorporation of all other parts of our country which, in the course of time have been lost to us and united with the Hungarian Counties and Austrian Provinces. 4. Their national independence. 5. Their own independent ministry responsible to the Diet of those kingdoms, whose members shall consist of men of popular opinions, and devoted to the more modern tendencies towards freedom and progress. 6. The introduction of the national language into the interior and exterior administration of these kingdoms, as well as into all establishments for public instruction. 7. The foundation of a University at Agram. 8. Political and intellectual development on the principles of a free national spirit. 9. Freedom of the press, creeds, instruction, and speech. 10. A yearly Diet at Agram, Esseg, Zara, and Fiume in turns. 11. The representation of the people on the principle of equality without reference to rank, for the approaching as well as for all future Croatian, Dalmatian and Slavonian Diets. 12. Equality of all in the sight of the law, as well as publicity in law proceedings, together with a jury and responsibility of the judges. 13. Proportionate taxation upon all classes without regard to rank. 14. Exemption from all compulsory labour and corvee, &c. &c."

This was turning the tables upon the Magyars with a vengeance! What said the Magyars to these demands of the Slavonians? That the Slavonians were "rebels," whilst they, the Magyars, were only loyal subjects in demanding the very same things. Each claimed a

national independence, an independent ministry, a national language, (each meaning thereby a different language) and various other things, some of them excellent in themselves but others inconsistent with national unity of action; and with this material distinction between the demands of the two, that the Magyars wished to regulate matters for both themselves and the Sclavonians, whilst the Sclavonians, with equal positiveness but more modesty, were content to legislate for their own Sclavonian races only, and leave the Magyars to themselves. Each equally referred to ancient history and natural rights, and there were in favour of each party both rules and exceptions in abundance. Pressed by these rival claims what could the poor weak Emperor Ferdinand do? Driven from his capital by insurrection, alarmed out of his wits by the echoes of revolution on every side, responded to by risings and civil wars in his own dominions, he succumbed to what then appeared the stronger party, granted all the demands of the Magyars, a separate ministry, distinct government, &c., &c., and, at their request, issued a proclamation against the Sclavonians. Thereupon Mr. Blackwell in consequence writes to Lord Ponsonby, on 25th April, from Pesth,

“Order seems to prevail in every part of the forty-nine Hungarian Counties, the state of affairs in Sclavonia and Croatia, especially the latter, being far from satisfactory. The Croats, in fact, refuse to acknowledge the authority of the Hungarian ministers—to receive the acts passed by the late Diet, on the pretext that the royal sanction was extorted by intimidation.”

Whether the effect of that constitution of 1848, which was obtained, as Lord Brougham said at Dublin, in a state of “civil war,” and which the Magyars are now so bent upon maintaining, did merely contain requisite provisions for the security, freedom and welfare of the people, or whether it, by novel regulations, tended to sever Hungary from the crown of Austria, and prevent the possibility of any united and effective national action for national purposes throughout the Austrian empire, may perhaps best be learned from the report of Lord Ponsonby to Lord Palmerston, who thus writes on 12th May:

“The proceedings of the present Diet until the memorable 15th of March, were much the same as those of the last, and if the Paris revolution had not taken place, it is more than probable that

only a few unimportant bills would have received the royal sanction. The resolutions passed by the delegates on the 15th March, gave quite a different character to the Diet. All the bills under discussion were thrown aside, and a number of fresh ones—most of them of a provisional nature—introduced. The Diet has thus been enabled to pass thirty-one acts in the course of three weeks, acts *which have effected a radical change in the Hungarian Constitution and in the future independence of the kingdom.*"

Instead, then, of being "consecrated by centuries," the Hungarian Constitution of 1848 is, according to Lord Ponsonby, a "radical change." Lord Ponsonby proceeds to say,

"It has rendered Hungary to all intents and purposes an independent kingdom, merely connected with Austria by the circumstance of the two countries being still under the sceptre of a common sovereign. It will be seen, in fact, that by the 6th clause the King of Hungary binds himself to exercise the executive power in every department of the state, civil, military, ecclesiastical, and financial, exclusively by means of a responsible Hungarian ministry. In respect to the employment of the Hungarian army, for instance, which is the most important point, it is needless to observe that when the Hungarian troops now stationed in Galicia, Moravia, Lombardy, and other Austrian states, return to Hungary, they cannot be sent out of the kingdom again without an order of the Hungarian Minister of War, who, of course, would not issue such an order, without being authorised to do so by the Diet. And supposing for instance, that the Hungarians should at any time deem it advisable to furnish a contingent of troops to assist Austria against any foreign power, a measure that would be tantamount to a declaration of war against that power by Hungary, and the Austrian ministers should advise the Emperor-King to employ them for some other purpose than that for which they had been furnished, against another foreign power or a province in insurrection, for instance, it is obvious that this could not be legally done without the royal order being countersigned by the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs; so that, in point of fact, the Hungarian army, whether within or without the limits of the kingdom, is placed under the authority of Hungarian ministers responsible for their actions to the legislative assembly of the nation."

It is perfectly obvious that such a constitution could not work, or at least would so work as to prevent the possibility of Austria accomplishing any common national purpose, and would soon lead to a total severance of Hungary from Austria, as less inconvenient than the anomaly of two independent nations connected only by one nominal sove-

reign for both, but with independent ministries for each, who may act as seems well to each of them, be the one at peace and the other at war with surrounding nations, each establish different laws, custom duties, &c. &c., and each pull in different directions, like two hounds joined by one leather thong, but each pulling different ways according to their several inclinations. Better far that all union between them should be at once dissolved, than such an absurd arrangement as this be continued. Yet this new and impracticable constitution of 1848, is what so many English newspapers and readers of newspapers are backing the Magyars in their demand for, as if it were an ancient or even a possibly enduring state of things. Suppose that, instead of a legislative union with England, Ireland Scotland and Wales had, taking advantage of the state of war in which England was engaged, required to have each a separate parliament and an independent ministry, so that each might carry out such acts as might seem good to themselves and be united only by the golden circlet of the crown, one of them might prefer free trade, another protective duties, and the third a system of reciprocity; on one side of the channel or the border, the parliament and ministry might prefer to be at war with a neighbouring country, on the other side of which channel or border another parliament and ministry might prefer to be at peace with such neighbour, nor can we perceive anything in this constitution to prevent the two independent parliaments and ministries, notwithstanding the royal bridge between them, going to war with each other. This is not merely a possible, or probable, but was in Hungary an actual result. The Magyar Diet and the Croatian Diet did wage war against each other. And the unfortunate Emperor Ferdinand, after first in his utter helplessness yielding to the demands of the Magyars, clung afterwards to the Croatian plank to save himself from destruction, whereupon the Magyars, by solemn act, declared him to have forfeited the crown and renounced their allegiance to him. Orders sent from the Imperial Viceroy in Hungary to the Ban of Croatia that he should acknowledge the authority and government of Hungary, were, as Lord Ponsonby reports, received by him with silent disobedience, though he prevented public feeling being manifested by the burning of the orders; they only burned the portrait of the viceroy. From which date,

as Consul-General Fonblanque reports on 22nd May, "the Croatian people consider themselves at open war with the Hungarians, and all are occupied in preparation for a combat they desire and which they believe to be certain. The Slavonian and Livonian movements are, for the most part, national and natural impulses." The Emperor, at the request of the Hungarians, appointed the Archduke John to mediate between them and the Croats. The result is thus reported by Lord Ponsonby from Innsbruck on 25th June. "The Hungarians have lately completely failed in forcing the Croats to submit to their superiority, although they employed the authority of the Austrian Government." He remarks also that "the Croats, including the military colonies, are the best affected and the best soldiers of the empire." And on the 3rd July he reports information from "a person who is well known to me to be a leading man in Croatia, that a conflict with the Hungarians would be the signal for the general rising of Southern Slavonic races and that the Austrians would be supported by the Croats, but that if the Austrian Government will force them to be under the Hungarians, they will rather prefer placing themselves under the Russian rule than submitting to the Hungarians."

A meeting was held at Vienna, the Emperor being still at Innsbruck, between Jellachich and Batthyany, the Hungarian minister, but they could not arrive at any arrangement. On the 26th August Lord Ponsonby reports that "the Croats demand from the Emperor the repeal of the imperial order requiring them to submit to the authority of the Magyars, and that the Croats and all others being inhabitants of Hungary, or assumed to belong to that country, be placed in a state of perfect equality with the Magyars in every respect." And he adds, "the Croats and their chief, Jellachich, are zealous for the connection of their country with the Emperor, and for the maintenance of the integrity of the Austrian empire." On the 31st of August Lord Ponsonby writes from Vienna, "Jellachich now proposes as his object the overthrow of Kossuth, and the establishment in Vienna of a central power to manage the military and financial affairs of Hungary. Jellachich says it is impossible for him to go back without establishing the arrangements desired either by treaty or by force. He

says his people would act without him were he to attempt retrogression. The Hungarian ministers are now in Vienna to ask the Imperial Government for military assistance. The object of Jellachich and his associates is to reestablish the authority of the Austrian Government as existing under a constitutional system, and to keep the empire together in force sufficient to resist attacks from any quarter." And again, on 1st September he writes, "The affairs of Hungary cannot I believe be settled unless the Hungarians submit somehow or other to the terms Jellachich requires; the most important of which are, that the army of Hungary should be under the war department of the empire, and the finances also, in a certain degree, be committed to the charge of the Austrian Minister of Finance. The question seems to be, how are the required changes to be brought about? The *new law* of Hungary relating to them must either be altered by the Hungarian Diet or the change effected by force of arms by the Croatsians."

These passages from Lord Ponsonby's letters show that the determination of the Croatsians was spontaneous and general amongst them, and so strong as not to be capable of controul, and they also explain why the Austrian Emperor eventually transferred his confidence from the Magyars to the Croatsians, because it is obvious that the latter opposed those new Hungarian laws which stripped the crown of the powers requisite for government. We pass over the military actions as being sufficiently known, and prefer endeavouring to arrive at the motives which led to the more remarkable events. Jellachich was marching against Pesth, the Hungarian Deputies were at Vienna, "desiring," says Lord Ponsonby, "to get military and pecuniary assistance from the Austrian Government against him. The Austrian Government will not give either." General Lambert was sent to Pesth, "to procure the arrangement of difficulties between the Hungarians and Croatsians,"—and there murdered. Lord Ponsonby in reporting this event on the 2nd of October, says, "the proceedings of Kossuth on the occasion induced the greater part of the Hungarian men of consideration to fly from Pesth.....The Austrian Government is to make the Ban Generalissimo of all the troops. The Hungarian regiments of hussars which had taken part with Kossuth and the Hungarian Government, as it assumed to be,

have submitted to his authority. Thus a step which is thought to have been a bad stroke of policy on the part of the Austrian Government has, by the murder of the poor general in Pesth, turned out to be extremely advantageous to the Imperial Government."

The Emperor, on the 3rd of October, after referring to the resolution of the Hungarian Diet against the mission of General Lambert, and his consequent murder, dissolved the Diet, and appointed Jellachich Lieutenant-General of all the troops in Hungary and Transylvania. In consequence of an attempt to send Austrian troops from Vienna against the Magyars, a rising occurred, and as Lord Ponsonby writes on the 7th of October, "General Latour was surprised and murdered in the War Office, and his naked body hung up to a lamp post," and the Emperor and his family again retreated from Vienna. Lord Ponsonby had, on the 2nd, written, "Pesth has hitherto been under the influence of the same party whose works have produced mischief in Paris, Frankfort, Berlin, and Vienna, and all parts of Germany and Italy; *the authors and actors of attempts to create and to make successful a system of social war under the name and pretence of men seeking political liberty.*" The Hungarian Diet on the contrary declares on 10th October, in a solemn address, that it "is impressed with the warmest feelings of gratitude for the heroic devotion of the noble inhabitants of Vienna, by means of which it has distinguished itself so nobly in preventing the increase of the traitor Jellachich's army," and threatens the "robber hordes" of "the rebel Jellachich" with "merited destruction"; a threat, however, which they failed to execute. The Magyars advanced to aid the insurgents in Vienna, but Vienna was taken and the Magyars driven back by the combined Austrian and Croatian forces.

On the 19th November, 1848, Lord Ponsonby writes to Lord Palmerston,

"Baron Jellachich has freely declared that the Austrian Government, if victorious, will not demand from the Hungarians any severer terms than those formerly proposed, namely, the enjoyment by all the tribes inhabiting Hungary of equal national rights; that is, the termination of the Magyar predominance, the connection of the administration of the Hungarian army with the administration of the Austrian army, so that both shall be under the authority of the Emperor; the connection of the administra-

tion of the finances of Hungary with that of the finances of the Imperial Government."

How exactly does this sentence indicate the cause of the quarrel and the different objects aimed at by each party, and how exactly have the expectations which were raised by this announcement been fulfilled by the constitution recently promulgated by the Emperor of Austria! The language might indeed have been a description of it by anticipation.

In December 1848 Ferdinand abdicated in favour of his nephew the present Emperor, and in January 1849, Lord Ponsonby sends the following extract from an article respecting Hungary, which he says "may be depended upon as the expression of the opinion and the present intentions of the Imperial ministers." We copy it at length, because it so exactly corresponds with and dovetails into every thing which has since occurred on the part of Austria.

"The melancholy consequences of the *de facto* separation of Hungary during whole months in financial, military, and commercial respects prove to conviction that an intimate organic union of Hungary with the whole monarchy is the only basis of the safety and happy regeneration of that province, as well as of the prosperity of the Austrian monarchy, and consequently that union must have an essential influence on the maintenance of a policy in central Europe which ensures the balance of states, the principal factor of such policy being a great and powerful Austria. It is possible that this union has, on account of its great political importance, been the object of the endeavours of the Austrian Government for many centuries past; but its accomplishment was impossible as long as Hungary possessed constitutional privileges, whilst the other portions of the monarchy were governed absolutely. This difference in form, in contradiction with a real unity of the monarchy is now entirely changed; for the absolute Government of the Austrian Monarchy has become constitutional, and the Hungarian constitution has ceased to exist, inasmuch as not only the principal and fundamental privileges of the Hungarian aristocracy, such as the exclusive right of possession and of employment, the freedom from all taxes, from the conscription, &c., have been abolished, but the palladium of the constitution likewise, in force for more than eight centuries, namely, the autonomy of the counties, has been *annulled by the last Presburgh Diet*, which obtained by force a separate ministry, entirely unconnected with the Government of the monarchy, with the responsibility of which the preservation of the municipal liberties exercised in the counties is

incompatible.....What still remained of the provisions of the Hungarian Constitution with respect to the King and Monarchy was destroyed by the Kossuth-Batthyany ministry, and by the half wicked half terrorised Diet at Pesth. The last traces of the rights accorded to the Hungarians by the Pragmatic Sanction have been effaced since the murder of the noble Count Lamberg, by the terrorism of the Dictatorship of Kossuth, and by the revolutionary proceedings of the illegal Diet which, in opposition to the Manifesto of 3rd October, continued its sittings, and by its treasonable revolutions, particularly the one of 7th December, trod in the most daring manner, the Pragmatic Sanction underfoot. As the Hungarian Constitution has, in its essential part been destroyed and annulled by the Hungarians themselves; as the Hungarians have, by their armed revolt, forfeited that provision of the Pragmatic Sanction which says that they shall not be governed by the rule of the rest of the hereditary provinces, and as they have brought about the necessity of making war upon them to conquer them, while the Government of the entire monarchy has in no manner departed from the provisions of the Pragmatic Sanction, doing, on the contrary, its very utmost to maintain the point that they should be governed together and undivided; finally, as the accession of our Emperor, in the strength of his youth, decidedly corresponds to the requirements of the moment as regards the Hungarians, and sets aside all the superfluous scruples of the oath taken at the coronation, we may assume, according to God and common reason, that the Hungarian constitution no longer exists, and that Hungary must, in as far as is necessary, be considered as a *tabula rasa*. Thus the moment has arrived for Hungary and Austria, which must decide for a long time to come with respect to the fate both of the one and the other. Of the success of the war there is no longer the slightest doubt; but after this war it will be the first and most sacred duty of Austria thoroughly to reorganize a country which so rich by nature, has been ruined by its anarchical dictators, by a miserable administration and a suicidal war."

In due sequence to this on the 8th March, 1849, Lord Pousonby communicated to Lord Palmerston the constitution proclaimed by the young Emperor on the 4th, "consolidating the various kingdoms and states which are subject to his crown into one united empire and establishing a government for the whole, and an administration of its several parts upon liberal principles," and of which the constitution more recently promulgated is but the detailed completion.

The following are leading features of the earlier announcement, and vitally touch the question of the supremacy or equality of races.

"Equal justice will be given to all races and each race has the inviolable right of preserving and maintaining its own nationality and language.

"The whole empire is placed on the same footing as regards duties and commerce. Interior duties cannot exist under any pretence, and where such duties at present exist between separate parts of the Empire, they are to be done away with as soon as possible. For all nations of the empire the right of Austrian citizenship is one and the same. Every species of serfage, every kind of feudal subjection is now for ever abolished. On touching the Austrian soil or the deck of an Austrian ship, every slave becomes free. All Austrian citizens are equal in the eye of the law and are liable to the same legal treatment. The public offices and employments in the service of the state are open to all who are capable of filling them."

These obviously just and equal regulations completed, we fear, the disgust of the Magyars, and seem to have had no small influence in determining them to sever altogether from the Austrian monarchy, for on the 14th of the following month of April the Magyar National Assembly at Debreczin, which had so long been at open war with Austria, passed the memorable Declaration of Independence, the purport of which we have before stated. Consul-General Colquhoun, in communicating this to Lord Palmerston, writes on the 10th of May, "On the 14th ultimo a grand sitting of the Diet was held in the church of Debreczin. On the proposition of M. Kossuth, the House of Austria was for ever deposed from the throne of Hungary. There was a large party in the Diet against this measure as being too violent and *premature*; but it was nevertheless carried by a large majority, and among the people it is popular." Bear in mind that "people" means only the noble Magyars, and not the ignoble "pebs."

The civil war proceeded with varying success, and in the course of it attempts were made to negotiate between the Magyar and Slavonic races. But although the Emperor had, on the 4th of March, 1849, proclaimed the equal rights of all races, we find Bathiany, the Magyar minister, requiring on the 10th of June, 1849, as one of "the principles which must prove a basis to any conciliation—the supremacy of the Magyar element, acquired 1000 years ago by the armed hand, the foundation of our autonomy, and consecrated by the use of the Magyar as

the diplomatic language." *They* were not content with equality, they claimed ascendancy, and were dissatisfied with the Emperor because, as part of a free constitution, he offered them only equality. Events went on adversely to the Magyars—when at last defeat seemed imminent, and their supremacy was perforce passing away, they on the 28th of July publicly proclaimed the "equal rights of all nationalities." It was then *too late*, and within one month afterwards, Georgey was a prisoner and Kossuth a fugitive. Schlesinger, in his "War in Hungary," vol. ii. p. 188, remarks, that this "recognition of equal rights came a year too late; for it now merely offered to the Slavonic races a concession which had already been secured to them by the Emperor of Austria, and offered it, moreover, in sight of their burnt down cities, desolated villages, and desecrated graves. The Magyar haughtiness and the thirst for supremacy in the Hungarian nobility never suffered a deeper humiliation than from the resolutions passed at this sitting of the Diet. It was the last—the great expiatory sin offering of the representatives of the Hungarian nation for long years of injustice to the other races."

On the 14th of August Lord Ponsonby wrote to Lord Palmerston,

"I do believe that, if victorious, the Austrians will give some constitution to Hungary, with a view to the establishment in that country of as much contentment as they may be able to produce; but they will not ever consent to establish the ancient constitution of Hungary, *which has been abolished by the acts of the Hungarian Diet*, acting under the direction of the Liberal party and its leader Kossuth, according to legal forms, and sanctioned by the late Emperor. Whenever the war in Hungary shall be terminated—if that shall be in favour of the Austrians—I think that Austria will take care to hold all the fortresses of Hungary in her own hands, and to place Vienna in security against such dangers as those were to which that capital has been exposed. The Magyars are now fast sinking into comparative insignificance. *It is an error to talk of them as ten millions of people; it is an error to think they are the people of Hungary.* They are not much more than one third of the population, and they are not favoured or liked by the other portions of it."

Soon afterwards the Magyars were finally defeated, and obliged unconditionally to surrender, Kossuth, the governor, having previously resigned, and at the same time, by

his individual proclamation, appointed General Georgey Dictator, who capitulated in August.

In the following month of September, Lord Ponsonby wrote to Lord Palmerston,

"I have no certain knowledge of the intentions of the Austrian Government with relation to the settlement of Hungarian affairs, but I believe that the constitution nearly in substance, as it is seen in the original, as proclaimed on the 4th of March, 1849, will be established in that country after a lapse of some time, which will be employed by the Imperial Government in securing the peace of Hungary, &c."

The following document, though lengthy, well deserves to be copied, since it states the demand which, since the defeat of the Magyars, the Slavaks of the north (who, it will be recollected, are different from the Slavonians of the south, though of the same race and origin) have addressed to the Emperor of Austria; it suggests that the Magyar difficulty is not the only one, that others have to be satisfied as well as they, and that, perhaps, in doing justice to all these Hungarian races, it may not be easy or even possible to fulfil all the wishes of all, but that each should smooth a little the edge of individual desire in order that all may enjoy their constitution together.

The Deputies of the Slavaks thus address the Emperor on the 10th of September, 1849.

"As the victorious imperial armies have now overcome the mad rebellion in Hungary, it is presumed that the Government will immediately take under their consideration the political organization of Hungary, the result of which is that they will have to decide on the political life of 3,000,000, of Slavaks, and consequently the said Deputies think that it would be agreeable to the Government to attend to the just wishes of the faithful Slavak nation, in order that in this most important work they, as well as the other nations of this mighty state, may have them regarded with like paternal love, and, if they be feasible, granted to them.

"The Slavish nationality of Upper Hungary, still sighs under the heavy chains of Magyar supremacy, under the present—for the most part—Kossuthian magistrates, and under the disloyal influence springing from feudalism of the renegade nobility, who denied the Slavish nationality, and with obstinate pertinacity continues to worship with idolatry the Magyar supremacy; and finally, under the constant threat of loss of life and property from the rebellious guerillas. The Slavish nation is in consequence not in a position to make its wishes known formally; for its feet are bound, it can-

not walk, its mouth is closed, it cannot speak ; but this it will only be able to do through its lawful and properly instructed representatives. It being so, some time must elapse before the Slavish nation can make known even its just wishes, and lay the same at the foot of the Imperial Throne ; this would however be too late.

“ Under such circumstance, the said Deputies consider it to be their duty, in the interest of the Imperial Throne, of the united empire, and of this unexampled oppressed nationality, to make known to the Government the wishes of the nation to whom they belong, and which are become known to them from experience, from their correspondence, and many other means of information, and to bring forward the following for their consideration.

“ 1. That the octroyé'd constitution of the 4th of March be forthwith given to the Slavish nation, in the German and Slavish languages.

“ The Deputies will warrant that the faithful Slavish nation will receive the same with pious gratitude, for it impatiently waits the time to hail from the mouths of the Imperial organs, the sacred principle of equal rights. It will honour with eternal gratitude the imperial gift of its kind and most beloved monarch, as it will break the Magyar chains, and secure to it a new political existence. The Deputies trust that their nation, under the prudent and paternal direction of the Imperial Government, will never forget the generous gift, and never waver in the proved fidelity to the dynasty and throne.

“ Equality of rights can, however, only become a reality when the Slavish nation is for ever freed from the Magyar yoke, and their return to it for the future rendered impossible. The Slavish nation therefore wish,—

“ 2. That the Slovakish North Hungarian nation be separated from the Magyars, under the old name of ‘Slovakia.’ Slovensko (so as the Serbian Vojvodina) shall be constituted a separate crown land, and shall be subject to the undivided authority of the Imperial Government. That the districts in the provinces are to be ruled and administered by the Emperor and by men who have proved true to their nationality (Slavaks or Germans speaking their language), and not by their eternal oppressors, Magyars or Mav-way Slaves ; and that, therefore, the Rutheneans may be left to themselves, and the included Germans and Magyars be guaranteed their own nationality, as, on the other hand, the Slavaks included in Magyar comitats are to preserve theirs.

“ The German language is, however, to be the official one, between the Government and the provincial authorities of Slovakia.

“ The Deputies think it necessary to state, among others, the following important reasons for their desire for Slavak nationality. It would be impossible, on account of the number, for the smallest

nationalities to sit in a mixed Hungarian Landtag, as, from existing circumstances, from the weakened spirit of nationality, from the Magyar intolerance of nationality, oriental presumption, and depreciation of the value of smaller nationalities from the reaction which is now naturally showing itself, an irreconcilable aversion between the assembled representatives must exist.

"A Landtag composed of such elements can in no way be a support of the Throne, nor serve the united Empire; it cannot cement the common weal; it can only hem in the Government, and lead to the ruin of the whole.

"If even the Slaves had the direction of their own civil and legal matters, under a common Governor, the Slaves would never become, through the eternal intrigues of the mercenary Slavish nobility, freed from Magyar supremacy, and would in a short time, particularly at the first political crisis, again fall a sacrifice to them.

"It is also to be considered that if the Slavish is to continue united with the Magyar, it can never arrive at a powerful political existence or self knowledge, and that, at the first political crisis, it might regard with apathy the unextinguished Magyar tendencies, as it would have no political existence of its own, no national position in the state to lose.

"Further, it cannot be the interest of the Imperial Throne and of the united monarchy to allow the imposing population of 3,000,000 of Slaves to be misused as an instrument for Hungarian nationality."

The difficulties of union are here indicated from an opposite point of view, and the feelings of animosity which the races entertain towards each other will obviously make any united action difficult. Each wishes to be independent of the other, whilst, in the common interest of all, the Emperor declines to detach them from each other; their feelings would keep them ever apart, whilst he, sensible of the practical inconveniences of separate Diets or Parliaments under one monarchy, seeks to bring in due proportion the scattered elements of nationality into one legislative body; and whilst therefore he secures the equal constitutional rights of all, he refuses only so much of the requests of both Magyar and Slavak as would perpetuate division and almost inevitably lead to dismemberment. Instead of the prevalent disposition to put the worst construction upon every thing that Austria says or does, it seems to us that Great Britain, which has but recently passed through a similar crisis herself, should look with sympathy and hope upon the efforts of Austria to cure the

divisions of her children and comprehend them all in one social and national union.

An examination of the facts has led us to these conclusions. 1. That the Magyars do *not* constitute the population of Hungary, but only a minority of that population. 2. That the civil war of 1848-9 was essentially a war between the Magyar race and the Slavonic race. 3. That the constitution to which the Magyars extorted the acquiescence of the old Emperor in 1848 was *not* the ancient Hungarian constitution, but a newly modelled constitution which the revolution of Paris and the eruptive tendencies of Europe generally encouraged them to extort, which was not capable of working with any tolerable smoothness, and which must have ended, and was probably designed to end, in a total severance of Hungary from the crown of Austria. And, 4. Whatever that constitution was, whether old or new, good or bad, it could not be legally claimed by the Magyars after they had engaged in civil war against their sovereign, still less after they had solemnly deposed and banished him.

The ground therefore is clear for the introduction of a new constitution, and the only question remains whether that which has been promulgated by the Emperor is adapted to the people, is such as all ought equally to enjoy, such as may secure individual rights, promote the common weal, satisfy the reasonable claims of every race and party, give to the one central parliament, and to the divers local bodies those appropriate powers which each should possess, and to the Emperor that duly regulated but effective executive authority which alone can hold the whole together, and employ the energies of the whole in any combined action. That the new constitution is of such a character seems to be universally admitted, and the wish of every intelligent friend of good government should be that it may accomplish its purposes, make the Austrian people contented and happy, and the Austrian empire powerful and peaceful. That such national ingredients as we have described should at once subside into satisfied quiescence is not to be expected, hardly even to be desired; discussion and even agitation and pressure may be useful, they are sure to occur among a free and intelligent people, and if they involve risk, from them with prudence and patience may be evolved health and vigour. The very excellence of the constitution may

make it unacceptable to some of the races to be governed by it—some of them may not be content with equality and long for ascendancy, heedless that the exaltation of one must imply the depression of others, and it seems very probable that both the Magyars and Slavonians may each at this moment prefer to stand out for two or more separate Diets and two or more separate independent ministries, rather than form parts of one national parliament; but such preferences obviously conflict both with each other and with the common welfare. As children cry for toys, men unused to constitutional government loudly claim privileges which are inconsistent with such a government, or with any stable government—both must be denied, and the children and the men both live to learn and acknowledge that their happiness is more effectually consulted by such denials than it would have been by concessions. And so we trust the various races of Hungary will live to learn and acknowledge that their happiness and prosperity will, in the long run, be more effectually compassed by one parliament legislating for the equal welfare of the whole people, than by separate Diets for the several races, which would weaken each other and paralyse the nation.

Along with the form must be adopted the spirit of a constitutional Government. No subject should be allowed, nor any sovereign attempt, to transgress the rules of the constitution for any purpose whatever, however tempting the immediate advantage may appear. It is one of the inconveniences of constitutional government that many even right and desirable things cannot be done so promptly and readily as under a despotism. The constitutional form is preferred, not because it is in every instance the most effective, but because it is deemed best in its entire results, and those results cannot be attained without its being preserved under all circumstances inviolate. The rulers and the subjects have both to learn this lesson; neither perhaps will be at first or for some time inclined in certain cases to go round by the constitutional road when they see a short cut before them. Yet must the regular track be maintained, all trespass be avoided, the constitution be respected by the rulers, cherished by the people, and acquire a character of sanctity in the eyes of all, if it is to yield all the good results of which it is capable. The Government must learn to do less, and to confide in the people to do more; when the civil Government

has provided for the protection of life and property, and removed all obstacles in the way of individual exertion, it must then be content to leave the people to work out their welfare for themselves, encouraging and rewarding perhaps in some few instances their efforts, but more ordinarily leaving them to their own reward, and thus encouraging rather self-reliance, self-culture, and persevering industry, than any leaning upon Government.

The country is rich, but its products may be greatly increased by improving the arrangements between landlords, tenants, and labourers, giving to the first fixed payments, to the second certain tenure, and to the last money wages by the day, week, or year, putting an end to the roboth or payment of rent in labour, which is the worst mode of payment to both landowner and peasant, for it inclines the one to be idle and the other exacting, and both to be dissatisfied; let every one engaged in manual labour have the keenest motive for industry, by increased earnings in proportion to the work he does.

And as to the minerals of the country, which are abundant and of great value, the crown and the noble proprietors would probably find it to their advantage to confide the working of them to men of capital, science, and experience, who would pay them a fixed tonnage or rent greater in amount than the net profits they could obtain by keeping such undertakings in their own royal or aristocratic hands. Let all monopolies be abolished. Endeavour to extinguish the animosities of race, though not in too great a hurry, that when all men have equal rights, and are on a social level, they may gradually forget the distinctions of race, and fuse into one strong amalgam. Give, in fine, fair play to the physical and mental energies of a people who, take them all in all, are not excelled in the world, who have most of our virtues with few of our vices. To make such a land and such a people all that they are capable of being made is one of the noblest of human enterprises. We heartily wish them success. There are, and of course there will be difficulties, but not greater than we have experienced at home—may they learn wisdom from our varied career, avoid our errors, and imitate only where we have deserved imitation—and may the years be few ere the various races of Austria, Hungary, and Venetia, become as contented and as united as those of England, Ireland, and Scotland!

- ART. VII.—1. *De Regimine Principis*. S. Thomas Aquinas. Rome, 1615.
2. *Commentaries on Public Law*. Sir G. Bowyer. London, 1831.
3. *Saggio di Dritto Natural*. L. Tapparelli, S.J. Leghorn, Mansi, 1851.

THE attacks lately made on the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, arousing, as they have done, all the warmest feelings and passions, both of his defenders and assailants, have given rise to a host of pamphlets in every language of Europe on the subject of his right to the Government of his states. A logical mind must at once perceive that the first question to be decided is, what conditions are necessary to give any Government a just claim to the allegiance of its subjects? The second is, Does the Papal Government fulfil these conditions? The former is the major of the syllogism: the latter the minor: if the parties in the argument be not agreed on the former, there is no use in their discussing the latter. Yet this is precisely the ambiguity which runs through the whole controversy: and which has, we believe, puzzled and distressed some Catholic minds. They are anxious to think the Pope in the right, and to wish for his success: yet they cannot satisfactorily answer the arguments of his opponents, even to themselves: because they have tacitly admitted an erroneous major, and assented to an erroneous standard for the decision of the question, whether his government is a lawful and just one. In very truth, the origin of all this is older and deeper than the present controversy, though this has brought it prominently forward; and we therefore think that we may do some service by investigating and explaining the doctrine of government, or, as it may be more fully expressed, the question of the rights and duties of governments and subjects. And here we must premise two things. First, that although the question of the Papal Government has turned attention to this class of subjects, we write with no reference whatever, implied or otherwise, to that question; we leave the defence of the Pope to his other advocates, and investigate the general problem of all government. Secondly, that the question, as we

intend to treat it, is not one of positive teaching on the part of the Church ; but like other questions of deductive morality, an open one ; although the axioms on which the whole investigation must be founded, are fixed by its authority ; and although no Catholic could safely disregard, even in collaterals, the teaching of the great Catholic doctors. What that teaching has been, and what may be considered to be the soundest Catholic views on the subject, it is our special aim to investigate and elucidate.

To understand this clearly, we must for a moment reflect on what is the mode of teaching of the Church, with regard to morals. Whilst on points of belief, the decisions of the Church, so to speak, cover the whole ground ; on points of morals, the great leading principles are clearly laid down ; and their more immediate consequences authoritatively enforced ; but the more remote consequences and their applications are left to the discussion of casuists ; and the practical application of principles in each individual case remains a question for the individual conscience guided and directed by authority. Thus the Church clearly lays down the principle that killing in an unlawful war is murder, and that wars undertaken without just cause are unlawful. But although certain extreme cases of unjust war are clearly ascertainable, she nowhere undertakes to lay down a whole detailed theory by which to decide at once peremptorily the justice or injustice of any particular war. In like manner, the doctrine that the authority of lawful governments is derived from God, and that lawful governors, in the exercise of their authority, must be obeyed "not only for fear, but also for conscience sake" is positively laid down ; but no empirical formula is given by which to test in every instance whether a particular government is lawful or not : and the correlative doctrine is equally emphatically enforced ; that civil governors are not to be obeyed when their commands are contrary to the law of God, "for we must obey God rather than man" ; and that governors are bound to govern justly, "for by me do kings reign and princes administer justice ;" but no formula is given to decide when a command, being unjust may be lawfully disobeyed. Thus we perceive that the question of what constitutes a lawful government, and what are its rights ; and the correlative

one of what constitute practically the rights and duties of subjects, is, as we have said, one for open discussion, guided by the light of those venerable authorities, the great Catholic doctors of all ages.

From the fifteenth century to the present day two opposite theories have divided opinions on the subject, especially in Protestant countries; and their influence has been felt even in Catholic lands. One, commonly known as that of divine right, or the divine right of kings (founded as will be shewn later, on an ambiguous use of the term "divine right") may more properly be called that of absolutism.* Its leading principles are that rulers are appointed directly by God, and hold their power immediately from Him: and are accountable directly or indirectly only to Him; they are God's vicegerents, answerable only to Him; and that subjects have no rights against them, nor can in any way call them to account, or resist them. They are indeed bound to govern justly, but this is a duty only to God, and therefore confers no correlative rights on their subjects.†

The opposite theory, which claims for itself, (a little unjustly as we shall see later) the exclusive title of liberty, and that of the sovereignty of the people, may be more correctly designated as that of the sovereign rights of populations.

Its leading principles are—That all power of government is founded only on the delegation of the population, and consists only of the aggregate amount of individual right voluntarily surrendered by each individual for the sake of living in society. That all power resides in the population as individuals, who, when they elect a governor, (whom they need not create at all) delegate to him

* Not despotism, which is different.

† Amongst Catholic writers who sustain this doctrine, we may mention the writer of the edition of "*Institutiones Philosophiæ Lugdunenses*," published in the reign of Louis XIV; in the older edition it is not to be found. F. Amat Archbishop of Palmira *idea della Chiesa militante* cap 3. ap. Balmes, *Catholicity and Protestantism* compared, vol. 4. The Imperial constitution of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria ap. Balmes, vol. 3. Count de Maistre and writers of his school, although they cannot be said fully to adopt these views, lean towards them from their antagonism to the Revolutionary theories.

such power as they choose ; which they may as freely revoke. In this view the people alone have rights, governors possess none against those who, as they *made*, can also unmake them.*

Such, stated in their clearest terms, are the two theories which divide public opinion in these and other countries. Not that almost any writer on either side states them nakedly or pushes them to their farthest logical limits. In this, as in most other cases, men shrink from the rigid application of their own theories. The supporters of the divine right of kings speak tenderly of subjects, and how they ought to be treated by their rulers, whilst the advocates of popular rights speak reverently of existing governments,† and each is strongest in attacking their opponents and pointing out the weak points in their arguments.

Up to the fifteenth century these questions had excited comparatively little attention and led to few practical differences. The great Catholic writers had indeed, as we shall see later, laid down sound principles, but their practical discussion was seldom called for by circumstances. The Governments of Europe which arose out of the deluge of barbarian invasion in which the Roman Empire had perished, were governments of fact, not of theory. They were of all sorts, and arose in all sorts of ways ; and all seem to have been considered equally legitimate. In Venice, a community of emigrants, all tolerably equal, agreed to govern themselves in an oligarchical republic. In France, the leaders of tribes of warlike barbarians, who had acquired the leadership by virtue of the strength of their arm and the keenness of their intellect, transmitted their power, with the title of king, to their descendants, who were freely obeyed by the descendants of those whom their fathers had led to battle and conquest. In Rome a society, abandoned by its

* See Hobbes, Rousseau, and Paine, for full development of these principles.

† This is most observable in the English whig writers who whilst basing their support of the Revolution of 1688 on the rights of the people, try to modify in every way the rights of the people, to upset any other government. See Macaulay's masterly account of the discussions at the Revolution.

former rulers, prayed a bishop to rule and guard them, and gave to him an authority which they certainly did not seem to consider revocable.

Some features all these varied governments had in common. The power of government (in whomever that power might reside) was held to be most large, indeed, with one restriction, almost unlimited, certainly unrestrained by any popular will. One restriction was held to bind all governments, whatever their origin or form, the obligation of ruling justly. Governors who ruled unjustly were always held to have forfeited their power. In fact, justice was held to be the essence of government, without which it was not government but tyranny, lawfully to be resisted. And as no rule could be laid down beforehand to test the justice of any particular government, the Popes, as the great arbiters of morals, were constantly appealed to by nations against their unjust governors. Another characteristic which distinguished more or less the mediæval governments, was the absence of perfectly absolute power in any government. Rudely and awkwardly enough, but still effectually, the power of the government was held in check by other powers; by powerful barons, by free cities, by ecclesiastical communities, by absence of standing armies, and the pecuniary wants of sovereigns, and more than all, by the controlling power of the Roman Pontiffs.

Whilst thus no perfect despotism existed in Europe, the masses of the people were not educated, or strong enough to exercise or claim any considerable share in the government, and the question of their right to do so remained in abeyance. It is, however, to be remarked, that almost all the Governments of Europe retained some vestige of a choice or veto on the part of the people in the choice of their rulers. The old Spanish oath of allegiance is well known.* And in our own country, not only were the Saxon Kings chosen, but even after the conquest the people were asked at the coronation whether

* We who each of us are as strong as you, and all of us are stronger than you, swear to be faithful and true to you as long as you observe our rights and privileges, and if not—not. The Hungarian oath was somewhat similar.

they were willing to have the person about to be crowned for their king.*

But with the sixteenth century came a new state of things. Both kings and peoples were becoming stronger. The people were becoming stronger because they were more wealthy and more educated, and therefore better fitted and more anxious to take a part in government. The king was more powerful, because war had become a science, regular standing armies had arisen, and he possessed the power of the sword. And to add to and exasperate these elements of contention, men had, in many places, thrown off the controlling power of that religion which had in so many instances checked the excesses of the two parties; the power of that religion which, wielded by the Sovereign Pontiffs, had so often proved a check on the tyranny of kings, and had protected the people from the abuses of absolute power by enforcing the obligation of ruling justly. The sixteenth century saw in almost every country of Europe the contest between the sovereign and the people brought to the bloody arbitrament of the sword; and the struggle continued with varying results for some two hundred years. In most countries, for the reasons so well pointed out by Macaulay in the first chapter of his history, it terminated in the establishment of an absolute government. France saw the last vestiges of self-government disappear under Louis XIV. who proclaimed "*l'état c'est moi.*" In Spain, Charles V. attained to a power which overshadowed that of the Cortes; and that power was consolidated under his son Philip II. A little later arose the equally absolute Catholic House of Hapsburg; and the Protestant House of Brandenburg. In the Low Countries indeed, the struggle ended in the triumph of the popular element, and the establishment of republican institutions; whilst in our own country it terminated, after many vicissitudes, in a compromise between the two powers, and the establishment of a government, perhaps analogous in its nature to the limited monarchies of the middle ages.

* See Thierry *Conquete de l'Angleterre*, vol. 2. p. 13. At the coronation of William the Conqueror, the bishop of Coutances asked the Normans, and the archbishop of York the English, if they were willing to have William for their king.

And whilst the men of action were in every country carrying out this contest between the people and the rulers to practical results, the men of thought were equally busy endeavouring to justify their own side; and to frame a theory of government consonant with their views. As might have been expected, those of the Reformed religion were the most prominent in elaborating these theories: most Catholic writers were content "*stare supra antiquas vias.*" The Reformers, on the other hand, were ready to investigate with searching freedom the foundations of government, and to elaborate new theories on the subject. Their first writers were mostly supporters of the powers of princes. Luther and many of his associates relied on the support and patronage of several of the princes of Germany, and were ready to give the support of their pens to the power which protected them.

Gradually the theory of absolute government, or as it was called, of the divine right of kings, was elaborated and perfected. In our own country it was broadly stated by James I. and was perfected by Filmer and writers of his school.

It may be briefly stated thus. That government by one man, whether king or emperor, was of divine institution, and the only form of government consistent with the divine law. That the power of that governor was derived directly from God, was in fact God's power directly delegated specially and exclusively to that man: and was, as God's power, absolute and unlimited, or, so to speak, that each king was appointed by God to govern a nation as Moses was appointed to govern the Jewish people. From this principle of course it followed that the sovereign thus divinely appointed was answerable to none but God, who appointed him, that his power was unlimited, and that any restraints which might be imposed by laws, were merely concessions, freely made by the sovereign, which he might at any time revoke, and that subjects might not, under any circumstances, question or dispute his authority. It was not, of course, maintained, that he might govern unjustly: no, he was answerable to God for the exercise of his authority, and bound to govern according to His law, but, appointed directly by God, he was answerable to Him alone.

From this doctrine flowed naturally and indeed necessarily, that of legitimacy. As God did not now appoint

kings directly by His prophets, as He had appointed Saul and David, it might be asked, how was the divinely appointed ruler to be known? It was answered, by his legitimate descent from the first ruler. Hence, no revolution, no adverse possession, however long, no act of the legislature, no human power could ever deprive the legitimate descendant of kings of his rights. God, and God alone, could deprive a king of his kingly power, and as it was manifest that God would not work miracles to do so, it was clear that under the Protestant theory there was no power whatever which could restrain a king. Amongst Catholics, God's Vicegerent the Pope was considered, sorely to the annoyance of such absolute sovereigns as Louis XIV., to have, in some respects, his Master's power, and to be competent, in extreme cases, to controul kings.*

Doctrines so extreme as these naturally begot opposition. They were attacked in both their branches, that of the seat of government and that of its power. It was observed that in the Old Testament, so far from the kingly form of government being extolled as the best, the first king had been given as a punishment. The absurdities of the theory of legitimacy were enlarged upon. Hardly a sovereign of Europe could trace an undisputed descent, none but derived their power originally from an usurper. The advocates of divine right shifted their ground and alleged that it was unlawful to resist a king *de facto*. To which it was answered that in case of contest there were two kings *de facto*; or that according to this doctrine a man might justly be hanged on the morning of Bosworth for resisting Richard, and in the evening for having resisted Henry. Nor was the theory of the absolute power of government more spared. That tyranny and cruelty could be under divine sanction, outraged, it was said, the sense of natural justice. It

* The celebrated Oxford decrees embodied these doctrines in a clear form. They formally condemned the doctrine that civil authority is originally derived from the people : or that there exists any compact, tacit or express, between the Prince and his subjects, from the obligation of which if one party resist the other is of course discharged—that subjects may in any case whatever resist their sovereign, &c.

was manifest that mankind had always practically maintained that they had rights as absolute as those of their rulers, and that no Christian Sovereign in Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire, had been absolute. Hitherto men had been content to assert their liberties without investigating the theories on which they were founded, or at most had referred the whole question to the common father of Christianity. But now, having cast off the power of the Popes, they began to cast about for arguments to support their claim to liberty. The foreign Reformers who took this side in Geneva and the Low Countries grounded their denunciations of the kingly power and their assertion of the rights of the people chiefly on what they called Christian liberty. "A true believer, one whom Christ had made free," could not, they maintained, be subject to any merely human power. "The earth was the Lord's and He had given it to His saints." "The law of God was above all human laws," and applying to the state their theory of private judgment, they made each man the judge of whether the commandments of government were just and binding, or the reverse. Carried to their extreme, these doctrines produced the excesses, in Germany, of John of Leyden and the Anabaptists; in Scotland of the Covenanters; and in England of the Independents and fifth monarchy men. But even in more moderate hands they were open to manifest objections. To make each man the judge of whether he was bound to obey or not, clearly destroyed the foundation of all authority, nor was this remedied by declaring the law of God to be the test, since a law without a judge to apply it is useless. Gradually more learned secular writers arose, and sought to lay down sounder principles of government. As they had recourse to the old Catholic writers on law and justice, the deductive and applied part of their systems was generally sound; and Grotius and Burlamaqui are still grave authorities. But in seeking for a theory on which to found their doctrines, they were less fortunate. Most of them had recourse to the theory of the social contract;* that is that the power and right of government is

* The chief writers in favour of this theory are; in England Hooker and Locke: on the continent Puffendorf, Grotius and Zallinger.

derived from a voluntary agreement by which each of the governed gives up a portion of his liberty for the sake of the benefits arising from living in society, and voluntarily creates a power to which he promises to be obedient.

"The lawful power," says Hooker, "for making laws to command whole political societies belongeth so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express commission, immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority received at first from their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, is no better than mere tyranny. Laws, they are not, therefore which public approbation hath not made so. But approbation not only they give who personally declare their assent by voice, sign or act; but also when others do it in their names by right originally, at least, derived from them."

Of course it followed that the breach of any one of the essential stipulations of this contract by the governing, justified resistance on the part of the governed. But the objections to this theory were many and obvious. In the first place, its advocates were called upon in vain to give a single instance in which such a contract had been made. Secondly, it was said each man could contract only for himself, and even if every one in the nation had at first entered into the agreement, they could not bind their children, and every subject, on attaining full age, might dissent from the contract, which would not then bind him.*

"We hear much from men who have not acquired their hardness of assertion from the profundity of their thinking, about the omnipotence of a Majority in such a dissolution of an ancient society as hath taken place in France. But amongst men so disbanded there can be no such thing as majority or minority; or power in any one person to bind another. The power of acting by a majority must be founded on two assumptions, first, that of an incorporation produced by unanimity; and secondly, an unanimous agreement, that the act of a mere majority (say of one) shall pass with them and with others as the act of the whole. If men dissolve their ancient corporation in order to regenerate their community, in that state of things each man has a right if he please, to remain an individual."

* This is well put by Edmund Burke, in his "Appeal from the new to the old Whigs."

Whilst the despotic doctrines of Filmer and his fellows had driven writers like Hooker and Locke to seek for more free theories of government even under the more moderate Government of England, the searching absolutism of Louis XIV. and his successors produced its natural antagonistic result in the French Revolution. Men suddenly escaped into freedom were guilty of the wildest excesses: and having begun by throwing off the bonds of a tyrannic government, they ended by flinging away every restraint of religion and society. It were a waste of time to enumerate or examine all the wild theories that then started into life, but one great doctrine then first arose, which, as it received the adhesion of many grave writers, and still continues to be accepted by great masses of men, requires mention. It is the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. It may be thus stated in its fullest development. That the sovereignty, whether exercised by one or many, did not only originate from the people, but that in the people the same sovereignty constantly and inalienably resides; that the people may lawfully depose kings, not only for misconduct, but without any misconduct at all; that they may set up any new form of government for themselves; or continue without any government at their pleasure; that the people are essentially their own rule, and their will the measure of their conduct; that the tenure of magistracy is not a proper subject of contract; because magistrates have duties but no rights; and that if a contract *de facto* is made with them in one age, allowing that it binds at all, it binds only those who are immediately concerned in it, but does not pass to posterity.* (Appeal from New to Old Whigs.) The objections to this theory are as manifest as those which may be made to the divine right of kings. First it was said, it is clearly subversive of all government, since the people may change their government every day. Secondly, there was the same objection as to the social contract, that each man had a full right

* This is clearly the doctrine of those who now advocate the rights of the Populations in Tuscany, the Romagna, Nice and Savoy to change their government: and those Americans who maintain the right of an individual state to secede from the Union whenever it wishes.

to dissent from his fellows, and that therefore there might be as many governments as individuals; but the gravest objection of all was, that, as all Christian men must acknowledge, that obedience to just laws and fulfilment of the obligations of society is a duty, neither the few nor the many have a right to act merely by their own will in any matter connected with duty, trust, engagement or obligation.

Thus briefly have we sketched the various theories of government which have arisen in Europe during the last two centuries; and which ferment in society, and influence more or less unconsciously men's ideas and judgments. As is the case in other matters, most men content themselves with general impressions, or what they call principles, without too minutely analysing their own ideas, and hence the controversies on the subject frequently travel in parallel lines; because neither party comes to the root of the matter. One set of writers are great in enforcing the duty of obedience, the divine sanction of government, and the subversive and levelling nature of the opposite theories, and now in Europe content themselves with vaguely denouncing "the Revolution:" whilst another class eloquently enlarge on the evils of tyranny, the rights of subjects, the greatness of freedom, and the inconsistencies of the theories of the divine right of particular forms of government.

And what, it may be asked, have Catholic writers been doing? The great doctors of old have laid down the principles which are the foundation of all knowledge on the subject; but most later writers have been occupied chiefly in refuting the exaggerations and errors of the different parties; and are thus frequently claimed as partizans by one side or the other, because employed in refuting the errors of their opponents. Suarez and Belarmine refuted almost beforehand the follies of Filmer and the courtly writers of France under Louis XIV. whilst De Maistre and others of his school have been chiefly employed in overturning the insane theories of the advocates of the so-called "rights of man:" and all have shrunk from unnecessarily applying the principle of government to those extreme cases which are the practice of revolutions, or investigating the duties of men in those cases of social convulsion of which it is their first duty to pray that they may not occur at all.

In our days however, such cases are frequently occurring: and erroneous theories regarding them are so constantly discussed, that it can do no harm, but rather good to investigate the matter to the bottom, and endeavour to elucidate on sound principles even the difficult and intricate question of the lawfulness of resistance.

The first principle from which Catholics start is that society was instituted by God to enable men to live justly and in accordance with the divine law, and to merit heaven.* From the days of Adam, God has ordained that man should not live alone, but in society; conforming himself to the obligations by which he might practice the precept of loving his neighbour.† This society was manifold, first, of the single family; secondly, of several branches of one family under one head; thirdly, of many families in one tribe; finally of the whole nation; but none of these associations were purely voluntary, they were all decreed and obligatory, bringing with them their duties and their rights.‡ As God had ordained society in these various forms, so He had ordained the existence in each of that controlling authority without which it could not exist, but would be dissolved into its primitive elements. In the first, parental authority; in the second the authority of the one head; and under him of each head of a family; for the third, that of the heads of the tribe; finally for each nation, the authority of its lawful governors, whoever they be.

The divinely constituted power of the three first will not be disputed; the equally divine right of the last may easily be proved. "By me, saith the Lord, do kings reign." "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God." (Rom. xiii.) But thus early it is well to remark that while there can be no doubt as to the divinely constituted nature of that authority, the seat in which it resides is by no means thus divinely and clearly pointed out; nay, it is evident that from the first, the nature of that seat was immaterial. In

* St. Thomas Aquinas *De Regimine Principum* lib. 1. cap 14.

† Domat *Traité des loix* c. 3. and 4.

‡ Burke, *Appeal from new to old Whigs*, p. 521. and Domat ap Bowyer, *International Law*, p. 209.

the case of the Jewish people God first vested the power in Moses, yet not as a king ; next in Josue ; next in the Judges ; later, at the ill-advised request of the people, in a king ; but the authority when vested in each of these various depositories was the same, and the obligation of obedience as clear in the case of a Roboam as of a Solomon. This is well pointed out by St. John Chrysostom, in his Twenty-third Homily on the Epistle to the Romans quoted above.

"There is no power but of God. How sayest thou ? Is therefore every prince constituted by God ? I say not so. For I speak not of any prince ; but of the thing itself ; that is the power. That there exists kingship, and that all things are not left to chance, I call a work of divine wisdom. Wherefore he saith not : 'there is no prince but of God' : but speaking of the thing itself he saith, 'there is no power but of God.'"

What then is this authority, and what are its essential qualities ?*

"As amongst many men living in society, says St. Thomas, each would seek his own interest ; and the multitude would be dispersed, were there not some one who had a care for the good of the community ; as Solomon saith 'when there is no ruler the people shall be scattered,' therefore in all communities there must be some ruling power." Its first essential quality, without which it would not be authority, is "sovereignty ; that is to say civil power with the quality of Supremacy ; so that its acts can be annulled by no other human will." (Bowyer, *Com. on pub. law*, p. 211).

From this flows the power of making laws and enforcing them. As Clinch well puts it ; "Law is the solemn evident expression of the will of the state, commanding or forbidding, and assuming common force to this purpose." (*Tracts*, part ii. p. 42.)

From the right to enforce the laws it makes follows the right to punish those who infringe them. "For he beareth not the sword in vain ; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil." (Rom. xiii.) But the assertion that the sovereign authority has the power to make laws and to enforce them, leads at once to the question, what are the essential qualities of a law ? "A law," says St. Thomas, "is a certain

* That authority is necessary St. Thomas well points out, *De Reg. P. lib. 1. c. 1.*—quoted above.

ordinance of reason for the good of the community, promulgated by him who has the care of the community." (l. 2, Quæst. 99, art. 4.)

Justice then is an essential quality of laws, without which, as St. Thomas says, the decrees of power are not laws, but violences.* As however, the authority of the state is supreme, in the sense that there is no earthly power to which a direct appeal lies; it is important to consider what amount of injustice renders a law, so to speak, no law, and justifies disobedience. We speak now of disobedience to a law, not of resistance to authority. It is clear that when the commands of the sovereign authority are contrary to the law of God, they are simply null and void, and must be disobeyed. It is equally clear that when they are in unison with the law of God and of nature they are obligatory on the conscience.† It is also clear that in indifferent matters when the justice is doubtful the supreme authority must be held to be in the right and be obeyed; and that it is not a doubt whether a law tends to the common good that will justify its infringement, but that all expressions of the sovereign will not manifestly unjust are to be obeyed. Neither does the promulgation of one or more unjust laws deprive the sovereign power of its quality of authority. In short, while it is difficult to draw the exact line between a naked tyranny, and an authority which acts indeed unjustly in some things yet does not forfeit its nature of authority; it may be said that as long as the sovereign power protects life and property on conditions not contrary to the law of God, it may be looked on as authority and not mere tyranny.

From the preceding it will be clearly seen that the form of this authority is not material: it may, consistently

* "Injustæ autem sunt leges dupliciter: uno modo per contrarietatem ad bonum commune, e contrario prædictis: vel ex fine; sicut cum aliquis præsidens leges imponit onerosas subditis, non pertinentes ad utilitatem communiem, sed magis ad propriam cupiditatem vel gloriam et hujusmodi magis sunt violentiæ quam leges." (l. i. Quæst. 96, art. 4.)

† Si quidem justæ sunt, habent vim obligandi in foro conscientiæ, a lege æterna a qua derivantur secundum illud proverbiorum capite octavo: per me reges regnant, et legum conditores justæ decernunt. (Quæst. 96 art. 3.)

with its essence, reside in one, or in many; may be immutable or changeable; that its essence is one and unchangeable, its right indefeasible, and of divine origin; its seat manifold, and of uncertain origin.*

Whilst however we allow that the origin of this power cannot be determined with absolute certainty, it is not doubtful that most Catholic writers of weight consider it to be derived in one way or another from the consent of the people. A very few quotations will make this clear.

"It is to be observed," says Cardinal Bellarmine, "that this power resides immediately as its subject, in the whole multitude; for this power is of divine law. But the divine law gave not this power to any particular man, therefore it gave it to the multitude of men; besides except, by positive law, there is no reason why amongst many equals one should rule, rather than another; therefore the power belongs to the multitude."—Bellar: de Laicis, lib. 3. cap. 6.

"Thirdly it is to be observed that this power is by the multitude transferred to one or more by the same law of nature; for the whole state cannot exercise it by itself, therefore is it obliged to transfer it to one or few; and in this way the power of rulers considered in the abstract is of natural law; nor could mankind even though all united, decree the contrary, namely, that there should be no princes or rulers. Fourthly observe, that the different sorts of government are of human law, not of the natural law; for it depends on the consent of the multitude to appoint over itself a King, or Consuls, or other magistrates, as is manifest; and for a legitimate cause the multitude may change a kingdom into an Aristocracy or Democracy, or the reverse, as we read was done at Rome." (Ibid.)

"It follows," says Suarez, "from the preceding, that the civil power when it is found in one man, or Prince, must by legitimate

* In qua Rex serenissimus (James 1st. of England) non solum novo et singulari modo opinatur, sed acriter invehitur in Cardinalem Bellarminum, eo quod asseruit non regibus auctoritatem a Deo immediate esse concessam. Asserit ergo ipse, Regem non a populo sed immediate a Deo suam potestatem habere. Sed quamquam controversia hæc ad fidei dogmata directe non pertineat (nihil enim ex divina scriptura, aut patrum traditione in illa definitione ostendi potest) nihilominus diligenter tractanda et explicanda est: tum quia predicta regis sententia prout ab ipso asseritur, et intenditur nova et singularis est: tum denique quia sententiam illustrissimi Bellarmini antiquam receptam veram ac necessariam esse censemus.—Suarez, Def. Fid. Cath. lib. 3.

and ordinary right, have emanated from the people and community either proximately or remotely, and cannot be otherwise to be just." (*De Legibus*, lib. i. c. 4.)

The same is proved by St. Thomas, *De Legibus*, St. Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, and almost all other Catholic writers.*

So also in almost all old forms for the consecration of kings we find mention of the consent of the people. Thus the "*Ordo ad benedicendum regem Francorum*," published by Martene, which was copied from an Anglo-Saxon ordo, we read "*Quem in hujus regni regem pariter eligimus*." (*Lingard, Anglo-Saxon Church*, vol. 2, p. 368). Thus the consent of the Witan was always necessary to the coronation of a king, (*Lingard, Hist. Eng.* vol. 1, p. 388) and as has been mentioned before, the consent of the people was asked even at the coronation of William the Conqueror.

This doctrine, although no doubt true in theory, presents this practical difficulty; that a doubt will often arise, where the will of the people has invested this authority: nay most frequently this will has not been clearly expressed. If however we take this teaching of the great lights of Catholicity in connexion with what they also teach; that all existing and permanent authorities are to be respected and obeyed, unless a clear case against their validity can be shewn; in other words that the presumption is always in favour of the authority of existing power; we deduce the practical conclusion that all stable governments, not manifestly unjust, may be taken to have the necessary sanction; and their authority be classed amongst those "*that are ordained of God*." That such is the Christian's rule; and that ill acquired power, even when exercised with partial injustice, is in the first instance to be obeyed, is clear from the fact that the powers to which St. Paul directed the first Christians to be obedient, were the usurping Roman Emperors who persecuted the Christian Religion.

"Whatever," says Clinch, "has established itself over men with the control of common force, whether this establishment be of time, of opportunity, of cunning, of conquest, of compact, of fraud, or of all these means, or any of them combined, is the State government."

* See Balmes, *Catholicism compared*, chap. 49 et seq.

He adds, "Law is the solemn evident expression of the will of the State commanding or forbidding, and assuming common force to this purpose," and gives the reason why it is to be obeyed, "Because it is always a crime to weaken the only present protection of the good, which is the State." "So long as the State represents the outlines of justice, that is to say, as long as it abides by any general rule of protecting life, on conditions not repugnant to natural law, the subject is bound in consideration of the common welfare, not only to obey every protecting law, but to remain faithful in every respect, and submissive to the authority, even though it should iniquitously despoil him of life."*

We have said that the subject is *prima facie* bound to obey an existing government. The limits of this obligation constitute the difficult and intricate question of "Resistance."

There is perhaps scarcely a subject in politics or morals on which the statements have been so partial and one-sided. Each side have said what was true; but not the whole truth. One side have heaped up texts and denunciations against rebellion, and revolution; the other against tyranny and oppression; each has ignored what was just in the case of their adversaries. We shall endeavour, if we cannot hope to exhaust the question, at least to clear up the main principles on which the solution must depend. As in all moral cases, however, the application of abstract principles to individual cases will still remain an open question.

Resistance to a government to be lawful must be justified by one of two defects in the government. The badness of its origin; or the injustice of its rule. These two distinct grounds of resistance are distinctly laid down by most great Catholic writers. St. Thomas says in answer to the question "Utrum seditio sit semper peccatum mortale? Laudantur qui multitudinem a potestate tyrannica liberant; sed hoc non de facili potest fieri sine aliqua dissensione multitudinis, ergo seditio potest fieri sine peccato." (Quæst. 42 art. 2.)

Cardinal Cajetan commenting on this text says,

* The State of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland professing the Catholic Religion, by J. B. Clinch, part 2 p. 42.

This was precisely the case of the first Christians under the persecuting Emperors; and the English Catholics under the penal laws.

"What is the lawful mode of overthrowing a tyrant? and what sort of tyrant, namely one a tyrant *only in his rule* or one a tyrant both in his rule and his title, is not the present question: it is enough for the present, that both sort of tyrant may sometimes be lawfully overthrown without sedition: the one that he may be made to seek the good of the State; the other that he may be expelled."

Suarez says, "I say, in the second place, that a war of the State (Reipublicæ) against the Prince, even when aggressive, is not intrinsically bad, but it should have the conditions of other just wars to be lawful. This applies only where the prince is a tyrant; which may occur in two ways; first if he be a tyrant as to his authority and power (*dominium et potestatem*): second if he be a tyrant only as to his rule." (De Bello, sec 8.)

The badness of origin in a government justifies resistance to it; but only whilst it is recent. The Tyrant and Usurper not only may lawfully, but must be resisted: but his descendant, who has received an authority peacefully transmitted through many generations may not be attacked because that authority was originally usurped. William the Conqueror was a usurper; but that fact would be a bad justification of rebellion against Henry the 6th. of England. In a word Prescription is a valid title to authority; but the difficulty is in defining where exactly a valid prescription begins. Tapparelli (Saggio di Dritto naturale, cap. 5 art. 67-8) investigates the question at considerable length; and well proves that proscription legitimates an usurping government; and he fixes the moment at which such prescription becomes valid to be that at which a return to the former order of things has become morally impossible. We may however with advantage examine the question a little more closely,

It is clear that as long as the antecedent government which the usurping revolution upsets and supersedes, exists at all, the intruding power may be resisted; the former prescription still exists. It is equally clear, that when firmly established, and all trace of the antecedent government has vanished and become a tradition of the past, the existing government cannot be impeached for the badness of its origin.* In all the intermediate stages,

* We are now speaking of resistance on the sole ground of bad origin: other grounds may of course justify resistance to a government ever so long established.

nice shades will distinguish the peculiarities of each case; and it may not unfrequently occur that two conflicting governments may have equal, or apparently equal claims to a valid title; and good and conscientious men starting from the same premisses may arrive at opposite conclusions, and be found arrayed against each other. Yet a few landmarks may be observed to guide our judgment.

Whilst the old government retains any portion of the kingdom in dispute, however small; nay, whilst it materially keeps up its claim, by protests, backed by force of an army or alliances, the prescription of its opponent cannot be said to be established. Nay more, it may be doubted whether the prescription can be said to be established as long as there is a continuous living protest by any body of men against it.

Thus to trace the growth of the prescription in an historic case. The Revolution of 1688 was clearly a usurpation and lawfully resisted,* whilst James held any portion of his kingdom and retained his army, and whilst he retained his court and army at St Germain's, and was in alliance with the French King. Then till after the peace of Ryswick his counter-prescription was manifestly valid. Even as long as he or his son actively protested against the Hanoverian Government, and that protest was backed by the support of a considerable portion of the English people, that Government could not show an unblemished title of prescription. This protest waned weaker and weaker, in 1715, 1745, 1775, until it became extinct at the close of the century. And, whilst the rising against James in 1688 was an invasion and a rebellion, a revolt against his Hanoverian successor on the throne in 1788, would have equally been a rebellion. The same is the case in almost every country.† Hugh Capet was an usurper, but that fact would not invalidate the Government of Louis XIV. Those who set little value on the alleged election by universal suffrage of Louis Napoleon would not bring forward the irregularity of that elec-

* We mean of course by those who held that the government of James was not so radically bad as to justify resistance to it on that ground.

† The Papal government is a remarkable exception, it can show an authority validly acquired and a prescription of 1100 years.

tion against his grandson, should three generations of Napoleons peaceably succeed each other.

One great element in determining how far the prescription of a government whose origin is faulty has become valid, is, how far is it national? That is; how far has it been accepted and ratified by the nation. Perfect acceptance and ratification by the whole nation would probably render a Government legitimate in a day; as was the case with the Constitution of the United States; a foreign usurping Government will ever have the tacit enduring protest of the nation against it. Thus the Government established by William III. was English, though the King was a foreigner, and was therefore comparatively soon accepted by the bulk of the nation. The foreign Governments which have crushed Poland are wholly foreign and despotic, their existence depends on the negation of the idea of Poland as a nation; and therefore its existence is an abiding valid protest against their legitimacy; they can never acquire a title till the Polish population becomes absorbed in the other nationalities.

From these considerations we perceive how difficult it is for despotic or absolute Governments, whose origin has been faulty, to establish a valid prescription. Their existence is independent of the people, and the latter are not consulted in their creation. Hence it is difficult to ascertain that they are accepted by the governed, whose acceptance would indeed cure the defect of their origin, but whose discontent would be an abiding valid protest against their prescription. We do not say that it is impossible to establish a valid acceptance and prescription, but only that it is difficult. Alexander is the legitimate Governor of Russia irrespective of the origin of the Romanoff dynasty. But the United States of America had established in five years a prescription which fifty would not give to the Government of the First Napoleon.

The second ground of resistance to a government is its injustice. The quotations we have already given from St. Thomas and Cajetan and Suarez are sufficient to demonstrate that in extreme cases injustice in the governor justifies resistance in the governed. This is also shown by the fact that in all decrees of deposition pronounced by Popes, the violation of the laws of God and of justice

by the deposed sovereign is laid down as one of the causes of his deposition.*

The question, however, of the limits within which, and the circumstances under which resistance to an existing government is lawful, is one so intricate, so full of difficulties and depending so much for its solution on the individual circumstances of each case, that we shall find most writers abstain from entering into much detail upon the subject. It is however one which, in the present state of public opinion, and the agitation which prevails respecting all government, must be boldly met and frankly investigated. Nor shall we find it difficult to discover principles sufficiently clearly laid down by the great writers we have quoted to guide our investigations.

Resistance is twofold. Negative, or non-obedience to the commands of the governor; positive, or actual efforts to remove or control him.

Negative resistance, it is clearly laid down by all authorities, is lawful with regard to all unjust laws. St. Augustine says, "*Lex esse non videtur quæ justa non sit; unde tales leges in foro conscientiae non obligant, nisi forte propter vitandum scandalum vel turbationem.*" "That seemeth not to be a law, which is unjust; hence such laws bind not the conscience, unless perchance for the avoiding of scandal or troubles." (De lib. arb. cap. 5.) St. Thomas, "*injustæ autem sunt leges dupliciter; uno modo per contrarietatem ad bonum commune—et hujus-*

* Some Catholic writers indeed say that no amount of injustice in a legitimate government will justify resistance in its subjects; but this is contrary to the opinion of St. Thomas, Suarez, Cajetan, &c; and these writers so limit the proposition as greatly to weaken its force; and reduce it to a statement that where the governor violates no fundamental law no individual subject, as such, has a right to resist. Thus Tapparelli, who maintains that the *sovereign power* can never be resisted, points out that in Constitutional, and semi-Constitutional governments, that sovereign power resides, not in the king, but jointly in all the bodies which share in any way in government: and also maintains that even from absolute governments; as there was in former ages in the sacred Roman Empire an appeal to the aulic chamber; so there is now to "Modern Diplomacy," in conferences and protocols. (According to this strange doctrine the appeal of Count Cavour to the conference of Paris was justifiable!) Saggio di dritto. art. 1034.

modi magis sunt violentiæ quam leges." "Laws are unjust in a twofold manner; firstly, when they are adverse to the common weal—and such are rather violences than laws." (Quæst. 96. art. 4.)

With regard to positive resistance it is clearly ascertained that no individual, as such, has the right of resisting a lawful government; nor will injustice or tyranny on the part of the governor, even to many individuals, constitute a lawful ground of resistance.

Before we examine further the limits of such resistance it may be well to give in extenso two passages from Suarez and Mariana which contain almost all that can be said on this subject.

Suarez says, "I say, in the second place, that a war of the state against the ruler (*Reipublicæ contra Principem*) although an aggressive war, is not intrinsically evil, but it must have the conditions of other just wars to be lawful. This rule applies only when the ruler is a tyrant, which occurreth two ways, as Cajetan remarks. First, if he be a tyrant, as to his authority and power. Secondly, if only as to his rule." He then investigates the first, and after proving that he may be resisted by any individual, continues:

"Of the latter species of tyrant, John Huss taught the same; nay even of every unjust superior; which was condemned in the Council of Constance, Sess. 8 and 15. Hence it is a certain truth, that against such a tyrant, no private person or imperfect authority can justly make an aggressive war, and that such were a real sedition. But the whole body of the State may rise in war against such a tyrant, nor would that be a sedition, (for this name is always used in ill sense). The reason is, because then the whole State is superior to the king; since, as the State gave him the power, it must be held to have given it to him on condition, that he govern legitimately, not tyrannically, otherwise he may by the State be deposed. It is however to be observed that it is necessary that he really and manifestly act tyrannically, and that the other conditions be observed which we have laid down for the lawfulness of a war." (*Disp. De Bello, sec. 8.*)

Mariana, after stating as Suarez, that all may resist a usurper, continues:

"If the prince hold the government by the consent of the people or by hereditary right, his vices and excesses are to be borne as long as he neglect only the laws of decency and modesty which are binding on himself; for rulers are not lightly to be changed,

lest great evils be incurred, and serious disturbances arise. If, however, he bring the state to destruction, make a spoil of public and private property, despise the public laws and sacred religion ; it is not to be borne. It must be carefully considered what mode should be taken to depose such a prince, lest evil be added to evil, and crime be avenged by crime. The readiest and safest way is, if it be possible, to hold public assemblies, to deliberate by common consent what should be done, and to hold for fixed and sanctioned what the public voice may determine. If he refuse the medicine, and no hope of cure be left, the state may first pronounce its sentence depriving him of the government, and since war will necessarily follow, may devise means of sustaining it, acquire arms, impose taxes on the people for the expenses of war, and if affairs come to that pass, that the state may not otherwise secure itself ; it may by its right of defence and true superior authority, deprive of life the prince who has been declared a public enemy. Thus the open question is one of fact, who may justly be esteemed a tyrant ; the law is clear that a tyrant may be slain."—*De Re Lib.* 1, cap. 6.

He also points out in his eighth chapter, that resistance may well and lawfully be founded on old fundamental laws ; as in Castile and Arragon, where the king could not impose taxes, and might be opposed even by force, if he attempted to do so ; and as the American colonies in 1775 founded their resistance on the fundamental law of England, that men should not be taxed without their consent.

Little can be added to these extracts. From them it appears,

First, that the violation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom will justify resistance to a monarch whose power is limited by these laws.

Second, that even where his power is unlimited, injustice on his part will justify resistance ; but that this injustice must be radical and quasi universal, a tyranny violating the laws of God and man, and affecting the whole people.

Third, that this right of resistance exists in the whole people, not in individuals ; not of course meaning that every individual must concur, but only that it must be the act of the body.

Fourth, that the possibility of a successful resistance and the substitution of another and better government on a solid basis is a main element in the question of the lawfulness of attempting the destruction of an existing government.

Mariana, and after him Balmez (*Catholicity and Protestantism Compared*, vol. iv.) well point out the immense advantage arising from the recognition of ancient fundamental laws and civil and municipal rights which arose in the early Catholic ages of Europe, and which serve as landmarks to check the encroachments of the central power, and to mark its excesses, and also, from the existence of corporate bodies and orders of men whose action in resisting an unjust authority is at once stamped with that character of deliberation and unison which is necessary to give it legitimacy. Balmez also well points out that there was not in Catholic Europe in the middle ages such a thing as an absolute monarchy, unbounded by any laws; and that, as in Spain and other countries, the rights and privileges of the people, and the obligations of the Sovereign were well known and acknowledged, the former were clearly justified in maintaining those rights against the encroachments of their sovereigns, and he instances the conduct of those of Leon, Castile, and Galicia. If, since that period, absolute monarchies have arisen in Europe, they are still bound by the laws of God and of natural justice, and by such fundamental laws as have been established in each country.

We have thus far investigated the grounds of resistance to authority theoretically, under each of the two heads—bad origin, and injustice of government, or, to use Suarez's words, *tyranny quoad dominium* and *tyranny quoad regimen*. Practically however these two questions are constantly intermingled and connected, especially by the question of fundamental laws. There is hardly a government in Europe perfectly legitimate, and absolutely unfettered by any fundamental laws. There are few countries, to the government of which there are not two claimants. There is hardly a king who has not sworn to observe some constitution, or guarantee some rights to his subjects.

Each case then of resistance to any existing government, however usurping or unjust, must remain an individual case of conscience to be decided on its own merits: the broad fact being clear, that revolt and revolution are as rarely justifiable, as they are almost invariably unhappy in their results.

Almost all the solid freedom which exists in Europe, has been the result of patient, persevering, but peaceful

struggles with existing governments; sweeping revolutions have rarely established a permanent free government; and the wisest and best of those who have resisted existing tyrannies, have always sought to fall back on antecedent government, and acknowledged principles to be found in the constitution of their country; and thus avoid that state of chaos which results, as in the first French Revolution, from the total destruction of all existing government. In weighing the merits of each case of resistance, we perceive, from what has been stated, that the question of its probable success is a main element in judging of its lawfulness, not that success justifies a bad cause: but that none are justified in exposing a nation to the perils of a revolution, and the destruction of existing authority unless they can calculate on being able to substitute a better.

Time was when Catholic Europe acknowledged in the Pope one supreme judge of such cases; when nations could appeal to him to decide that the tyranny of their rulers was unbearable; as each man now must in similar cases decide in his own conscience, under the direction of the best confessor he can find. And even in a human point of view, such a tribunal of appeal was of immense advantage: the weight of a pontiff's censure was such, that not unfrequently tyrants humbled themselves before it: and if the people were compelled to open resistance, they were united, authorised and fortified by such a decision, in a way not otherwise attainable.

Now men, in the most weighty questions of public morals are all at sea: and the old landmarks and fixed principles are forgotten: we have endeavoured in this brief sketch, to bring before the Catholics of these countries the opinions of the great teachers of old; leaving the application to their own judgment.

As we stated in the commencement, we have investigated the question of government and resistance, without any reference to the Papal government. Our own opinion however as to the application of principles to it cannot be doubted.

1st. Its origin is acknowledged on all hands to have been legitimate.

2nd. It cannot, as our readers well know, be shown that the Pope has 1st. Violated any fundamental law of the kingdom; or 2nd. Been guilty of universal radical injus-

tice, such as would justify resistance by the body of his subjects.

3. Neither of the above defects, even if they existed, would justify a foreign invasion of his states.

ART. VIII.—*Memoirs of the Most Rev. Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, who suffered Death for the Catholic Faith in the year 1681. Compiled from Original Documents by the Rev. Francis Patrick Moran, D.D., Vice-Rector of the Irish College, Rome. Dublin: James Duffy. 1861.*

IT is not too much to say that these Memoirs of Oliver Plunket have proved an agreeable surprise even to those who are most familiar with the history of the Irish Church in the seventeenth century. The period to which they refer has heretofore been regarded as almost a complete blank, in which the chain of events was entirely lost. Dr. Moran has happily recovered most of the missing links, and his present volume has substantially restored the continuity of the history.

It is true that the ten years immediately preceding—from 1640 to 1650—have left some trace in our historical literature, although the works of that time are, almost without an exception, so directly and avowedly partisan in their character as to require to be read with the utmost caution. Some of the writers, as for example Borlase, are fiercely anti-Irish; others follow almost with equally vehement partisanship, one or other of the various parties into which the Irish politics of the time were divided. Thus Carte is an unvarying apologist of Ormond. Belling, although a Catholic and an adherent of the Supreme Council, is quite as devoted to the interest of the Ormondists. Ponce is even more violent on the side of those who adhered to the nuncio Rinuccini. The nuncio himself, especially in his later correspondence, is a thorough partisan; and Father Peter Walsh, in that portion of his *History of the Remonstrance* which regards the Confederation, may be said to surpass them all in the coarse and sweeping cha-

racter of his denunciations of all whose views chance to differ from his own. But, with all their defects, the publications of that date, although perhaps no single one can be taken as a guide, supply a mass of facts from which at least to build up the skeleton of the history.

But at this point all light disappears. From the date of the triumph of the parliamentary arms in Ireland all is void; nor in truth was it possible that it should have been otherwise. All those who could have chronicled the ecclesiastical occurrences of that terrible time had been cut off or driven into exile. The bishops of Ross, of Emly, and of Clogher, had fallen victims to their patriotism and their constancy in the profession of their faith. The rest had been forced into concealment or into exile. One prelate, who in happier circumstances, might have been a most accomplished historian of his time, and to whom even now we owe the most valuable of the few relics which have been preserved,—Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns,—was a wanderer, poor, and borne down with age and infirmity, in the Low Countries. His brethren, for the most part, had taken refuge in the same kingdom, watching an opportunity of returning to their flocks. Some of them had chosen France, Spain, or other more distant countries as their retreat; but with the exception of two or three who escaped the fury of the persecution solely through their obscurity, it may be said that the entire episcopate of Ireland was driven from the country during the dark and unhappy period which followed the Cromwellian occupation.

Even the most zealous and sanguine, therefore, of our antiquarians had hitherto looked upon the gap which exists in the annals of the Irish Church during the latter half of the seventeenth century as utterly irreparable. We recollect that, when it was announced,* several years since, that a large collection of papers from the Roman archives relating to Ireland, had been made by the learned oratorian, Father Theiner, it was considered a matter of the deepest interest, that among these papers were found two letters of the martyr-primate Oliver Plunket. Now these letters had but little value for the general history, being written from the prison of Newgate; and were chiefly

* See *Supra*, Vol. xviii. pp. 215 and following.

notable as illustrating the personal character of the writer. Nor was there in the vast mass of papers anterior to the date of the arrest of the Primate, anything which could be really regarded as supplying materials for a connected record of the interval between that event and the death of Charles II.

It is with no ordinary gratification, therefore, that we welcome a body of materials, so large, so important, so entirely new, and so completely beyond expectation, as those contained in Dr. Moran's volume. In the article referred to above, an opinion was very strongly expressed that whatever could be recovered of the history of our country since the Reformation, was to be looked for mainly at Rome, partly in the pontifical archives, partly in the private collections of those families—as the Barberini, the Chigi, and others—the members of which, from their official position either in the congregation of the Propaganda or in the nunciatures of France, of Spain, and above all, of the Low Countries, held such relations from time to time, with the Irish Church, as might lead to any expectation, however slight, that they could have been the depositaries of correspondence, of reports, or of other papers bearing upon the affairs of Ireland. But not even the most hopeful could have anticipated any result half so favourable as the reality which this Memoir of Oliver Plunket presents. It is, from the beginning to the end founded, upon original and authentic documents; all the details of the early studies of Dr. Plunket and of his residence in Rome, are filled up from authentic records with almost circumstantial minuteness; and the period of his episcopate and especially of his missionary life in Ireland is written exclusively from his own or contemporary letters, and from other records, derived, with hardly an exception, from the archives and libraries of Rome. Scarcely a month of Dr. Plunket's episcopate in Ireland passes without a letter to some of his Roman friends; on many occasions, his correspondence is still more frequent; and these letters are often accompanied by reports and statements which are of the utmost value as illustrating the condition of the country. Even for the blank and dreary period of which we have been speaking—the first years of the Cromwellian occupation—Dr. Moran has done far more than could have been anticipated. He has gathered together into a most interesting Introduction every scrap of information deriv-

able from the rare and fragmentary publications of the time; and he has supplemented these by original papers of the deepest interest and of the greatest value—by letters, by narratives, by statements of eye-witnesses, sometimes by the reports of the sufferers, and sometimes even by those of the persecutors themselves.

In a word, Dr. Moran's *Memoir of Oliver Plunket* has thrown upon what was hitherto one of the darkest periods of the history of our Church a light hardly less distinct than that which we possess upon those for which the opportunities of information have heretofore been reputed the most abundant. It can hardly be said, indeed, that it is as yet perfectly continuous. There are yet some scattered intervals regarding which the same darkness still subsists. But these intervals are comparatively few and unimportant; and even the gloom in which they remain borrows a certain degree of illumination from the light by which they have been surrounded from every quarter.

In congratulating themselves on the new and unexpected success of these explorations in a period of such obscurity, our readers will naturally be inclined to consider that the restoration of this portion of our history is but a prelude to the same or similar success in all the rest: that the same source which has been found thus prolific as to the seventeenth century, will supply, in equal abundance, the materials for the history of the sixteenth, and of the early part of the eighteenth, both of which have been involved, although perhaps in a lesser degree, in the obscurity which has been so long deplored. It is not unnatural to infer that, if the archives of Rome have, in one instance, and that so seemingly unhelpful, yielded so abundant fruit to the research of a skilful and persevering inquirer, the same may be looked for in each successive investigation until the entire scheme of our history shall have been satisfactorily reconstructed.

We could wish, indeed, that this inference were as well founded in fact as it is natural, and at first sight reasonable. But unhappily it will be found on reflection that the period in question is, in a great degree, if not altogether, exceptional. The abundance and variety of the materials which have remained from the age of Oliver Plunket, arise from purely personal circumstances and are to be ascribed altogether to the peculiar relations, as well personal as official, which subsisted between him and the

Roman authorities of his time. Probably there is not a single prelate in the entire series, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, with the exception, perhaps, of Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, (whose case presents many points of resemblance to that of Dr. Plunket) who maintained the same amount of communication with Rome as Oliver Plunket, or whose correspondence with Rome furnishes the same detailed and circumstantial information as to the men, the measures, and the events of his time in Ireland. It will be seen, from the circumstances of Dr. Plunket's early career, that his connexion with Rome, even upon purely personal grounds, was of the closest and most familiar kind; that his communications from Ireland were most full and most unreserved; that his correspondence with many of the public personages whom he addresses were much more the outspoken letters of a friend to a friend, than the formal and carefully studied reports of a diplomatist to a superior or a brother official; and that many of his letters partake more of the character of the well-known "news-letters" of the same date in English history, than of the ordinary official reports of an apostolic missionary, or of the *Relatio Status* of a bishop rendering an account of his diocese. The extensive charge of supervision, moreover, which fell to the lot of Dr. Plunket, has rendered his letters a picture of the state of almost the entire of his native country, and even of the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland, or at least of the Highlands and Western Isles.

We regret to add, as the result of personal inquiry, that this contrast is but too painfully observable in the contents of the Roman archives. Side by side with the well-furnished shelves of the Plunket period, we meet whole years of melancholy and hopeless vacancy,—not a letter, not a paper, not a single scrap from which even the most ingenious historian could construct a narrative; and although there are still other sources to which we may hereafter allude, and which will tend to supply the want thus painfully observable, we fear it must be confessed that, for a great part of our history the strictly public and official archives of Rome cannot be looked to as affording any substantive promise.

The peculiarly happy combination of circumstances which makes the case of Oliver Plunket a remarkable exception to those of his brother prelates, both of earlier

and of later times, will be best understood from Dr. Moran's interesting narrative of the early career of the future missionary and martyr. In a former article, (published several years ago, on occasion of the appearance of the Rev. Dr. Crolly's biography of Primate Plunket,) we briefly noticed the circumstances of his parentage and early education, as they are detailed by Dr. Crolly, who had gathered together with great industry and skill, in his most interesting Memoir, all the facts and papers at that time available for the subject of his biography. Many additional particulars, even of Dr. Plunket's early life, however, have been gleaned from his own letters, still preserved in Rome. In our present notice we shall confine ourselves chiefly to the new matter thus collected by Dr. Moran, referring our readers for the general outline of the biography to Dr. Crolly's Memoir, or to our own notice of that work.*

Among the new facts of Oliver Plunket's early life supplied by Dr. Moran, there is one which, even on independent grounds, is of considerable interest. The readers of this Journal may recollect some notice in an article on the Irish Nunciature of Rinuccini published in 1844,† of the mission to Ireland, preliminary to Rinuccini's, of a learned oratorian, Father Peter Francis Scarampo. It was in the train of this zealous priest that Oliver Plunket first repaired to Rome.

"In 1663, Father Peter Francis Scarampo was sent by the Holy See on a special mission to Ireland. He was a man filled with the spirit of God, and during his stay among them, heaven seemed to smile on the cause of the Irish Confederates, and to crown their efforts with success. In 1645, the Supreme Council petitioned the Holy Father to have a Nuncio to represent him in Ireland, after the manner of great Catholic kingdoms, and at the same time solicited him to confer this dignity on Father Scarampo; but the humble disciple of St Philip offered a most decided opposition to this project, in so much so, that Innocent X., when permitting him by a Brief of the 5th of May, 1645, to return to Rome, expressed regret that through the holy man's humility the Church in Ireland, and with it in a manner the universal Church, should be deprived of his eminent services.

"A few months later Father Scarampo, accompanied by five

* *Supra* vol. xxix. p. 161.

† Vol. xvi. p. 531.

youths, was seen hastening towards the Irish coast. A frigate was there awaiting him to bear him and his companions to Flanders, and the people flocked around him in thousands to receive for the last time the blessing of one whom they loved, and to pray in return that God would shower down his benedictions on the good Oratorian, and on the youthful Levites whom he was leading with him to the sanctuaries of Rome, there to drink in at the very source the pure streams of truth with which one day they might refresh their native land.

"One of these youths was the future martyr-Archbishop of Armagh, then in his sixteenth year. The holy Oratorian seems to have even then cherished a special affection for *Don Oliverio*, as he loved to style him—an affection increased with each succeeding year, which was faithfully responded to by Dr. Plunket.

"A journey from Ireland to Flanders was not without its dangers at this period. The narrow seas were covered with cruisers of the rival states, and pirates, also, continually infested the British Channel. The Nuncio Rinuccini, in the month of October of this very year (1645), when sailing from France to Ireland, had more than once with difficulty escaped from the pursuit of the Parliamentary squadron; and Father Scarampo with his young companions, now incurred like dangers when sailing from the Irish shores. Pursued for twenty-four hours, says his biographer, by two large vessels, they were more than once in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. On arriving in Flanders new perils awaited them. When travelling through the country they were seized by bandits, and it was only by the payment of a large sum of money that they obtained their liberation. But Providence having safely conducted them through these and many other trials, at length, before the close of the year 1645, they arrived in the Eternal City, and knelt together around the tombs of the Apostles."—p. 4, 5.

Of the five youths referred to in the above extract, Oliver Plunket, with two others, entered the Irish or Ludovisian College, (so named from the Cardinal Protector, Ludovisi, nephew of Gregory XV.) then recently established in Rome. Two of these, Plunket and Brennan, "were destined, as Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, to become pillars of the Irish Church in the days of her severest trials; whilst the third, Father Walsh, having completed his course of studies, entered the congregation of the oratory, and made first Perugia, and then Rome, the theatre of his missionary labours."

This was not, however, till the year after their arrival in Rome. For a time Oliver Plunket remained as a private student of rhetoric under Professor Dandoni. It was in

1646 that he was admitted "a student of the Irish College. There he applied himself with great diligence for eight years to the study of Mathematics, Philosophy, and Theology; subsequently he attended the lectures on Canon Law of the celebrated Jurisconsult Mariscotti, in the halls of the Roman University called the Sapienza."

In 1654 Plunket, having completed his studies, received the holy order of priesthood, but the state of Ireland at the time rendering it impossible for him to enter upon the mission, he asked permission to continue his studies in Rome till more favourable times. "The permission sought for was readily accorded, and for three years Dr. Plunket devoted himself altogether to study and the unostentatious exercise of the sacred ministry in the silent retreat of St. Girolamo. In 1657, however, his fame for theological learning being wide spread in Rome, he was appointed Professor in the College of Propaganda, where for twelve years he continued to lecture on Speculative, Controversial, and Moral Theology. He was at the same time Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of the Index, and of other Congregations."

The sojourn of Dr. Plunket in Rome falls in with the period of the greatest spiritual desolation of his native Church. At the close of the year 1668, there remained but two bishops resident in Ireland, Patrick Plunket, of Ardagh, and Owen McSweeney of Kilmore. Three others, the Archbishop of Armagh, and the Bishops of Kilfenora and Ferns, were living in exile. But from this date the prospect begins to brighten. In January 1669 four new bishops were named by the Propaganda, Peter Talbot of Dublin, William Burgatt of Cashel, James Lynch of Tuam, and Edmund Phelan of Ossory. On the nomination of these new prelates Oliver Plunket was at once named as their agent and representative in Rome; and one of Archbishop Talbot's first letters to him in this capacity, which Dr. Moran has preserved, is of remarkable historical importance. It will be recollected that no little controversy has subsisted as to the course which had been taken in Rome in relation to the censures issued in Ireland by the Nuncio Rinuccini. According to one account, these censures were repudiated at Rome, and the Nuncio himself was warmly upbraided by the Pope on his return in the remarkable words: *Temerariè te gessisti!* According to another view, the Holy See absolutely refused

to grant absolution from these censures. The truth, which lies between these extremes, has been brought to light by Dr. Moran. Archbishop Talbot writes to Dr. Plunket :

"Neither I nor my Province shall present any petition in the Roman Court, without giving intelligence to you and Dr. Brennan, and we hope that no attention will be paid to any one else. I say this, because I have heard that a memorial was presented to the Sacred Congregation, or to the Holy Father, soliciting the power to absolve those who incurred the censures of Rinuccini; this would occasion great disorder, as there is a rigorous edict of the king against all who would ask for such an absolution; and I believe it is not the desire of the Sacred Congregation that any noise should be made in this matter; it is well that we should have the power of absolving in *foro conscientiae* all such as have any scruples on this head, but it would be unwise to send any public document to that effect."—p. 22.

And again he writes to the Cardinal Secretary :

"I have received the letters of your Eminence dated 27th April, by which faculty is granted to absolve all who solicit absolution from the censures fulminated by Rinuccini. I embrace with due obedience and humility the paternal goodness of His Holiness; but it seems to me that the publication of such a faculty would be attended with great danger; as it was enacted by a law of the King and Parliament of Ireland, that any one asking to be absolved from the censures of Rinuccini should be incapable of acquiring goods or receiving any inheritance, and by far the greater number of the Catholics applaud this law; nor do I remember any one having had recourse for absolution from these censures, to those who formerly received a like faculty; for all, with one accord, attribute the ruin of our country to the divisions occasioned by these censures. Nor are they the ignorant alone who say this, but even the greater part of the clergy, secular and regular, warmly contend that the censures were invalid. Wherefore it surprises me how a petition to absolve from them could be presented to His Holiness in the name of the Catholic bishops of Ireland. I indeed deem it very proper that we should have power to absolve in the tribunal of penance all such as recur to us; but should this become known, the whole Hierarchy of Ireland would be exposed to great risk, and the Irish laity would be compelled to declare by public document that they never gave any commission to have such a request forwarded to His Holiness. Wherefore I think it expedient, and I stated so to his Excellency the Internunzio, that this faculty should be given by word of mouth to the Archbishops, but that the letters of your Eminence should in nowise be transmitted to Ireland, till such time as an answer

may be received to this difficulty, which with due submission I propose.

"PETER OF DUBLIN.

"Brussels, 15th May, 1669."

—p. 22-3.

Hence it is clear that neither on the one hand Father Peter Walsh, who holds* that the proceedings of the Nuncio were repudiated at Rome,† nor, on the other Columbanus, who alleges that the Pope refused to grant absolution from the excommunication issued by Rinuccini, has truly represented the facts of the case or the course adopted by Rome in relation to it. The result of Archbishop Talbot's representation was that the faculty of absolving from the censures, although granted and received, was not made public in Ireland.

A curious episode in Dr. Plunket's Roman career is the history of a most audacious attempt at imposture and forgery, of which little has hitherto been known. The author of this singular attempt was an Irish Franciscan, F. Taafe, one of the most violent of the adherents of Peter Walsh in the well-known affair of the Remonstrance. "The Taafe to whom reference is made in this letter is almost unknown in the published histories of this period; and yet few events attracted more attention for many years, or threatened our Irish Church with such imminent danger, as the imposture which he devised, and to which we can scarcely find a parallel in the ecclesiastical annals of any country. To support the ruinous fabric of the Remonstrance, this companion of Peter Walsh forged a Bull from the Holy See, empowering him, though a simple friar, to act as Vicar Apostolic of all Ireland, and to depose, as he should think fit, the local Vicars and Bishops, and make many other arbitrary arrangements for the due reformation of the Irish Church; all his plans, however, having for their chief object to discredit and depose whosoever had been opposed to the Remonstrance, and to place the ecclesiastical authority of the country in the hands of its favourers and abettors. So artful was the forgery, and so ingenious its author, that he procured the recognition and authentication of his Bull, not only

* History of Remonstrance, p. 16.

† De Burgo, (Hib. Dominicana, p. 690) relates the same anecdote, but doubts it.

from Ormond and the English Government, but even from Dr. Darcy, Bishop of Dromore, and Dr. Patrick Plunket, Bishop of Ardagh. The particulars of the confusion which ensued in many diocesses, and of the sums which were levied on various ecclesiastics, in virtue of this pretended authority, belong to the Life of Dr. Edmund O'Reilly, to whom we are chiefly indebted for having unmasked this iniquitous imposture."

A very interesting account of the proceedings of Taafe in Ireland, is derived by Dr. Moran from a letter addressed from Dublin to Dr. Plunket, by his relative Dr. Plunket, Bishop of Ardagh, and dated October 19th, 1668.

"I have received your letter, which was most gratifying to me and to all your friends, as well for the news concerning your health as for the information regarding the pretended Commission of Taafe, authenticated, as he pretended, by Cardinal Roberti, and by a public notary. Few or none dared to oppose his Commission in the commencement, through reverence for the Apostolic See, and F. Taafe made various copies, and sent Visitators with them throughout the whole kingdom, who for the most part were those who had signed the rash and scandalous formula of Peter Walsh. When I saw the Commissioners whom he employed, I commenced to doubt of the validity of the Commission, and I rejected it, as the whole kingdom knows, even before the letters came from Rome, and I made this known by a public deed; for when one of the Visitators of Taafe had excommunicated the Vicar-General of our Primate, the Archbishop of Armagh, I declared the excommunication null. This exceedingly annoyed Taafe, and in all his subsequent letters he declared me his enemy, which, indeed, affected me very little. When, thanks to divine Providence, the letters and orders of the Sacred Congregation written in the name of the Holy Father, came to me, I, laying aside all human respect for family or parentage, rigorously executed them, and presenting myself to Taafe in this city, exhorted him most pressingly to be obedient to the Holy See, it being a human fault to err, but a truly diabolical one to persevere in error. He, in the beginning, despised my exhortation, and with a fierce oath exclaimed that the Queen Mother, who had obtained for him this Commission from two Sovereign Pontiffs, would maintain him in spite of all his opponents; and he boasted that he would send me and all the clergy of Ireland into exile. I answered, that we were all ready to suffer in so just a cause, but that with God's aid he would not be able to prevail in any way against us. Taafe, afterwards, reflecting on matters, thought better to write to me, declaring that he would submit to the commands of the Holy See, and of the Sacred Congregation, as I announce to his Eminence

Cardinal Barberini in the enclosed letter, which you will hand to him without delay.

"For the rest, it would be tedious to describe all the particulars of the manner of proceeding of this friar ;—*ex ungue leonem*. He has commanded all his Visitators to exact twenty scudi from each Vicar-General, and four scudi from each Parish Priest ; and he commanded that in case of poverty, and of their not being able to pay this sum, they should on three successive Sundays, *intra Missarum Solemnia*, ask it as alms from the people. His manner of life gives occasion to great scandal. May God grant him repentance, and give him grace to change his life."

"Taaffe went through all this farce more as the dupe of Peter Walsh than through any malice of his own ; after repeated summonses he at length repaired to the Eternal City, and for many years led a retired life in the convent of S. Isidore."—p. 26-7.

On the circumstances of Dr. Plunket's nomination and consecration as Archbishop of Armagh, as being already sufficiently familiar from the former biographies, we need not dwell ; but his letters upon the very date of his departure from Rome are full of interest. The account of his presentation to the Queen of Charles II. does not present anything substantially new, but it is a curious picture of the time.

"I presented the letters of your Eminence to the Queen who gave me a most gratifying audience, and passed a high eulogium on your Eminence for the affection which you have ever displayed towards her, as also towards the King, and the entire nation ; and she added, that persons sent by your Eminence had always been excellent and well disposed towards his Majesty, and that she had like hopes for me. I spoke with some who are familiar with the King, and they told me that he often refers to your Eminence with affection and regard. I also consigned your Eminence's letter to the Rev. Father Howard, Grand Almoner, a truly worthy man. He secretly lodged me for ten days in his own apartments in the Royal Palace ; with great kindness he often, too, conducted me in his carriage to see the principal curiosities of the city ; he is truly hospitable and munificent, and the refuge of all foreign Catholics ; and he enjoys great favour with the King and Queen, and is loved by all, even by the Protestants, for his great gentleness and courtesy. I request your Eminence to thank him in your next letters for the kindness which he showed me through esteem for your Eminence. F. Fernandez also, in consequence of your Eminence's letters made many professions of readiness to serve me, and showed great courtesy. In my opinion, he is not very influential, and has but little weight with the Queen : *est bonus vir* ; he is a good simple man.

"Walsh is here, hated by all ; every one holds him to have been excommunicated by the Commissary-General of Flanders. He received a command to withdraw to that country, under pain of excommunication, but he appealed to the General, and should the General send him such an order, he will appeal to the Pope, and from the Pope he will appeal to a Council, and from the Council to the tribunal of God. He is a lost man. F. Taaffe will do well not to return any more from this quarter of the world, his very name is so abhorred by all. The Parliament will reassemble on the 14th of February, which was the day fixed in the prorogation ; when the Parliament is prorogued, the preceding sessions are of little avail. The King asked for eight millions of scudi, in order to pay his debts ; but the Parliament declared they would only grant one million of scudi, and two hundred thousand more should France declare war against the Dutch. As the Government has no money we shall continue neutral. The Parliament often engages the King in foreign wars, and then refuses to grant supplies, in order that in his need he may be dependent on them ; and King James, (the First) in order that he should not be thus dependent on the Parliament, never consented to embark in war, though he was instigated to it by the Parliament, in favour of the heretics of France and Germany. General Monk died this morning, lamented by all ; he was a man of moderation and courage. It is thought that Prince Rupert, or the Duke of Monmouth, (natural son of the King,) will be the future General. Here the cold is so intense that the wine of Spain was frozen in my chalice ; for many years they have not experienced so rigid a season. A heavy fall of snow succeeded the ice, so that it is morally impossible to travel till this cold shall have passed. I have no desire, however, to remain in London, knowing the intention of the Court. The adherents of Walsh, or rather Walsh himself, send to some of the Ministers of Court anonymous letters, full of falsehoods about my presence here ; but their malignity is known, and they themselves are despised. A letter was written to the King, stating that F. Howard concealed three hundred priests in the Royal Palace, who made their rounds every night seeking to make proselytes for the Pope. These fabulous stories do this much good, that no credence is given to the writers even when they tell a little truth. The Duke of Ormond will do his utmost to excite some storm against the clergy, in order to molest Monsignor Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, for whom he entertains a mortal hatred."—p. 43-4.

The journey from London via Holyhead presents an amusing contrast with the "special expresses" and "limited mails" of the present day.

"I at length arrived in this city on Monday last, and I may say that I suffered more from London to Holyhead (where I went on board of a vessel) than during the remainder of the journey from

Rome to London—excessive cold, stormy winds, and a heavy fall of snow; and then when a thaw set in, the rivers became so swollen that three times I was up to my knees in water in the carriage: I was detained twelve days at Holyhead in consequence of contrary winds; and then, after a sail of ten hours, I arrived in this port, where the many welcomes and caresses of my friends mitigated the grief with which I was oppressed on account of my departure from Rome.

“Sir Nicholas Plunket at once invited me to his house, and gave me his carriage: the Earl of Fingall, who is my cousin, invited me to his country seat. The Baron of Louth will give me board and lodging in my own Diocese as long as I please, and I am resolved to accept the invitation of this gentleman, as he lives in the very centre of my mission: there are also three other knights who are married to three of my cousins, and who vie with each other in seeing which of them shall receive me into his house.

“I was also consoled to find the Bishop of Meath, though sixty-eight years old, yet so robust, and so fresh, that he seemed to be no more than fifty: he has scarcely a grey hair in his head, and he sends his sincere respects to your Excellency. I write about these matters to your Excellency, knowing that you will be pleased to learn the happy success of one who reveres and loves you.

“I set out upon my journey despite the severity of the weather, that during the Lent I might be able to discharge part of my duty, in my Province; but I shall find it difficult to assemble five Priests when consecrating the Holy Oils, especially during Holy Week, when all are occupied in hearing confessions: so I pray your Excellency to obtain for me the privilege of consecrating the Holy Oils with the assistance of only two Priests.”—p. 45-6.

The perils of the road, however, were not the only dangers which the new primate had to encounter on his arrival in Ireland. Among the Rawdon Papers is preserved a letter of Lord Conway to his brother-in-law Sir George Rawdon, written by command of the Lord Lieutenant of the time, (November 1669,) which may indicate how insecure even then was the condition of a Catholic prelate in Ireland. †

“Dear Brother,—I have been all this day with my Lord Lieutenant, or employed about his commands, and I am but newly come home from him. Though it be very late, yet I am to give you notice, by his command, that the King hath privately informed him of two persons sent from Rome, that lie lurking in this country to do mischief. One is Signore Agnetti, an Italian employed by the College de Propaganda Fide, the other is Plunket, a member of the same college, and designed titular Archbishop of Armagh. If you can dexterously find them out, and apprehend them, 'twill be an

acceptable service. But I told him I did not think they kept their residence in our parts (about Lisburn); however, he thinks it is his duty to search everywhere.

“CONWAY.

“Dublin, 29th Nov., 1669.”

“Such were the sentiments even of those who were esteemed the most just and impartial of our rulers! The person who, in the above document, is indicated by the name *Agnetti*, is the Canon *Claudius Agretti*, who for many years was first secretary of the Papal Internunzio in Brussels, and for some time, too, discharged the office of pro-Internunzio. At the period of which we speak he had been sent on a mission to Ireland with instructions from the Holy See connected with the forgeries of Taafe and the Remonstrance of Peter Walsh. He was probably as yet in Ireland, at the date of Lord Conway's letter, though on the eve of his departure from it; as we find that on the 14th of December following he writes to Rome announcing his return to Brussels, and transmitting a paper, which he styles ‘a narrative of his pilgrimage to Ireland.’ The Government, however, was misinformed as to the presence of Dr. Plunket in the country, and though they had received intelligence of his appointment to the Primatial See, yet they were wholly astray as to his movements; and at the date of Lord Conway's despatch he was living with the Internunzio in Brussels, awaiting in peace the day appointed for his consecration. Aware of the feelings that existed, Dr. Plunket, on his arrival in Ireland, some months later, considered it prudent to avoid appearing in public as long as this administration lasted, and only performed his sacred functions, and visited his flock, by night or in disguise.”—p. 47-8.

The concealment which he was obliged to affect, however, in no way interfered with the efficiency of his ministry. Writing to Rome in June, 1670, he “estimates the number of those to whom he had already administered the sacrament of Confirmation at about 10,000; and adds, that no fewer than fifty thousand persons yet remained to receive it. By frequent visitations he sought to place within the reach of all the consolations of that holy sacrament; and so untiring were his labours that on the 15th December, 1673, he announces to the Secretary of the Propaganda:—‘*During the past four years I confirmed forty-eight thousand six hundred and fifty-five.*’ And what renders this more surprising is, the many toils he had to undergo in order to administer this sacrament to them; for often, with no other food than a little oaten bread, he had to seek out their abodes in the mountains and in the woods, and often, too, was this sacrament

administered under the broad canopy of heaven, both flock and pastor being alike exposed to the winds and rain."

Among the most interesting of the fruits of Dr. Moran's researches, are the copious and minute details as to the state of the country and the condition of religion therein, which he has carefully brought together, as well from the Primate's papers, as from a variety of miscellaneous sources to which he has obtained access in Rome. It may perhaps excite surprise that, notwithstanding the rigour of the persecution which preceded the Primate's arrival in Ireland, the number of the clergy should still have continued such as we find it in the first days of his mission. In the diocese of Armagh he found still remaining forty secular priests. He calculates the number in the other dioceses of his province at about two hundred and fifty; and it is a curious fact that even during the height of the persecution from 1651 till 1670, the Bishop of Ardagh, Dr. Plunket, the sole remaining prelate who was able to confer ordination, ordained no fewer than two hundred and fifty priests, for the various missions from which they were presented to him.

A few years later indeed, in 1673, this had increased to an absolute abuse, of which the Primate complains to the Internuncio in a very curious letter;—a letter which is further interesting for some personal details regarding the ecclesiastical notabilities of the time.

"The Secular Clergy is too numerous: every gentleman desires a Chaplain, and is anxious to hear Mass in his own room, under pretence of fear of the Government. They force the Bishops to ordain Priests, and afterwards they move the whole world in order to procure a Parish for this Priest, their dependent: the remedy for this would be to withdraw from me, and from all the Archbishops and Bishops of this kingdom, the faculty of ordaining *extra tempora*, and I beseech you to deprive us of this faculty. The Irish College in Rome only maintains seven, or at most eight students; that is, two for each province: and of these some die in Rome, and some become Religious, so that few remain for the Secular Clergy; and so also it happens with two or three Colleges in Spain. As to those of Flanders if you except Louvain, which also maintains but few, the others are only for belles lettres. In a word, in the province of Armagh there are only three that were educated in Rome; that is, Dr. James Cusack, a man distinguished for his learning and prudence; Dr. Ronan Magin, also sufficiently learned, and now Vicar Apostolic of Dromore; and a certain Eugene Colgan, Archdeacon of Derry, a very learned man, and of exemplary life. These are th

fruits of the Irish College as regards my province. There are three Dioceses of my province, that is to say, Raphoe, Derry, and Clogher, full of Protestants, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, &c., if you could obtain two places for each of these three dioceses, it would be of great advantage for the maintenance and propagation of the faith in this province and in these dioceses."—p. 86.

Still more curious, perhaps, is the Primate's Report on the Regular Clergy of Ulster, addressed to the Nuncio at Brussels, in 1671.

"The regular Clergy of the province of Armagh form a large body; in it they have many convents, and a yet greater number of friars. They are principally Dominicans and Franciscans, and the latter are more numerous than the former. I confess, however, that the Dominicans have the more able preachers. I have visited all the convents of the province excepting those of Ardagh, and shall now give some account of them.

"In the diocese of Armagh there are two convents of Dominicans; one in Drogheda, consisting of three friars, of whom *F. Bathews* is grave, prudent, and learned: the other convent is in Carlingford, consisting of five friars; its prior, *Eugene Cogly*, is one of the best preachers of the kingdom. There are three convents of Franciscans in this diocese: one in Drogheda, of six friars, amongst whom there is a man of great prudence and modesty, and very learned, by name *John Brady*: he is definitor. The second convent is in Dundalk, consisting of four friars, two of whom preach pretty well; their names are *Patrick Cassidy* and *Anthony Gearnon*: the latter was a follower of Walsh, and I fear that he is yet inwardly such, though he professes the contrary. The third convent is in Armagh, of fourteen friars, amongst whom there is only one worth mentioning, named *Bonaventure O'Quin*, a learned and prudent man, though not expert in preaching.

"In my diocese there is a residence of discalced Carmelites, and there is one father, who preaches very well, called *F. Levin*. There is also in Drogheda a residence of Capuchins, in which there are four friars; all four are men of merit, and two of them are good preachers, *F. Dowdall* and *F. Verdon*. There is, moreover, in the same city, a convent of Augustinians, composed of three friars: they are pretty good.

"In the united Dioceses of Down and Connor there are two convents of Franciscans, one in Down of eight friars, two of whom are good preachers, *F. Paul O'Neil* and *F. Paul O'Bryn*; they have a novitiate there, as also in Carrickfergus where they have a convent of six friars. Near Down, at 'Villa Nova,'* the Dominicans have a

* Dr. Moran has left this name untranslated. The convent referred to is that of *Newtown-Ardes*, which was founded so early

convent of five friars, and the prior, *F. Clemen. Byrne*, is a learned preacher.

"In the Diocese of Derry the Dominicans have two convents, one in the city of Derry, of six friars; the prior, *F. Patrick O'Dyry*, is an exceedingly good man, and a great preacher. The other convent is in Culrahan, and consists of ten friars, the prior, *F. Dominick Loreman* is famous for preaching. The Franciscans have in this diocese a residence of four friars. In the two convents of the Dominicans there are novitiates.

"In the Diocese of Raphoe there are, in the convent of Donegal, eighteen friars, two of them distinguished, *F. Stephen Congall*, and *F. Anthony Dogherty*, who had been provincial. Here also they have a novitiate.

"In the Diocese of Clogher the Dominicans have a convent of eight friars, two of whom are good preachers, *F. Thomas MacMahon* and *F. Charles MacManus*. Here again they have a novitiate. There are two convents of Franciscans, one in Lisgaole, of six friars, two of whom are sufficiently good preachers, *F. Terenan* and *F. Macmalachin*. The other convent is in Monaghan, composed of seven friars, and one of them is a good preacher and learned man, his name is *F. Francis Maguire*.

"In the Diocese of Meath the Dominicans have a convent at Trim of five friars; they have also a novitiate there; amongst the friars there is one named, *F. John Byrne*, a great and learned preacher but quarrelsome. In this Diocese there are two convents of Franciscans; there is one likewise at Trim of six friars; all were Vale-sians, but now pretend the contrary; the two most distinguished in this convent are of the *Tuite* family. The other convent is in Multifarnham, composed of ten friars; *F. Geanor* resides there. It has also a novitiate.

"In the Diocese of Kilmore there is only one convent of Franciscans.

"Some of the dioceses are here passed over in silence, but we have sufficient data to supply them from a *Relatio* or report of the Province of Ulster, presented by Dr Plunket in 1675, to the Sacred Congregation. From it we learn that in the Diocese of Dromore there were no Regular Clergy. In the Diocese of Clonmacnoise there was one Convent of Franciscans, and in the Diocese of Ardagh there were two Convents of Franciscans and one of Dominicans."—p. 66-8

The reader will be even less prepared for the facts regarding education which the letters of the Primate bring

as 1244, by Walter de Burgh. Its lands were granted to Lord Clundeboy, and by him assigned to Viscount Montgomery of Ardes. No trace of the building is now discoverable.

to light during a period when all is popularly regarded as complete and unredeemed ignorance and darkness. One of the Primate's first cares was to establish, in July 1670, a college for three Jesuit Fathers, which, in a short time, numbered no fewer than one hundred and fifty pupils within its walls. We shall allow the facts to be gathered from one of the Primate's own letters, the original of which is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin. This letter possesses all the curious interest of an "intercepted letter." It was addressed to Padre Oliva, General of the Society of Jesus, but seems never to have reached its destination, having probably fallen into the hands of the Government.

"Very Reverend Father.—Dr. Creagh, the agent of the Prelates of this kingdom in the Roman court, has written to me declaring his many obligations to your Paternity for your affability, kindness, and patronage in his regard, which is of great assistance to him. By long experience in Rome, I learned how great a benefactor you were, and your kindness has been experienced in like manner by all my fellow-countrymen in Rome; each and every one of whom attest your anxiety in their regard, and as they cannot otherwise correspond with this kindness and prove their gratitude, than by loving and doing good to the members of your Order in this kingdom, I can assure you that in this they are not cold or negligent, and the Fathers, on the other hand, by the great good which they do, merit to be thus loved, praised, and caressed. I have three Fathers in the Diocese of Armagh, who by their virtue, learning, and labours, would suffice to enrich a kingdom.

"The Founder of the Armagh Residence is Father Stephen Rice, a learned man, successful in preaching, prudent in his labours, and of profound religious virtue; nor is he ever weary of teaching, instructing, and attending to the pupils and to the young priests, of whom he is the examiner and director. Oh! how much he had to suffer during the past two years and four months, in founding that residence! *Sudavit et alsit*: and he is so modest, so reserved, that he seems as though he had come on yesterday from the novitiate of St. Andrew's. He was educated in Flanders, where, indeed he was imbued with the true spirit of the society; he retains that spirit, and is a son worthy of such a Father as St. Ignatius; in a word, Father Rice is another Father Young.*

"The second is Father Ignatius Browne, a celebrated preacher in the English language, a learned man, and of exemplary life. He was educated in Spain, and preaches on every festival with great applause in the principal chapel.

"The third is Father Murphy, a good theologian, and good reli-

* A distinguished Irish Jesuit.

gious: he also preaches well in Irish, and is a young man of great talent.

"There is a lay-brother named Nicholas, who is like a real brother of Brother George of holy memory.

"In the schools there are 150 boys; for the greater part children of the Catholic nobility and gentry, and there are also about 40 children of the Protestant gentry. You may imagine what envy it excites in the Protestant masters and ministers to see the Protestant children coming to the schools of the Society.

"In the city of my diocese, where the residence is, there are also houses of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Capuchins; the city is called Drogheda, or *Dréat* in our English and Irish languages, and *Pontana* in Latin: it is distant from Dublin as far as Tivoli from Rome; it is a maritime port, situated on the noble river Boyne, or *Boina*, and from its bridge (*pons*) it derives its Latin name 'Pontana.' It is well supplied with corn, with flesh of every description, and with fish. The country around is for the most part inhabited by orthodox noblemen and gentlemen, and in the city there are rich merchants and respectable artisans.

"When I introduced the Fathers to my diocese, and the schools commenced to flourish, Dr. Talbot reprehended the undertaking as rash, imprudent, precipitate, and vain, and said that it would be short-lived, especially in such a busy city. But he was only half acquainted with the matter. The Viceroy, my Lord Berkeley, was most friendly to me, and esteemed me much more than I deserved: —*et in verbo ipsius laxavi rete*—and I founded the residence; and the present Viceroy, the Earl of Essex, a wise, prudent, and moderate man, is nowise inferior to his predecessor in his kindness towards me, as also to the schools. As they have lasted these two years and four months, so we may hope that God, through the intercession of St. Ignatius, will grant them a longer duration. But be this as it may, whilst the wind is favourable, we must raise the sails and pursue our course, and when it becomes contrary or tempestuous, we shall lower them and seek shelter in some small port beneath a mountain or rock."—p. 100-1.

These wonderful results were not attained without much labour and great personal sacrifices on the part of the Primate. He assures the Internuncio that in two years he expended out of his own miserable resources more than four hundred crowns. *He 'dressed in cloth at two shillings a yard;'* he employed but a single servant, with a boy to attend to the horses, and he kept a most sparing table, in order that all his little economies might be devoted to the maintenance of his beloved school.

We are tempted to add, as a companion sketch, the Primate's account of the various Irish Colleges in for-

eign countries. This paper likewise was addressed to the Internuncio.

"And to begin with the Irish Colleges in Rome, it was founded by Cardinal Ludovisi, nephew of Gregory the Fifteenth: he bequeathed to it a thousand scudi a year, besides a good house and a good vineyard in Castel Gaudolfo, and it maintains about seven or eight students, three Jesuits, and two servants. But in a separate letter, I shall write more particularly about the college. Its revenue is capable of supporting twelve students, who would be better prepared for this mission than they now are. In Spain there are four colleges, all directed by the Fathers of the Society; one of them is St. Jago, which supports at one time six, at another seven students; another in Salamanca of the same kind, and another in Lisbon, which maintains eight or ten students. These three colleges were founded by Philip the Second, and in doing so he proved himself a zealous Catholic and a good politician; by this means he won the affection of the Irish, and when the students returned to Ireland they won for the Spaniards the hearts and the esteem of all their friends; in a word, they could speak of nothing but Spain, *totam spirabant Hispaniam*, whence it happens that the Irish go more freely to serve the King of Spain than any other Prince.

"In France there is a college at Bordeaux which maintains twenty-four students, as I have heard, founded by the Archbishops of Bordeaux and others; but contrary to the institution and intention of the founders, this college does not admit any excepting from Cashel and Munster; and the colleges of Spain do not willingly receive students from Ulster, which is a serious injury and a manifest injustice. It truly moves one to compassion to see high families of the houses of O'Neil, O'Donnel, Maguire, MacMahon, Maginnis, O'Cahan, O'Kelly, O'Ferrall, who were great Princes till the time of Elizabeth and King James, in the memory of my father and of many who are yet living; it moves one to compassion, I say, to see their children without property and without maintenance, and without means of education, and yet for the faith they suffered joyfully the loss of property, *cum gaudio susceperunt direptionem bonorum*; but it is intolerable that they should be excluded from college education, for the colleges were not founded for this or that province, but for the whole Kingdom. As to the college in Rome, I can propose a plan according to which it may be able to support sixteen students, and with more profit to religion, than it now supports six; but this must be kept as a secret much like that of the holy office till it be carried into execution. At present, as I said it maintains eight students, and three Jesuits, and two servants, in all thirteen; it has a thousand scudi per annum, and a house and vineyard; let the house be sold, which is worth 6,000 scudi, as also the vineyard, which, with the house that is in it, is worth 2,000 more; let these 8,000 scudi be put in the 'Montes Pietatis,' and they will

give 240 scudi per annum, which, with the 1,000 scudi above, will make in all 1,240 scudi per annum; and let the whole sum be given to the College of Propaganda *et erigatur alumnatus Hibernicus*, which may also be called *alumnatus Hibernicus Ludovisianus*, for it was Cardinal Ludovisi that left the money, and instead of Jesuits and servants, it will maintain so many students. Of what use is it to keep a little college with so few students, whilst for the same funds a larger number can be maintained for the service of the Missions? But two difficulties have to be solved; the first is, how can the testament of Cardinal Ludovisi be interfered with? I answer, that the Holy Father, by a brief, can arrange this, for it is nowise injurious to that Cardinal, or to his intentions: *supponatur enim interpretativé Cardinalis quævis defuncti consensus, ac fore ut idem Cardinalis consentiret si modo vixisset*; it being the intention of the Cardinal to propagate the faith, which is better realized by placing the students in Propaganda, where a larger number may be educated. It is certain that the Cardinal had the intention of erecting a larger and more numerous College, but, *morte præventus*, he could not carry his noble ideas into execution. The second difficulty is that the Jesuits will oppose the project,—but this is of little matter, when we are acting for the greater glory of God. The money was left to maintain Priests for the missions, and not Jesuits; and indeed, many of the students become Jesuits, and never return to their country, which is contrary to the intention of the Cardinal. But some one will say that the Ludovisi family will give opposition; to this I reply that the greater glory of God is to be preferred to such opposition; for there is no reasonable ground of complaint, and it is a greater glory for the Ludovisi family to have an *alumnatus* in so renowned a College, which is frequented by so many Cardinals, than to have so small a College, which serves rather for the Jesuits than for carrying out the intention of the founder. But then, everyone knows how the Ludovisi family now stands, and that it will make little opposition when it is well informed about the matter; all that is wanted is determination and secrecy, and whilst our Holy Father is solicitous for the propagation of the faith, there will be but little difficulty in it.

“There is a College at Seville, which maintains sixteen students, and is supported by alms.

“The Bishop of Ferns can give better information about the Colleges in Spain, and perhaps, also, about that in France. The Canon Joyce can give it concerning those in Flanders. There is a College, as I hear, in Toulouse, but I do not know in what state it is; I believe it is of little importance.

“OLIVER PLUNKET.

“30th September, 1671.”

“In another letter written on the same day he adds a postscript, in which he says:—‘I forgot a College founded in Alcalá, by George de Passe Silviéra, a Portuguese; he left 5,000 scudi a-year,

but a great deal has been expended in building. The Bishop of Ferns can give you an account of it.'"—p. 110-11.

Dr. Moran has completed this enumeration by a brief sketch of the Irish College, Paris; but as our readers are already familiar, from many references in this Journal, with the history of that establishment, we shall not dwell upon it.

In addition to the Primate's labours in his own extensive diocese, he was also charged with the duty of visitation in his provinces. We should gladly transfer to our pages the entire body of Reports and other documents connected therewith which Dr. Moran has brought together in illustration of this visitation. They are full of interest in themselves, and still more curious as illustrative of the condition of Ireland at the time. But we must content ourselves with a few specimens, referring the reader to Dr. Moran's Memoir for the other documents of the series. The only separate report of the Primate's visitation of the dioceses of his province, from his own hand, which Dr. Moran has recovered, is that upon Down and Connor; but he has added, from letters and various other sources, much miscellaneous information regarding the rest of Ulster, and even of the other provinces. There is another Report of a general visitation of the province in 1675, but we shall content ourselves with the report on Down and Connor.

"Relation concerning the canonically united dioceses of Down and Connor.

"These united dioceses are about 50 miles in length and 15 in breadth: they are rather mountainous than level, and abound in milk, oats, and barley. Great peace is enjoyed there.

"There are about two thousand five hundred Catholic families, The Marquis of Antrim, a good Catholic, is very powerful and very zealous; there is no other Catholic that has property there. Thanks to God, the Catholics enjoy great toleration.

"There is no Bishop, but a Vicar-General, by name Patrick O'Mulderig, an old man, 60 years of age, a good and practical priest, though not distinguished for literature; he lives with his brother in a private house, and has converted many to the faith.

"The cathedral churches of Down and Connor are now roofless, but that of Down is very celebrated as being the burial-place of Saint Patrick, Columba, and Bridget, according to the old distich—

*'Hi tres in Duno, tumulto tumultantur in uno
Brigida, Patritius, atque Columba pius.'*

In Down also, was born the celebrated Doctor Scotus.

"In the diocese of Down there is a convent of Dominicans, but the friars live at lodgings. There are five Dominicans, but only one is of great fame, viz., Clement O'Byrne, who is a good preacher, and produces much fruit.

"There is also a convent of Franciscans, who are twelve in number, and amongst them Paul O'Bryn, Paul O'Neill, and James O'Hiny are the most distinguished in point of preaching and producing fruit.

"In the convent of Carrickfergus, in the diocese of Connor, there are ten Franciscans, of whom only five are priests; amongst these Hugh O'Dornan and Daniel O'Mellon are distinguished in preaching. There is also a certain Paul O'Haran, who is well versed in literature.

"The Dominicans have a convent in Culrahan, in which there are only four friars, and of these only two are priests, one of whom, James Crolly, is a good preacher.

"The parish priests are supported by a stipend which the Catholics give them—namely, every family, in addition to the uncertain sums, contributes *four Julii* (2s.) every year. At baptism *two Julii* (1s.) are given, at marriage *four*, and at extreme unction *two*, and also at every burial each family, according to its own pleasure, gives some alms.

"There are many boys well suited for study, but there is a great want of Catholic schools, as the Protestants do not allow Catholic masters. There is, nevertheless, a certain William Flaherty, a priest, a good rhetorician, who keeps a school in Down.

"There are no nuns, excepting four of the Franciscan order.

"At the time of Cromwell there was a violent persecution, and whosoever brought in the head of a priest received 20 scudi (£5.) but under the present King there is great toleration and sufficient connivance."—p. 140-41.

On occasion of a visit to Tuam for the purpose of bearing the Pallium to the Archbishop, the Primate addressed to the Secretary of the Propaganda a letter which contains many interesting personal details.

"From the beginning of February to the 10th of March, I have been travelling in the Province of Tuam, to which I went in order to give the Pallium to the Archbishop of Tuam, who is a prelate most prudent and ecclesiastical. I spoke also with the Bishop of Clonfert, who is a grave and prudent man, and beloved by all. I saw Dr. Michael Lynch, Vicar-Apostolic of Kilmacduagh, a learned and grave man, and a famous preacher. I had also in my company for ten days, Maurice Durcan, the Vicar-General of Achonry, who

is doctor in theology, and a grave man. I enjoyed the society, too, for fifteen days, of Dr. J. Dowley, who was Vicar-General of Tuam for thirty-five years, during the whole time of the persecution, and suffered very much, and as the Catholics of the diocese inform me, *sciens persequutione* he kept alive the spark of religion which remained in the diocese, and in the whole province, and he is the best casuist of the entire province, as I learned from the Archbishop. The city of Galway, although small, is very beautiful, and two-thirds of the inhabitants are Catholic, but they are poor, having lost all their properties. Oh! what a devout and hospitable people. They support no less than three convents, one of the Dominicans, another of the Augustinians, and a third of the Franciscans. The Dominicans have the best and most ornamented church that is in the entire kingdom. All three convents live with the greatest regularity and decorum. The city is exceedingly strong, and is a maritime port. It was the last place in the kingdom attacked by Cromwell, and it resisted a long time. The Superior, or, as they call him, the Warden of the Secular Clergy in the city of Galway, and in nine or ten adjoining parishes, pretends to exemption from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop, and on this head disorders frequently arise; but as far as I could see, the Warden is in the wrong, and is not exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary, but regarding this matter I leave all to the Archbishop, as it is his business.

"The parliament gave liberty of conscience to the Presbyterians, Protestants, Anabaptists, &c., but would not grant it to the Catholics; nay more, it seeks to induce the king to retract the declaration made in favour of the Catholics. The king, however, is firm, and does not wish to consent to the desires of parliament on that head, and we hope that he may continue in this good resolution, although some are of opinion, that the want of money will oblige him to do what he would not otherwise consent to. I pray you to excuse this besmeared letter, as the servant, when making my bed, upset the ink-bottle, and as the post leaves in two hours, and is at a distance from me, I have no time to re-write the letter."—p. 148-9.

But by far the most curious of all these papers is a letter written about the end of 1673, which contains a careful resumé of the condition of the ecclesiastical finance of Ireland at this period. It is a long document, but we are sure our readers will not object to its insertion in its unabridged form.

"On the Vigil of Christmas Mgr. Daniel Makey, Bishop of Down and Connor, most perfectly obeyed the last edict, and departed not only from Ireland, but also from the world, to enjoy now, as we hope, a country and a kingdom where he will be free from the Parliament of England and its edicts. He was a good theologian, educated in

Spain, and chaplain for many years of D. Pedro, of Aragon. At his death he had no more than thirty-five bajocchi (eighteen pence), so that to have even a private funeral it was necessary to sell a part of his goods.

"I take the present opportunity of sending to the Sacred Congregation an account of a matter of some importance, and the effect of this report will be, I hope, to prevent, for some time, the appointment of any more bishops for this kingdom, and my opinion is based on the poverty of the various dioceses, which is, indeed, astounding. The following is the annual revenue of all my suffragan sees :-

	£	s.
The Primatial See of Armagh, ...	62	0
The diocese of Meath, ...	70	0
„ „ of Clogher, ...	45	0
„ „ of Derry, ...	40	0
„ United dioceses of Down and Connor, ...	25	0
„ Diocese of Raphoe, ...	20	0
„ „ of Kilmore, ...	35	0
„ „ of Ardagh, ...	30	0
„ „ of Dromore, ...	17	10
„ „ Clonmacnoise, ...	7	10

These are all the sees, with their revenues, in the province of Armagh. You may easily reflect and ponder how little it becomes the dignity of the episcopal character to be bishops in dioceses which cannot yield a sufficient support.

"Moreover, I know for certain, that the Metropolitan sees of Dublin, and Cashel, and Tuam, do not yield £40 each per annum. It is true, that the diocese of Elphin, which is a suffragan see of the Archbishop of Tuam, yields about £50, and the diocese of Killaloe, in the province of Cashel, yields about £55; but of the other dioceses not one exceeds £25.

"The churches of Ireland, however, as they are in the hands of the Protestants, are very rich; for instance, the Protestant Primate derives from the lands and possessions of the church of Armagh £5,000 per annum, and the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin has about 3,000. But the Catholic Primate and Archbishop has only the revenues which I mentioned above; whence you may conclude how inexpedient it is to appoint any more bishops in this kingdom: and should any such be appointed, it will be necessary for the Sacred Congregation to supply them with revenues, as it does for the bishops in the Indies, and *ad orientales infidelium plagas*. I have two suffragans, Dr Plunket, Bishop of Meath, Brother of the Earl of Fingall, who for the past twenty-six years has served the Sacred Congregation with the greatest integrity, even at a time when there was no other bishop to act in Ireland. The other is Dr. Patrick Duffy, Bishop of Clogher, who even ventured to take pos-

session of his see at the moment when the persecution was about to burst forth.

"The Archbishop of Tuam has two suffragans, that is, the Bishops of Clonfert and Elphin.

"The Archbishop of Cashel has two also in his province, the Bishops of Waterford and Kilaloe; there is also a third, but he lives in France, viz., the Bishop of Kilfenora.

"The Archbishop of Dublin has one suffragan, the Bishop of Ossory, who is in Ireland; and another, the Bishop of Ferns, a worthy prelate, but who, for many years past, has fixed his domicile in France. In my humble judgment the Metropolitan, with one suffragan Bishop, would be quite sufficient in each province.

"From this report a question of curiosity will, perhaps, suggest itself to your Excellency, how, forsooth, I and the other prelates succeed in making out these few shillings? Each parish priest gives us per annum for *proxy* one pound sterling, which is equal to twenty shillings, or four scudi. But you will ask, how is the parish priest maintained? I answer that each family or each head of a family gives four juli, that is, two shillings per annum to the parish priest; then for his trouble in baptism he receives one shilling; for every matrimony, 1s. 6d., or three juli. From which it follows, that where there are most Catholic families, there the parish priest is richest; I should rather say, less poor and miserable. In the diocese of Down and Connor, as also in many other dioceses, there is a large number of Presbyterians (who are especially numerous in Ulster), of Anabaptists, and Quakers, and hence these dioceses are exceedingly poor. And it must here be remarked, that the Presbyterians, who are an offshoot of Protestantism, are more numerous than Catholics and Protestants together.

"You thus see the state of the ecclesiastical riches of the Catholic Bishops of this kingdom, and I assure you that during the past four years I would have been reduced to beggary were it not for a few pence that I had set aside, but which are now wholly exhausted.

"I pray you to send this letter to Mgr. Ravizza, who is the present Secretary of Propaganda, as I have been informed. I already requested you to direct your letters to me thus—*For Mr. Thomas Cox, Dublin*, and they will surely reach me without being intercepted. I now make my reverence to you from my hiding-place, on the Feast of the Holy Innocents, 1673. I wish you a most happy new year, replete with every felicity."—p. 182-4.

It will hardly be matter of surprise that, considering the frequent journeys which he was obliged to make, and the many occasions of expenditure to which he was subject, the Primate should often have found himself sorely straitened. One of his most constant subjects of complaint is his heavy expenditure for postage. In the year 1671, his

expenditure under this head was more than a hundred crowns; and, in addition to his own letters, he was commonly obliged to defray the cost of the correspondence of the other prelates, which was generally transmitted through him. One of his special grievances too, was the foreign practice of using envelopes, "which cost as much as the letters themselves, every letter with a cover costing 46 bajocchi, while without the cover it would only cost 23." It is not uninteresting in these days of penny postage, to hear what were the rates of 1673. "There is no single letter," writes the Primate to the Internuncio at Brussels, "which I send to your Excellency that does not cost me one giulio (6d.); for each letter that I receive from you I have to pay two giulj and a half (15d.); there is no letter that I receive from Cashel or Tuam but costs me a carlino (4d.) in Dublin, and then 2½ bajocchi (1½d.) from Dublin to my residence. Then, too, I have to give some recompense to my agents in Dublin and London, who have the trouble of going to the post to receive the letters and transmit them to me; and in paying them for the post I was not very stinted; they would not have served me and wasted their time, and shoes, and paper, and ink, were I not liberal with them. I may say the same of my correspondents in Tuam and Cashel, and indeed, *digni erant mercedibus suis*. I doubt not but the purse of your Excellency must feel and experience the expense of letters; indeed, there has been no year that it did not cost me more than one hundred scudi (£25.); and since the period of your coming to the Nunciature in Flanders it has cost me more than a hundred scudi: for, during the whole time of the persecution, which has now lasted a year all to one month, though I was concealed in the mountains, as was also the Bishop of Waterford, with the exception of the two past months, I always found some means, though not without difficulty, to procure letters from these quarters." "Before I commenced a direct correspondence with your Excellency, I sent the letters to Ghent, to Mr. Clark; I sent some by Paris, and I think I paid Clark about ten doubloons. Every letter from my diocese to Dublin costs 7½ bajocchi, (3½d.); from Dublin to London, 10 bajocchi, from London to Ghent, or Brussels, 13 bajocchi; from Brussels to Mantua, if I mistake not, 20 bajocchi; from Mantua to Rome, 2½ bajocchi. Now my diocese yields only 240 scudi per

annum, and when I have supported myself, a chaplain, a servant, and a stable boy, but little can remain." Elsewhere, he says, that each letter he received from Brussels cost him 25 bajocchi; and each letter from Cashel or Tuam, 10 bajocchi, sixpence. So heavily indeed, did this charge press upon him that in 1675 the Internuncio wrote, "For many weeks I have received no letter from the Archbishop of Armagh, as he, in the present afflictions, finding himself in want of means, abstains from writing, in order not to incur the heavy expense of the post."

In 1671 the Primate undertook, at the desire of the Propaganda, a visitation of the Highlands of Scotland. Unfortunately Dr. Moran has failed to recover the Primate's Report of this visit; but he supplies the want by two nearly contemporary documents, which are so interesting that we shall transcribe them.

The first is of 1669, and is from the pen of Dr. Winchester, for many years Prefect of the Highland Missions.

"The mountainous districts are barren, and during five or six months of the year scarcely yield to the inhabitants sufficient oats or barley-bread; towards the sea there is an abundance of fish, and everywhere there are large flocks of sheep and cattle; the people live on cheese, milk, and butter; the lower classes, however, are often without bread.

"The Highlands have no commerce with foreign nations, but sell their cattle to the inhabitants of the Lowlands, and are thus enabled to purchase flour; this is the reason why the missionaries who visit these districts are obliged not only to bring with them bread and wine for the Holy Sacrifice, but also food and every other necessary, not without very great inconvenience.

"There are no post-offices, and no means of sending letters, unless a person sends them by hand to the chief city of the kingdom.

"The language of the inhabitants is the Irish, wherefore only natives of Ireland are suited for the missions, till such time as priests from the districts themselves be educated in the colleges on the Continent.

"The Catholics live in peace in the district of Glengarry, under Earl Mac Donnell; also in those mountain districts which belong to the Marquis of Huntley, and in the islands of Uist, Barra, and Morar, which are the most remote from the government residences.

"Such is the severity of the laws, that the practice of the Catholic religion is not allowed; in the Highlands, however, and remote islands, these laws are not carried into execution.

"The present missionaries are two Franciscan friars, viz., Father Mark and Father Francis MacDonnell, sent thither by the Sacred

Congregation ; there is also one secular priest (a missionary of the Sacred Congregation), whose name is Francis White, and a schoolmaster in the Glengarry district named Eugene MacAlaster. The Father White, whom I have mentioned, often visits the islands and the lands of Glengarry and all the mountain districts, as far as he is able, and in doing so he endures great fatigue and suffering, willingly, however, on account of his great zeal for the salvation of souls ; hence all this country is greatly indebted to him, and he is a native of Ireland.

"The schoolmaster is scarcely tolerated in Glengarry, despite the protection of the lord of that territory ; and there is but little hope of another master being found to succeed the present one in that toilsome position.

"There was also another Irish missionary in the Highlands, named Duigen ; he, however, has left that mission : and now Father White alone remains.

"The few missionaries who are in the mountainous districts, are wholly insufficient for the wants of the Catholics, especially in winter, when the roads are almost wholly impracticable ; wherefore we pray that other Irish priests may be sent thither, and Father White undertakes to find such priests through his brother, who is Vicar in the diocese of Limerick in Ireland ; this is the more necessary as the Franciscans, on account of their bad health, cannot long continue on that mission."—p. 176-7.

The second is from an unnamed Scottish priest, who reports the result of a visit which he had made to all the districts of the mission.

"The Highland families are, for the most part, Catholic, or prepared to be so, if they had priests to instruct them ; those, however, of the Lowlands are most fierce heretics, and hate the Highlanders on account of their religion.

"The Highlanders are of an excellent disposition, quick of intellect, and taking a special delight in the pursuit of knowledge ; they are desirous of novelties, and have an unbounded passion for ingenious inventions, so that no greater favour can be conferred on them than to educate their children, and render them suited to become priests or ecclesiastics.

"Their untiring constancy in all matters is truly surprising, and is admitted and extolled even by their enemies, particularly in regard of religion, which they continue to profess, as much as the severity of the persecution, and the total want of priests permit.

"Their arms are two-edged swords, large shields, bows and arrows, which they still continue to use, adding to them, however, fire-arms, which they manage with admirable dexterity.

"They still retain the language and costume of their earliest fore-fathers, so that their dress is not very dissimilar from that of

the ancient statues in Rome, loosely covered from the waist to the knee, and a *bonnet* on the head.

"Almost all the families are Catholic, or disposed to receive the Catholic faith, if, for no other reason, at least to imitate their ancestors, who were so zealous in the cause of religion. Nay more, many of these families have suffered, and acutally suffer for this sole reason, not only in Parliament, where the nobility of the Lowlands have a large majority, but also in the courts of justice, where they are oppressed by the greater number and authority of their enemies; and the heretic Judges give sentence against them, even though their cause be most just, deeming them rebels for not conforming to the established Religion.

"The remaining Scoto-Irish are heretics, more through ignorance than malice; they cease not, however, to cherish a great esteem for the Catholics, as appears in many things.

"If a priest visits them they show him more respect, and honour him more than their own ministers. In fact, the heretics amongst the Highlanders surpass in reverence for our priests the very Catholics of the Lowlands.

"They, moreover, retain many Catholic usages, such as making the sign of the Cross, the Invocation of Saints, and sprinkling themselves with holy water, which they anxiously ask from their Catholic neighbours.

"In sickness they make pilgrimages to the ruins of the old churches and chapels which yet remain, as of the most noble monastery of Iona, where St. Columba was Abbot, also of the chapels of Ghierlock, and Appecrosse, and Glengarry, which were once dedicated to the saints. They also visit the holy springs, which yet retain the names of the saints to whom they were dedicated; and it has often pleased the Most High to restore to their health those who visited these ruins or drank at these springs, invoking the aid of the Saints.

"The enmity of the Lowlanders has been a source of great injury to the Scoto-Irish, especially since heresy began to domineer in Scotland; for the inhabitants of the Lowlands being most furious heretics (with the exception of some few whom the Catholic missionaries restored to the bosom of the Church), and seeing the Highlanders most constant in the faith, and that there is no hope of alienating them from the Catholic Church, seek, by all possible means, to excite odium against them, designating them barbarians, impious, enemies of the reformed creed, &c.; and they hesitate not to affirm of them everything that can be suggested by detraction and their own excessive hatred; and they even deem it a glorious deed to show contempt for, or cast ridicule on a Highlander."—p. 177-8.

These journeys, as well as most of the Primate's missionary expeditions, were conducted as secretly as pos-

sible. His correspondence, too, especially the foreign part of it, was maintained in an assumed name. "Many of his letters are in cipher, but the Internuncio always transmitted their key to the Sacred Congregation. His assumed name on these occasions was for some time *Thomas Cox*, and afterwards *Edward Hamon* or *Hamond*; in fact, all our prelates, when corresponding with Rome, were compelled to assume other names; thus, Dr. Tyrrell, of Clogher, signed himself *Scurlog*, which name he afterwards changed for *Stapleton*; Dr. Cusack assumed the name of *Fleming*, and Dr. Forstall, Bishop of Kildare, the more German title, M. F. von Creslaw. Even the Internuncio was seldom addressed by his proper name, and we find him at first styled Monsieur *Pruisson*, which, in 1679, for greater security, was often changed into *Picquet*."

In the more active intervals of persecution, other and far greater precautions were necessary. In the introductory sketch prefixed to these Memoirs we read many curious details of the arts "to which they were obliged to have recourse in order to break to their flock the bread of life. One lived as a hermit, perpetually shut up in a secret place, only a few Catholics being acquainted with this retreat. Another, often changing his disguise, went publicly through the streets; at one time he wore a long beard and a soldier's dress; at other times he travelled as a mechanic or merchant; sometimes, too, he carried a bread-basket on his shoulders, thus becoming all to all that he might gain all to Christ. A third disguised himself as a miller, and occasionally as a gardener; and though living in the country, often passed through the midst of the enemy's guards carrying herbs, or fruits, or some such articles, as if he were journeying to market, whilst he was in reality hastening to the bedside of the infirm. These stratagems, however, did not always enable them to elude the vigilance of the soldiery. Thus, one aged man—a venerable Jesuit—was seized at the very altar when offering the holy sacrifice; the soldiers at once tore off the sacred vestments and cast him into a horrid dungeon. Another priest, though disguised, was assailed by them in the public streets, despoiled of all he had with him, and thrown into the common sewer; and it was only by the interposition of some passers-by, who declared that he could not be a priest, that he was rescued

from their brutality." Dr. Plunket himself, during the vice-royalty of Lord Roberts of Truro, was obliged, in order to conceal himself, to go under the name of *Captain Brown*, with a sword, wig, and pistols, for a space of two or three months! (p. 185.)

The arrest, imprisonment, trial, and execution of the Primate, was perhaps the portion of his history which had hitherto been best known. The biography of Dr. Crolly is, in these respects, very full and satisfactory. Even here, however, Dr. Moran has succeeded in obtaining further information; but we must content ourselves with a general reference to this part of his narrative as full of interest.

We cannot close our notice, however, without the warmest expression of our sense of the exceeding value and importance of this contribution to the history of our national Church. The author has had the good fortune to obtain access to an entirely new and unexplored body of materials, and he has employed his opportunities with an industry and skill of which it is impossible to speak too highly. The success which has attended his researches in this particular instance, cannot, we fear, for reasons already explained, be regarded as a measure by which to estimate the probabilities of a similar result in other periods of the history; but it holds out, nevertheless, the promise of at least much which had hitherto been regarded as hopeless. Every instalment of light is valuable, not alone for itself, but for the aid which it affords to subsequent exploration. Every new fact which Dr. Moran has disinterred, every lost name which he has recovered, every link, however minute, which he has supplied in the fragmentary series of our history, will infallibly lead to further success, or at least will tend to render the general scheme of the history more complete and more intelligible. The light which he has brought from foreign archives will clear up what is indistinct in our home traditions; while the domestic records, poor as they are, will, in their turn, eke out the details which even the less mutilated records of Rome supply but imperfectly.

And the success which has thus attended what may be called the first systematic exploration of one of the sources of our history, will prove, we trust, an incentive to inquiry in other almost equally untried quarters. No skilful, and especially no sympathizing, explorer has yet thoroughly

investigated the various depositories of English state papers, whether in the British Museum, the Bodleian, Trinity College, Dublin, and other Libraries, or in the various departments of the State Paper Offices in which papers connected with Ireland are likely to be found. The progress which has been made, and continues to be made in the useful work of calendaring the contents of these offices will much facilitate this investigation. But besides the public departments, there are yet many other quarters which may well deserve a searching examination. In explaining the contrast which the copiousness of Oliver Plunket's Roman correspondence presents to the scantiness and often the complete absence of all record which characterises other periods which are known to have been equally eventful, we rested mainly upon the circumstances of Dr. Plunket's life antecedent to his mission into Ireland, and on the close relations with Rome which he had formed during his early career and continued to maintain to the very end of his life. Few of the prelates had enjoyed the same advantages as regards relations with Rome. During what remained of the seventeenth and the greater part of the eighteenth century the Irish Prelacy was largely supplied from the schools of France, of Spain, and of the Low Countries; and abstracting from the duties of official intercourse, those particular relations, arising from early intercourse, which these prelates may be supposed to have formed, would have been rather with the countries in which they were educated, than with Rome, the second home of Oliver Plunket. It is not unnatural, in the case of French, Spanish, or Belgian students, to look for communications to Louvain, to Paris, to Salamanca, to Seville, similar to those which the Roman student and professor addressed to his old friends and colleagues; and although most of the records of such intercourse must unhappily be given up as irrecoverably lost, it is by no means impossible that in such depositories as the Burgundian Library at Brussels, the archives of Simancas* in Spain, and even the state

* Since the above was written we have learned with sincere pleasure that the Master of the Rolls has added one more to the many obligations which he has conferred on the historical literature of the country, by obtaining the permission of the Spanish Government for the calendaring of so many of the state papers at Simancas as regard the history of these countries.

paper archives of the French capital, many precious memorials may still be recoverable. In like manner, as many of our Bishops were members of the Dominican, the Franciscan, the Augustinian, or other Orders, we are not without hope that among the neglected papers of some of the great houses of these Orders, it may be possible to eke out our scanty store of historical materials, the more precious to us, because of their very meagreness and fragmentary character.

If we find explorers as zealous, as skilful, as persevering, and as able as Dr. Moran, we cannot despair of success. We trust that his memoir of Oliver Plunket is but the first instalment of a long series. And, as the first fruit, we shall look anxiously for the promised volume of Appendix of Documents which he promises, in illustration of this valuable Memoir.

ART. IX.—*The Sisters; Inisfail; and other Poems.* By Aubrey de Vere. London: Longman and Co. 1861.

THE simultaneous appearance of Mr. Aubrey de Vere's Irish Historical Poem and of Dr. Moran's Life of Oliver Plunket, is a circumstance which we cannot help thinking of happy augury for the future of Irish History. It is not merely that the publication of two works of so high merit is in itself an indication of more than ordinary literary activity in Ireland; nor even that both these works give promise of new vitality in the long neglected field of our national history. It is rather that both these writers, although separated from each other most widely in subject, in manner, in plan, in all that could ordinarily constitute an element of resemblance, are yet animated by a common spirit, tend in their several ways to a common purpose, and, while they differ in almost every detail as to the treatment even of what they treat in common, yet regard all from the same point of view, and only in so far as it illustrates what is, in the mind of both, the one great moral truth which underlies the whole sur-

face of the history of Ireland. Nothing, in truth, could, in a literary point of view, be more opposite than the characters of the two works, or of the schools to which they belong. The one deals entirely with facts, the other with the theories which these facts involve. The one is mainly concerned with events, the other with their moral or poetical interpretation. The one, in a word, builds up the skeleton of the national history; the other clothes it with form and imbues it with vitality. But both in their several tasks, have the same standing ground; both regard it from one common point of view. And thus the material framework of facts which the one builds up is but the outward form of that inner and animating principle which is the ideal of the other. To both alike the national history of Ireland has but one meaning—the history of the national religion of Ireland.

The period, for example, over which the life of Oliver Plunket extends, comprises a succession of political changes in themselves exceedingly important, and involving consequences the influence of which has been felt in the history of most European nations even to the present day—the dethronement and execution of Charles I., the Commonwealth, the Restoration, the alternations of political party by which it was secured, and which culminated in the Revolution. Yet it is true to say that in the genuine history of Ireland these events have no place, or only a subordinate place. The true scene of that history is far less the Council-Room of Dublin Castle, or the camp of the contending armies, even of those in which the Irish party was, however inadequately, represented, than the wild mountains or the lonely bogs in which the persecuted confessors of the faith and of the cause of Ireland found their precarious refuge. The enactments and the wars of the time were really representatives of national interests only in so far as they were religious. The interest of the action, which turns but feebly upon the Ormonds or Ossorys of the political struggle, and which considers even the O'Mores and O'Neils far more as champions of religion than of country, has its true centre in the martyred bishops and priests of the Cromwellian era, or even in the less exciting picture of Oliver Plunket setting out as "Mr. Cox" on the clandestine visitation of his diocese, or in the disguise of "Captain Brown," with sword, pistols, and military wig, bearing the pallium to his brother prelate of Tuam!

Mr. de Vere, too, has felt this truth very forcibly. In his idea of a "National Chronicle in verse," towards which the present volume is his first contribution, the fundamental element is religion. "A national chronicle in verse," he writes in his admirable preface, "would necessarily, so far as it was true to the spirit of history, include what may be called the Biography of a People—its interior as well as its exterior life. The annals of Ireland were stormy and strange after the lapse of those three golden centuries between her conversion to Christianity and the Danish inroads. But there were also great compensations—Religion:—natural ties so powerful that they long preserved a scheme of society almost patriarchal; an ever-buoyant imagination; and the inspiring influences of outward nature on a temperament as susceptible as the heart was deep. After the storms had rolled by, there still remained a people and a religion. So long as its life is mainly from within, a people works out its destiny."

This idea he has fully realized. It is thoroughly congenial to his mind; and the vividness, the energy, and life-like reality which characterise many of the sketches in his charming collection, have forcibly reminded us of the saying popularly attributed to Plato, that poetry comes nearer to vital truth than history itself. Indeed, if the real function of the Poet be that of an interpreter; and if true poetry, as illustrative of individual life, feeling, and character, consist in the art of assuming a perfect identity with the individual feelings which it is sought to delineate, the historical poet can only be faithful to his calling by transferring himself entirely to the past, and imbuing himself thoroughly, not only with the manners, but with the thoughts, the sentiments, the whole moral atmosphere which belonged to it.

And happily as regards these deeper and more tender religious sympathies of a nation, few men are more capable of understanding and appreciating them than Mr. Aubrey de Vere. The readers of his *Picturesque Sketches in Greece and Turkey*, can hardly fail to recollect his description of the ruins of the ancient Eleusis and Delphi. We hardly ever remember to have met, within a brief space, a more faithful appreciation of the profound analogies which subsist in the ancient religions between truth and fiction—between the darkling guesses of the pagan intelligence and the Christian Revelation: a more thorough insight

into those deep religious sympathies of the human heart which vindicate themselves even in the midst of its corruption, and which, however overlaid by ignorance and passion, may still be recognised in certain mysterious and, perhaps, by the mass, unobserved, analogies, which satisfy the more elevated human instincts, and preserve in despite of every influence, a secret harmony with man's higher and holier nature;—as, for example, the unfelt recognition of the Christian principle of the holiness of sorrow in the secret worship of Ceres mourning and seeking for the lost Proserpine; in the mystery of the broken earthen vessels and the wine poured out in oblation; in the forms and ceremonies of purification and initiation; and above all, in the special selection as the place for the celebration of this the highest and purest worship of the Greek Mythology, of the temple, common and indivisible, of those two divinities who, interpreted in their elemental or physical relations, signify Bread and Wine.

Indeed this is, except in his very lightest efforts, the habitual tone of Mr. de Vere's mind; and it pervades even those of his works which have little direct bearing upon religion. His earliest poetry is marked by a profoundly religious spirit. In the natural order every object speaks to his mind in the language of religious symbolism. He rarely loses sight of the sentiment of his own sonnet:

——— "A Presence that thou dreamest not of
Is here concealed. From out the air-rock'd nest
Of every leaf looks forth some dream divine.
The grass thou treadest—the weeds are cyphered o'er
With mystic traces and sybilline lore.
Each branch is precious as that golden bough
Hung by Æneas (ere he passed below)
Upon the sable porch of Proserpine.

And in the moral order, the same habit of thought seems to run through all his views and to colour all his conceptions. No one has traced more clearly in the social and intellectual characteristics of the paganism of Greece and Rome, these "broken fragments of the patriarchal revelation which preceded the Jewish religion;" the workings of that moral sense which can be seen in the records of almost every people, "running in a smaller circle parallel with Revelation." But it is in his treatment of professedly Irish subjects that he has thrown himself with the fullest unreserve into these views, which are even otherwise

so habitual to his mind :—and this especially in his “*Inisfail*,” which he intends as “a sort of national chronicle cast in a form partly lyrical, partly narrative, and of which the spirit is mainly dramatic.” He himself describes it in his preface as “an attempt to represent, as in a picture, the more memorable periods of Irish History—a history as poetical as it was troubled.” The spirit in which the attempt is made will be best understood from the author’s own explanation. “In England, in Spain, and in other countries, ancient and modern,” he says, contrasting as regards the characters of their respective literatures, Ireland and the other countries of Europe, “a collection of ballads had early grown up, out of which rose the later literature of each ; ballads that recorded many a precious passage of old times, and embodied the genius as well as the manners of the past. Irish history does not stand thus related to letters. For many centuries before the Norman invasion of Ireland, and for several after that event, the Bards occupied a more important position in Ireland than they have enjoyed in any other part of the West : their dignity was next to the regal ; their influence with the people unbounded ; and they possessed all the secular learning then existing. The Gael required that even the maxims of law should be delivered to him in verse, as well as that the lines of the chiefs and princes should be thus traced. The influence of the Priest alone equalled that of the Bard, and between these two orders a rivalry often existed. We have the testimony of Spenser as to the merit of the Bards and their social influence in the sixteenth century ; and in the eighteenth, those of Munster alone, bards of a very inferior quality, counted like the harpers by scores. Even at the present day on the western coasts of Clare and Connaught numberless poems handed down orally, perhaps for above a thousand years, though in a dialect gradually modified, are recited to village listeners on the long evenings of summer. They relate chiefly to Ossian, his father Fionn, and the Fenian chiefs, or heads of the old militia of Ireland. Some of these have recently been published with translations by the Ossianic Society, and also, in a delightful book called ‘*Oisín*,’ by Mr. Hawkins Simpson. But for all save the few a whole poetical literature has perished, and with it the most vital part of a history admirable for the variety and pathos of its details, and for the manner in which it

exhibits the finer together with the more barbaric traits of a society rude rather because it had degenerated than because it had not yet attained to civilization. Nowhere in Ireland can we move without being challenged by the monuments of the past ; yet for the majority of her sons, as well as for the traveller, there exists no Alfred and no Wallace."

It was hardly necessary to offer an apology for a project which has enriched our scanty store of national ballads with such contributions as those embodied under the general title of "*Inisfail*." But if there be any who doubt the value of modern ballads upon ancient subjects, Mr. de Vere has an ample justification in the poetry of every modern literature without exception. "*National ballads*," he says, "are doubtless most valuable when contemporary with the events they describe ; yet the literature of England has not remained contented with its ancient stores alone. Sir Walter Scott added ballads of his own to the *Border Minstrelsy*, and in those of Lord Macaulay and of Professor Aytoun, the Puritans and Cavaliers sing their hate or love in language as vivid as they could have done in the days of Cromwell. Some advantages, moreover, belong, or might at least belong, to historical poems produced at a date later than that of the events they record. Contemporary ballads touch us with a magical hand, but their foot is strangely vagrant and capricious ; they often pass by the most important events, and linger by the most trivial. Looking back upon history, as from a vantage ground, its general proportions become more palpable ; and the themes which naturally suggest themselves to the poet are either those critical junctures upon which the fortunes of the nation turned, or else such accidents of a lighter sort as especially illustrate the character of a race. An historical series of poems thus becomes possible the interest of which is continuous, the scope of which has a unity, and the course of which reveals an increasing significance."

His own "*Inisfail*" therefore is an attempt to reproduce in verse such a series of historical ballads, lyrical, narrative, as might be supposed to have come down to us from the bards of the olden time, had we possessed any written relics of the Bardic lore of Ireland. The collection of subjects by no means professes to be complete or continuous, and indeed, almost the only exception we can take to the exe-

cution of Mr. de Vere's task is the seeming absence of order, or of any recognized principle of selection in the themes which he has grouped under the several periods into which his chronicle is divided. In a fragmentary work, however, such as Mr. de Vere's is at once understood to be, this is of comparatively little importance; and unhappily, as regards Irish history generally, it is chiefly in the fragmentary form that it is possible to reconstruct it.

The period which the present poems are intended to illustrate is a dark and painful one. These are national records of which it is said with much truth that

"History but counts the drops as they fall from a nation's heart."

It embraces the time included between the latter part of the twelfth and the latter part of the eighteenth century; that is from the English Invasion downwards; though there are many scattered pieces founded upon events of an earlier period, Pagan as well as Christian. The whole interval, however, is divided into three Epochs, which are represented by the three Parts into which the series is distributed. The first of these extends from the Invasion to the reign of Henry VIII. and is mainly intended to illustrate the condition of the native Irish race under the absolute rule of the great English lords, unfettered in their absolutism, whether by the ancient laws of Ireland, which they had abrogated, or by the laws of England, the benefit of which they refused to extend to the Irish people. The second reaches to the Revolution, and comprises the religious struggles through the reigns of Henry, Elizabeth, and James, the Commonwealth, and the Restoration. The last is the period of the Penal Laws.

The whole plan of the book is shadowed out in a strange, but most striking piece, entitled "The Three Woes," which describe severally the three periods above referred to;—in the first of which the Irish, "without Laws, should flee as beasts of the forest;" in the second, Faith should bring not peace but a sword; while in the third, "the Laws should rend them like sharp-fangled eagles."

"THE THREE WOES.

"The Angel whose charge is Eire sang thus o'er the dark isle winging :—

By a virgin his song was heard at a tempest's ruinous close :

'Three golden ages God gave while your tender green blade was springing:

'Faith's earliest harvest is reap'd. To-day God sends you three Woes.

" 'For ages three, without Laws ye shall flee as beasts in the forest :
 'For an age, and a half age, Faith shall bring not peace but a
 sword :
 'Then Laws shall rend you, 'like eagles, sharp-fang'd, of your
 scourges the sorest :—
 'When these three Woes are past look up, for your Hope is
 restored.
 " 'The times of your woe shall be twice the time of your foregone
 glory :
 'But fourfold at last shall lie the grain on your granary floor'—
 —The seas in vapour shall fleet, and in ashes the mountains
 hoary :
 Let God do that which He wills. Let His servants endure and
 adore !"—p. 248.

We shall best illustrate the spirit in which these three periods are treated, by a specimen from each.

The first, the Invasion, is fitly opened by the following

" WARNING.

A. D. 1170.

"In the heaven were portents dire ;
 On the earth were sign and omen :
 Bleeding stars and falling fire
 Dearth and plague foretold their coming.
 Causeless panics on the crowd
 Fell, and strong men wept aloud:—
 Ere the Northmen cross'd the seas,
 Said the bards, were signs like these.

"Time was given us to repent :
 Prophets challeng'd plain and city:
 But we scorn'd each warning sent,
 And outwrestled God's great pity.
 'Twixt the blood-stain'd brother bands
 Mitred Laurence raised his hands,
 Raised Saint Patrick's cross on high:—
 We despised him ; and we die."—p. 136-7.

Never, not even in the most passionate of the Moorish ballads of Granada, has the fall of a race been more touchingly mourned than in the magnificent stanzas on the battle of Athunree, in 1316—the last struggle of the house of O'Connor. It is well called

"THE DIRGE OF ATHUNREE.

"A. D. 1316.

"Athunree! Athunree!
Erin's heart, it broke on thee!
Ne'er till then in all its woe
Did that heart its hope forego.
Save a little child—but one—
The latest regal race is gone.
Roderick died again on thee,
Athunree!

"Athunree! Athunree!
A hundred years and forty-three
Winter-wing'd and black as night
O'er the land had track'd their flight:
In Clonmacnoise from earthly bed
Roderick raised once more his head:—
Fedlim floodlike rush'd to thee,
Athunree!

"Athunree! Athunree!
The light that struggled sank on thee!
Ne'er since Cathall the red-handed
Such a host till then was banded.
Long-hair'd Kerne and Galloglass
Met the Norman face to face;
The saffron standard floated far
O'er the on-rolling wave of war;
Bards the onset sang o'er thee,
Athunree!

"Athunree! Athunree!
The poison tree took root in thee!
What might naked breasts avail
'Gainst sharp spear and steel-ribb'd mail?
Of our Princes twenty-nine,
Bulwarks fair of Connor's line,
Of our clansmen thousands ten
Slept on thy red ridges. Then—
Then the night, came down on thee,
Athunree!

"Athunree! Athunree!
Strangely shone that moon on thee!
Like the lamp of them that tread
Staggering o'er the heaps of dead,
Seeking that they fear to see.

Oh that widows' wailing sore!
 On it rang to Oranmore;
 Died, they say, among the piles
 That make holy Arran's isles:—
 It was Erin wept on thee,
 Athunree!

"Athunree! Athunree!
 The heart of Erin burst on thee!
 Since that hour some unseen hand
 On her forehead stamps the brand.
 Her children ate that hour the fruit
 That slays manhood at the root;
 Our warriors are not what they were;
 Our maids no more are blithe and fair;
 Truth and Honour died with thee,
 Athunree!

"Athunree! Athunree!
 Never harvest wave o'er thee!
 Never sweetly-breathing kine
 Pant o'er golden meads of thine!
 Barren be thou as the tomb;
 May the night-bird haunt thy gloom,
 And the wailer from the sea,
 Athunree!

"Athunree! Athunree!
 All my heart is sore for thee,
 It was Erin died on thee,
 Athunree!"—p. 170-3.

In the second division of Inisfail there is another wail almost equally wild and mournful. It is entitled "*Roisin Dubh*," "Black Little Rose"—one of the allegorical names by which the bards designated Ireland. But here the mourner no longer bewails the fallen nationality of his country. The sorrow which finds a voice in "*Roisin Dubh*," is for the oppressed and suffering Church of Ireland.

"O Who art thou with that queenly brow
 And uncrown'd head?
 And why is the vest that binds thy breast,
 O'er the heart, blood-red?
 Like a rose-bud in June was that spot at noon
 A rose-bud weak;
 But it deepens and grows like a July rose—
 Death-pale thy cheek!

" ' The babes I fed at my foot lay dead ;
 ' I saw them die :
 ' In Ramah a blast went wailing past ;
 ' It was Rachel's cry.
 ' But I stand sublime on the shores of Time,
 ' And I pour mine ode,
 ' As Myriam sang to the cymbals' clang,
 ' On the wind to God.
 " ' Once more at my feasts my Bards and Priests
 ' Shall sit and eat ;
 ' And the Shepherd whose sheep are on every steep
 ' Shall bless my meat !
 ' Oh, sweet, men say, is the song by day,
 ' And the feast by night ;
 ' But on poisons I thrive, and in death survive
 ' Through ghostly might.' "—p. 193-4.

Equally touching and in the same spirit is a little piece supposed to represent the same date.

" FLORANS FLORAVIT.

" A. D. 1583.

" She sits alone on the cold grave stone
 And only the dead are nigh her ;
 In the tongue of the Gael she makes her wail :—
 The night wind rushes by her.
 " ' Few, O few are the leal and true,
 ' And fewer shall be, and fewer ;
 ' The land is a corse ;—no life, no force—
 ' O wind, with sere leaves strew her !
 ' Men ask what scope is left for hope
 ' To one who has known her story :—
 ' I trust her dead ! Their graves are red ;
 ' But their souls are with God in glory.' "—p. 192.

There is in both of these most touching pieces, rising up from the very depths of that despair of human aid which they breathe, that strong sense of Christian hope, and that firm reliance on God's providence, which have at all times characterised the sorrow of our country, and which, to a philosophical observer of her destinies, may appear to be a gift, which, in the supernatural order, somewhat resembles those " compensations " in the order of nature on the wonders of which naturalists love to dwell. Its true foundation lies deep in the hearts of our people. It is a marvel to those who know not their character ; but Mr. de Vere has not failed to interpret it justly.

"Men ask what scope is left for hope
 To one who has known her story:—
 I trust her dead! Their graves are red;
 But their souls are with God in glory."

As some relief to the gloomy tone of these extracts, we pass to a short but highly characteristic piece appertaining to the same period, which appears to us the very ideal of the class of composition to which it belongs—the War Song of MacCarthy.

"Two lives of an eagle, the old song saith,
 Make the life of a black yew-tree;
 For two lives of a yew-tree the furrrough's path
 Men trace, grass grown on the lea;
 Two furrroughs they last till the time is past
 God willeth the world to be;
 For a furrrough's life has Mac Carthy stood fast,
 Mac Carthy in Carbery.

"Up with the banner whose green shall live
 While lives the green on the oak!
 And down with the axes that grind and rive
 Keen-edged as the thunder stroke!
 And on with the battle-cry known of old,
 And the clan-rush like wind and wave;—
 On, on! the Invader is bought and sold;
 His own hand has dug his grave!"—p. 195.

"The Bier that Conquered" will serve as an example of Mr. de Vere's manner of treating the isolated incidents of our annals,* without sacrificing the common spirit of the history, and of the skill with which he maintains the harmony of tone and the identity of moral teaching, even where continuity of narrative is wanting. According to Mr. de Vere's explanation of this ballad, (which is founded on the romantic story of one of the princes of Tirconnell in the twelfth century, Godfrey O'Donnell,) "Maurice Fitzgerald, Lord Justice, marched to the north-west, and a furious battle was fought between him and Godfrey O'Donnell, Prince of Tirconnell, at Creadran-Killa, north

* We have advisedly confined ourselves to the *strictly historical* portions of Mr. de Vere's volume; but no reader who may take it up will stop here. "The Sisters" is a most charming picture of what has passed under our own eyes, and exhibits most touchingly all the best qualities of Irish character in our own day.

of Sligo, A.D. 1257. The two leaders met in single combat and severely wounded each other. It was of the wound he then received that O'Donnell died soon after, after triumphantly defeating his great rival potentate in Ulster, O'Neill. The latter, hearing that O'Donnell was dying, demanded hostages from the Kinel Connell. The messengers who brought this insolent message fled in terror the moment they had delivered it;—and the answer to it was brought by O'Donnell on his bier. Maurice Fitz Gerald finally retired to the Franciscan monastery which he had founded at Youghal, and died peacefully in the habit of that order."

The scene is highly dramatic, and is admirably rendered in the following stanzas.

"THE BIER THAT CONQUERED ;

"OR, O'DONNELL'S ANSWER.

"A. D. 1257.

"Land which the Norman would make his own!
(Thus sang the Bard 'mid a host o'erthrown
While their white cheeks some on the clench'd hand propp'd,
And from some the life-blood scarce heeded dropp'd)
There are men in thee that refuse to die,
And that scorn to live, while a foe stands nigh!

"O'Donnell lay sick with a grievous wound:
The leech had left him; the priest had come;
The clan sat weeping upon the ground,
Their banners furl'd and their minstrels dumb.

"Then spake O'Donnell, the king: 'Although
'My hour draws nigh, and my dolours grow;
'And although my sins I have now confess'd,
'And desire in the land, my charge, to rest,
'Yet leave this realm, nor will I nor can,
'While a stranger treads on her, child or man.

"'I will languish no longer a sick man here :
'My bed is grievous ; build up my Bier.
'The white robe a king wears over me throw;
'Bear me forth to the field where he camps—your foe,
'With the yellow torches and dirges low,
'The heralds his challenge have brought and fled :
'The answer they bore not I bear instead.
'My people shall fight my pain in sight,
'And I shall sleep well when their wrong stands right.'

"Then the clan to the words of their Chief gave ear,
 And they fell'd great oak-trees and built a bier;
 Its plumes from the eagle's wing were shed,
 And the wine-black samite above it they spread
 Inwoven with sad emblems and texts divine,
 And the braided bud of Tirconnell's pine,
 And all that is meet for the great and brave
 When past are the measured years God gave,
 And a voice cries 'Come' from the waiting grave.

"When the Bier was ready they laid him thereon:
 And the army forth bare him with wail and moan:
 With wail by the sea-lakes and rock abysses;
 With moan through the vapour-trail'd wildernesses;
 And men sore-wounded themselves drew nigh,
 And said, 'We will go with our king and die';
 And women wept as the pomp pass'd by.
 The sad yellow torches far off were seen;
 No war-note peal'd through the gorges green;
 But the black pines echo'd the mourners' keen.

"What, said the Invader, that pomp in sight?
 'They sue for the pity they shall not win.'
 But the sick king sat on the Bier upright,
 And said, 'So well! I shall sleep to-night:—
 'Rest here my couch, and my peace begin.'

"Then the war-cry sounded—'Bataillah Aboo!'
 And the whole clan rush'd to the battle plain:
 They were thrice driven back, but they form'd anew,
 That an end might come to their king's great pain.
 'Twas a people not army that onward rush'd;
 'Twas a nation's blood from their wounds that gush'd:
 Bare-bosom'd they fought, and with joy were slain;
 Till evening their blood fell fast like rain;
 But a shout swell'd up o'er the setting sun,
 And O'Donnell died, for the field was won.

So they buried their king upon Aileach's shore;
 And in peace he slept;—O'Donnell More."—p. 164-6

The Third Part of *Inisfail* presents greater variety, and is full of picturesque beauty. The latter portion especially appears to us singularly felicitous. We are much struck by the skill with which the transition is managed, and with which the dawn of hope, first faintly exhibited, is made gradually to grow upon the reader, till at length his eye has been prepared for the full light of the day which is to come. We must find space for one or two examples of

this before we close. The following exquisite piece will be understood in contrast with one of the previous extracts.

"The little Black Rose shall be red at last :—
 What made it black but the March wind dry,
 And the tear of the widow that fell on it fast?—
 It shall redden the hills when June is nigh!
 "The Silk of the Kine shall rest at last;—
 What drave her forth but the dragon fly?
 In the golden vale she shall feed full fast
 With her mild gold horn, and her slow, dark eye.
 "The wounded wood-dove lies dead at last!
 The pine long-bleeding, it shall not die!
 —This song is secret. Mine near it pass'd
 In a wind o'er the stone plain of Athenry."—p. 293.

But the most beautiful and, in our judgment, the most magnificent piece in the entire Third Part is what may be regarded as a poetic resumé of the past religious history of Ireland, with a half dreaming, half prophetic forecasting of her future destiny, entitled, "All Hallows; or the Monk's Dream." The introduction is highly poetical.

"I trod once more the place of tombs :
 Death-rooted elder, full in flower,
 Oppress'd me with its sad perfumes,
 Pathetic breath of arch and tower.
 The ivy on the cloister wall
 Waved, gusty, with a silver gleam :
 The moon sank low : the billows' fall
 In moulds of music shaped my dream.
 "In sleep a funeral chaunt I heard,
 A 'de profundis' far below;
 On the long grass the rain-drops stirr'd
 As when the distant tempests blow.
 Then slowly, like a heaving sea,
 The graves were troubled all around;
 And two by two, and three by three,
 The monks ascended from the ground."

In this vision, which rises before the eye of the seer, is shadowed forth the entire story of his country's long ages of suffering and humiliation.

"From sin absolved, redeem'd from tears,
 There stood they, beautiful and calm,
 The brethren of a thousand years,
 With lifted brows and palm to palm!

On heaven they gazed in holy trance ;
 Low stream'd their aged tresses hoar :
 And each transfigured countenance
 The Benedictine impress bore.

"By angels borne the Holy Rood
 Encircled thrice the church-yard bound :
 They paced behind it, paced in blood,
 With bleeding feet but foreheads crown'd;
 And thrice they sang that hymn benign
 Which angels sang when Christ was born,
 And thrice I wept ere yet the brine
 Shook with the first white flakes of morn.

"Down on the earth my brows I laid ;
 In these, His saints, I worshipp'd God :
 And then return'd that grief which made
 My heart since youth a frozen clod.
 'O ye,' I wept, 'whose woes are past,
 'Behold these prostrate shrines and stones!
 'To these can Life return at last?
 'Can Spirit lift once more these bones?' "

But his doubting faint-heartedness is speedily rebuked.

"The smile of him the end who knows
 Went luminous o'er them as I spake ;
 Their white locks shone like mountain snows
 O'er which the orient mornings break.
 They stood : they pointed to the west :
 And lo! where darkness late had lain
 Rose many a kingdom's citied crest
 Heaven-girt, and imaged in the main!

"Not only these, the fanes o'erthrown
 'Shall rise,' they said, 'but myriads more
 'The seed—far hence by tempests blown—
 'Still sleeps on yon expectant shore.
 'Send forth, sad Isle, thy reaper bands!
 'Assert and pass thine old renown :
 'Not here alone—in farthest lands
 'For thee thy sons shall weave the crown.'

"They spake ; and like a cloud down sank
 The just and filial grief of years ;
 And I that peace celestial drank
 Which shines but o'er the seas of tears.
 Thy mission flash'd before me plain,
 O thou by many woes anneal'd!
 And I discern'd how axe and chain
 Had thy great destinies sign'd and seal'd!

"That seed which grows must seem to die :—
 In thee when earthly hope was none,
 The heaven-born faith of days gone by,
 By martyrdom matured, lived on ;
 Conceal'd like limbs of royal mould
 'Neath some Egyptian pyramid,
 Or statued shapes in cities old
 Beneath Vesuvian ashes hid."

And even the miseries of his country—her baffled hopes and ineffectual struggles—are shown in their true significance ;—historical evidences that it is only from God the redemption is to come.

"For this cause by a power divine
 Each temporal aid was frustrated :
 Tirone, Tirconnell, Geraldine—
 In vain they fought : in vain they bled.
 Successive, 'neath th' usurping hand
 Sank ill-starr'd Mary, erring James :—
 Nor Spain nor France might wield the brand
 Which for her own Religion claims.

"Arise, long stricken ! mightier far
 Are they that fight for God and thee
 Than those who head the adverse war !
 Sad prophet ! raise thy face and see !
 Behold, with eyes no longer wrong'd,
 By mists the sense exterior breeds,
 The hills of heaven all round thee throng'd
 With fiery chariots and with steeds !

"The years baptized in blood are thine ;
 The exile's prayer from many a strand ;
 The wrongs of those this hour who pine
 Poor outcasts on their native land :
 Angels and saints from heaven down-bent
 Watch thy long conflict without pause ;
 And the most Holy Sacrament
 From all thine altars pleads thy cause !

"O great through Suffering, rise at last
 Through kindred Action tenfold great !
 Thy future calls on thee thy past
 (Its soul survives) to consummate.
 Let women weep ; let children moan :
 Rise, men and brethren, to the fight :
 One cause hath Earth, and one alone :
 For it, the cause of God, unite !

"Hope of my country! House of God!
 All-Hallows! Blessed feet are those
 By which thy courts shall yet be trod
 Once more as ere the spoiler rose!
 Blessed the winds that waft them forth
 To victory o'er the rough sea foam;
 That race to God which conquers earth—
 Can God forget that race at home?"—p. 295-9.

We cannot help thinking that this is the very ideal of genuine religious poetry. It would be indeed difficult to condense more happily into a few stanzas the world of thoughts which must crowd upon any religious mind in contemplating this truly wonderful Institution, which has grown up, silently and almost by miracle, in the midst of us; which seems to realize, in a generation of worldliness and intellectual pride, all the marvels of the ages of Faith, and whose holy emissaries have already spread themselves over almost every region of earth, carrying to the most distant countries that sacred symbol which their fathers—"the brethren of a thousand years"—had followed through ages of persecution,

"With bleeding feet but foreheads crowned."

How wonderfully does this new growth of faith in Ireland realize Mr. de Vere's beautiful illustration:

"The seed which grows must seem to die."

To human eye it was indeed dead in Ireland; and, as far as depended on earthly influences, so it must have remained. But, to follow out Mr. de Vere's illustration, "the seed but slept on the expectant shore," and the tempests which, to man's eye, had seemed to lay the shore waste and desolate, only served in God's wise and holy designs to carry that seed to other lands—to renew in our country the mission of mercy which had once been her highest prerogative. And, while Ireland seems destined, in the new generation of "sowers going out to sow their seed," to "assert and pass her old renown," she may also cherish the humble hope that the blessing of which she is thus made the instrument to others will return tenfold to her own sorrow-stricken bosom.

"Blessed the winds that waft them forth
 To victory, o'er the rough sea foam;
 That race, to God which conquers earth—
 Can God forget that race at home?"

ART. X.—*Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, delivered at the Catholic University of Ireland, during the Sessions of 1855 and 1856, by Eugene O'Curry, M.R.I.A., Professor of Irish History and Archæology, in the Catholic University of Ireland. Dublin and London : James Duffy. 1861.

THE publication of a reliable analytical account of the manuscripts extant in the Irish language, has long been anxiously desired by students of history and philology, on the Continent as well as in Great Britain and Ireland. The only work hitherto published on this subject was Edward O'Reilly's "*Account of Irish Writers*," printed in 1820, and professing to give a chronological catalogue of all the productions in the Gaelic language, with which its compiler was acquainted, or relative to which he possessed or could acquire any information.

O'Reilly deserved very high merit for the manner in which he executed this work, when we take into consideration the difficulties which he had to encounter, and the low state of native Irish learning in his day ; but it is now admitted that, although skilled in modern Gaelic, he was comparatively unacquainted with the language of the Irish documents of the more remote times. The knowledge requisite for the complete and satisfactory elucidation of these obscure monuments may be said to have been in abeyance since the close of the seventeenth century, when the last hereditary professors of Gaelic learning passed away, and its recovery in our own time, is to be ascribed to the labours of the present accurate and practical school of Irish Archæology, the foundation of which was laid by the establishment of the Antiquarian section of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland. The first movement of this department was to engage the most competent Gaelic scholars to examine the various accessible Irish manuscripts and documents with the object of compiling an historic topography of Ireland, and the value of the materials existing in the old language of the country, for such a work was displayed in the Ordnance Memoir of the parish of Templemore, in the county of Derry, published in 1837.

After the abandonment of the projected Government publication of the County Memoirs, the historical value of

the ancient Irish documents, when used by competent and discriminating investigators, was further exhibited by Dr. Petrie's *Essays on the "Antiquities of Tara Hill,"* and on the "*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland,*" published by the Royal Irish Academy.

The foundation of the Irish Archæological and Celtic Societies,* and the publication of O'Donovan's superb edition of the *Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters*, with the original text, gave a new impetus to the study of ancient Gaelic documents, which was further aided by the exertions of the Antiquarian department of the Royal Irish Academy, in forming an important collection of Irish manuscripts. The establishment of the Government Commission for translating and publishing the old Irish legal institutes, known as the *Brehon Laws*, has been the latest, and certainly the most important step towards throwing light on the social state and language of the ancient people of Ireland.

Throughout the entire of these labours, of which the public at large knows but little, and in the furtherance of which an exceedingly small number of the Irish wealthy classes take any interest, there have been two constant and unremitting workers, Dr. John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry, who, through fortuitous circumstances, have hitherto been enabled to devote themselves to the study of the ancient literary monuments of Ireland, of which they have thus acquired a knowledge, probably, more extensive and precise even than that possessed by the last hereditary professors of Irish learning in the seventeenth century.

Dr. O'Donovan's *Grammar of the Irish Language* (1845); his edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, in seven quarto volumes, and the numerous other works which he has edited, have made his name familiar to all interested in the progress of philology and Irish learning. Mr. O'Curry having been less prominently before the world of letters, we may here mention that since his first connection with the Ordnance Survey towards 1837, he has been exclusively occupied in studying and transcribing documents in the old

* For full information on the progress of native archæology in Ireland the reader is referred to "*The Historic Literature of Ireland, an Essay on the publications of the Irish Archæological Society,*" by J. T. Gilbert, Esq. M.R.I.A., 8vo, Dublin, 1851.

Irish language. The ancient historic tale of the "Battle of Magh Leana," printed by the Celtic Society in 1853, was the only published volume hitherto bearing Mr. O'Curry's name, but we believe that for many years past scarcely any important work on native Irish history has issued from the press without being to some extent indebted to him for the contribution of valuable matter from Gaelic manuscript sources. The original Irish texts of the *Annals of the Four Masters* and of almost every Gaelic volume published by the Irish Archæological and Celtic Societies were collated, transcribed, and prepared for the press by Mr. O'Curry, and he also compiled the copious analytical catalogues of the greater part of the Royal Irish Academy's extensive collection of manuscripts in the Irish language. His numerous transcripts of Gaelic documents—especially his elaborate fac-simile copies, executed for Trinity College, Dublin, of the ancient and complicated folio manuscripts known as the "*Book of Lecain*," and the "*Book of Dun Doighre*" will remain lasting monuments of patient labour, minute accuracy, and masterly scholarship, to be fully appreciated only by those few who know practically the great obstacles to be surmounted before such a degree of excellence can be even approached in this peculiarly obscure and difficult department of learning.

Mr. O'Curry's most important contribution to Celtic philology will undoubtedly be his collection of Irish Glosses or interpretations of obsolete and obscure Gaelic words; these he has, with minute diligence, carefully gathered from the commencement of his labours among the ancient manuscripts, and we hope that they may ere long be given to the world under the auspices of the Committee formed some time since for the production of a complete Dictionary of the Irish language.

The preceding details* sufficiently demonstrate how pre-eminently Mr. O'Curry's previous labours had qualified him for the post to which he was nominated on the foundation of the Irish Catholic University, which it should be observed, may claim the merit of having been the first educational institution in Ireland to establish a chair for

* For a further account of Mr. O'Curry's services to Irish Literature see *supra*, vol. xxiv. p. 170 and following.

the abstract study of the language and archæology of that country.

The volume now before us contains twenty-one lectures delivered by Professor O'Curry, in 1855 and 1856 treating of the contents of the most important documents extant in the Gaelic language, illustrative of the history of the natives of Ireland from the earliest period to the close of the seventeenth century.

After having remarked that historical researches occupy at the present moment a prominent place in European literature, and that in general the labours of the learned are directed to the elucidation of the past condition of their own countries, Professor O'Curry writes as follows:

"In Ireland, however, it is deeply to be regretted that as yet we have not at all adequately explored the numerous valuable monuments, and the great abundance of national records, which have been bequeathed to us by our Celtic ancestors. But if in our days the language, history, and traditions of our country and our race, are not prized by Irishmen as they ought to be, we know that this has not been always the case. Even a limited acquaintance with our manuscript records will suffice to show us how the national poet, the historian, and the musician, as well as the man of excellence in any other of the arts or sciences, were cherished and honoured. We find them indeed from a very early period placed in a position not merely of independence, but even of elevated rank; and their persons and property declared inviolate, and protected specially by the law. Thus, an *Ollamh*, or Doctor in *Fíledecht* (learning), when *ordained* by the king or chief—for such is the expression used on the occasion,—was entitled to rank next in precedence to the monarch himself at table. He was not permitted to lodge or accept refection when on his travels, at the house of any one below the rank of a *Flaith* (or nobleman). He, that was the *Ollamh*, was allowed a standing income of twenty-one cows and their grass in the chieftain's territory, besides ample refectations for himself and for his attendants, to the number of twenty-four; including his subordinate tutors, his advanced pupils, and his retinue of servants. He was entitled to have two hounds and six horses. He was, besides, entitled to a singular privilege within his territory: that of conferring a temporary sanctuary from injury or arrest, by carrying his wand, or having it carried around or over the person or place to be protected. His wife also enjoyed certain other valuable privileges; and similar privileges were accorded to all the degrees of the legal, historical, musical and poetic art below him, according to their rank. Similar rank and emoluments, again, were awarded to the *Seanchaidhe*, or Historian; so that in this very brief reference you will already

obtain some idea of the honour and respect which were paid to the national literature and traditions, in the persons of those who were in ancient times looked on as their guardians from age to age." "Among the large quantities of MS. records which have come down to our times, will be found examples of the literature of very different periods of our history. Some, as there is abundant evidence to prove, possess a degree of antiquity very remarkable indeed, when compared with the similar records of other countries of modern Europe. Others again have been compiled within still recent times. Those MSS. which we now possess belonging to the earliest periods are themselves, we have just reason to believe, either in great part or in the whole, but transcripts of still more ancient works. At what period in Irish history written records began to be kept it is, perhaps, impossible to determine at present with precision. However, the national traditions assign a very remote antiquity and a high degree of cultivation to the civilization of our Pagan ancestors. Without granting to such traditions a greater degree of credibility than they are strictly entitled to, it must, I think, be admitted that the immense quantity of historical, legendary, and genealogical matter relating to the Pagan age of ancient Erin, and which we can trace to the very oldest written documents of which we yet retain any account, could only have been transmitted to our times by some form of written record." —pp. 2-4.

That Gaelic documents written at a very remote age should not have come down to us may, to a considerable extent, be ascribed to the casualties to which such perishable monuments were subject in a country so circumstanced as Ireland was for many centuries. The great extent of this loss may perhaps be estimated when we recollect how seriously our sources of information have been curtailed even during comparatively modern times, by the disappearance of various important Irish Manuscripts, which are known to have existed in the seventeenth century, towards the middle of which Michael O'Clerigh complained that although he had diligently searched through every part of the island he was able to meet but few of the many old books of Erin, and that only an insignificant part of her old writings were then to be found. Yet, several valuable Gaelic manuscripts known to O'Clerigh have since been lost; while, of eleven books enumerated by Dr. Geoffrey Keating as having been used by him in the compilation of his *History of Ireland*, about 1630, but one is now extant. Professor O'Curry, however, assures us that, notwithstanding vari-

ous apparently irreparable losses, there still exists an immense quantity of Gaelic writing of great purity and of the highest value as regards the history of Ireland.

"The collection in Trinity College [Dublin], consists of over 140 volumes, several of them on vellum, dating from the early part of the twelfth down to the middle of the last century. There are also in this fine collection beautiful copies of the Gospels, known as the Book of Kells, and Durrow, and Dimma's Book, attributable to the sixth and seventh centuries; the *Saltair* of St. Ricemarch, Bishop of St. David's, in the eleventh century, containing also an exquisite copy of the Roman Martyrology; and a very ancient ante-Hieronymian version of the Gospels, the history of which is unknown, but which is evidently an Irish MS. of not later than the ninth century; also the *Evangelistarium* of St. Moling, Bishop of Ferns, in the seventh century, with its ancient box; and the fragment of another copy of the Gospels, of the same period, evidently Irish. In the same library will be found, too, the chief body of our more ancient laws and annals: all, with the exception of two tracts, written on vellum; and, in addition to these invaluable volumes, many historical and family poems of great antiquity, illustrative of the battles, the personal achievements, and the social habits of the warriors, chiefs, and other distinguished personages of our early history. There is also a large number of ancient historical and romantic tales, in which all the incidents of war, of love, and of social life in general, are portrayed, often with considerable power of description, and great brilliancy of language: and there are besides several sacred tracts and poems, amongst the most remarkable of which is the *Liber Hymnorum*, believed to be more than a thousand years old. The Trinity College collection is also rich in lives of Irish Saints, and in ancient forms of prayer; and it contains, in addition to all these, many curious treatises on medicine, beautifully written on vellum. Lastly, amongst these ancient MSS. are preserved numerous Ossianic poems relating to the Fenian heroes, some of them of very great antiquity.

"The next great collection is that of the Royal Irish Academy, which, though formed at a later period than that of Trinity College, is far more extensive, and taken in connection with the unrivalled collection of antiquities secured to this country by the liberality of this body, forms a national monument of which we may well be proud. It includes some noble old volumes written on vellum, abounding in history as well as poetry; ancient laws and genealogy; science (for it embraces several curious medical treatises, as well as an ancient astronomical tract); grammar; and romance. There is there also a great body of most important theological and ecclesiastical compositions, of the highest antiquity, and in the purest style perhaps that the ancient Gaelic language ever attained. The most valuable of these are original Gaelic compositions, but there is also a large amount of translations from the

Latin, Greek, and other languages. A great part of these translations, is indeed, of a religious character, but there are others from various Latin authors, of the greatest possible importance to the Gaedhlic student of the present day, as they enable him, by reference to the originals, to determine the value of many now obsolete or obscure Gaedhlic words and phrases."—pp. 23-24.

Many Irish manuscripts are also preserved in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, the Imperial Library at Paris, the Burgundian Library at Brussels, St. Isidore's Library at Rome, and in various private collections in Great Britain and Ireland. At St. Gall, Wurtzburg, Carlsruhe, Cambray, Milan, and Turin, are to be found, some of the oldest existing specimens of the Gaelic language, in the glosses or interpretations affixed to Latin words in various codices transcribed by Irish ecclesiastics of the eighth and ninth centuries. Historical investigators naturally regret that these most ancient Irish writings throw very little light on the earlier native annals of Ireland; but it is nevertheless satisfactory to reflect how much important assistance has been derived by philologists from the Latin language having been employed to gloss or interpret obsolete and otherwise unintelligible Gaelic words.

The principal Gaelic writings extant illustrative of early Irish history may be classed as follows: Ecclesiastical documents; bardic or semi-historic tales; historic tracts; genealogies; historic poems and annals. We shall, in the present paper, endeavour to bring compendiously before our readers notices of the more important unpublished works in each of these departments, premising some observations on the larger existing Irish books or miscellaneous collections compiled by native historiographers before the close of the fifteenth century from older works. Of those volumes styled by Gaelic writers "*Príomh Leabhair*" or "chief books," the most important now remaining to us are *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*; the Book of Leinster; the Book of Lecain; the Book of Dun Doighre; and the Book of Ballymote—all written on vellum, in the Irish character, and composed of documents of the classes above mentioned; including also legal and medical* tracts, and translations from other languages into

* In Part V. of the Census of Ireland for 1851, will be found the

Irish, which may be regarded rather as ancillary illustrations of, than materials for history.

The *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* was so styled from a tradition that the original from which it was partly copied had been written by St. Ciaran, in the sixth century, in a volume made from the skin of his favourite cow;—*Leabhar na h-Uidhre* signifying the Book of the Dun Cow. The volume at present known by this title is but a fragment of a larger book, and consists of 138 folio pages, collected and transcribed from various books by Melmuire, son of Celechar, whose death occurred at Clonmacnois in 1106. In the early part of the fourteenth century the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* was given by the O'Donnells of Tir-Connell, in Ulster, as a ransom for the son of the chief historian of their clan, whom the O'Conors had carried as a hostage into Connacht. Even at that distant period this manuscript appears to have wanted some leaves, as at page 35 we find an entry made in 1345, by order of Donnell O'Connor, with the object of perpetuating the name of the original compiler of "this beautiful book" (*sciamh leabhar-sa*) and invoking prayers for the repose of his soul. The volume was restored to Tir-Connell by Hugh O'Donnell "the red," when he captured the Castle of Sligo, in 1470, and compelled Lower Connacht to pay him tribute. It is now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy.

The manuscript known as the "Book of Leinster," in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, consisting of over four hundred large folio pages, appears to have been compiled early in the twelfth century, by order of the tutor of Dermot Mac Murragh, that notorious King of Leinster who brought the Anglo Normans to Ireland. In the margin of page 200 of this volume appears a memorandum made on the — day in August in the year 1166, on which Dermot was expelled from Ireland, in which the writer, evidently a retainer of that prince, deploras the hapless condition to which he has been reduced by the men of

best account extant of the Manuscripts in the Irish language on subjects connected with medicine, contributed by W. R. Wilde, Esq., M.D., Vice-President of the Royal Irish Academy, and prefixed to his valuable Chronological Tables of Cosmical Phenomena, epizootics, famines, and pestilences in Ireland, as recorded in the Irish Annals, and other reliable authorities.

Erinn having banished his patron "across the sea eastwards."

The "Book of Ballymote," in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, consists of 251 leaves or 502 pages in large folio, written chiefly by Solamh O Droma and Manus O Duigenan, at Ballymote, in the County of Sligo, A.D. 1391. This manuscript was compiled for the Mac Donoghs, Lords of Corann in Sligo, who, in 1522, sold it to Aedh O'Donnell, surnamed *Dubh*, or the swarthy, for one hundred and forty milch cows; this circumstance is recorded in an entry made at page 180 of the volume itself.

The *Leabhar Breac*—or Speckled book—in the Royal Irish Academy's Library, is also styled the Great Book of Dun Doighre, the latter being the name of a place on the Galway side of the river Shannon, some distance below the town of Athlone, where schools of Irish law, poetry, and literature, were anciently kept by the learned Mac Egans, one of whom appears to have written this volume about the close of the fourteenth century. The Book of Dun Doighre is an elegant specimen of caligraphy, in large folio, compiled from various writings, anciently preserved, for the most part, in the churches and monasteries of Connaught, Munster, and Leinster. Its contents, written in the purest Gaelic, are, with one exception, of a religious character, and this volume may be considered the most important repertory extant of ancient Irish ecclesiastical and theological writings.

The Yellow Book of Lecain, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, was so named from Lecain, in the County of Sligo, where it was written in 1390, by Gilla Iosa Mac Firbis; of this manuscript there are now remaining only about five hundred pages of large quarto size.

The volume generally known as the Great Book of Lecain, contains more than six hundred pages, beautifully and accurately written in 1416, in the small folio size, chiefly by Gilla Iosa Mor Mac Firbis.

In the seventeenth century the "Book of Lecain" was in the possession of Archbishop Ussher, with whose collection it came to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, whence, in the reign of James II. it was carried to France, and in 1787, through the Abbé Kearney of Paris, it was presented to the then recently founded Irish Academy, in whose Library it is now preserved.

Of the other ancient Irish miscellaneous compilations, similar in character to those already enumerated, it will suffice here to mention the "Book of Lismore," in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire; the "Book of Hy Many," or of O'Kelly's Country, in the collection of Lord Ashburnham; and the "Book of Fermoy."

The oldest extant written remains of the early Christian period in Ireland are copies of various portions of the Holy Scriptures written in the Latin tongue, in the Irish character. The most important documents of this class now preserved in Ireland are the *Domhnach Airgid* and *Cathach* manuscripts; the Books of Dioma, of Durrow, and of Kells.

The reliquary known as the *Domhnach Airgid*, or silver shrine, now in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, contains the remains of a vellum manuscript of the Gospels, which, from extreme age, has become closely consolidated into four compact masses of a dark brown colour, from one of which two leaves have been detached, on which are written in Latin in the Irish character the commencement of the Gospel of St. Matthew. Of one of these leaves a fac-simile is given in plate A. of the work before us. Dr. J. H. Todd considers that the contractions found in this manuscript may have been in use in the fourth or fifth century; Dr. Petrie regards it as perhaps the oldest copy of the Sacred Word in existence; while Professor O'Curry tells us that we have just reason to believe it to have been the companion of St. Patrick in his hours of devotion, and adds that no reasonable doubt can exist that the *Domhnach Airgid* was actually sanctified by the hand of the Apostle of Ireland.

The manuscript preserved in the case styled the *Cathach* is a vellum fragment of a copy of the Psalms, consisting of fifty-eight membranes, originally about nine inches long by six wide, written in a small uniform Irish character, and presenting every appearance of remote antiquity. The *Cathach*, which signifies literally the "Battle Book," is traditionally believed to have been written by St. Colum Cille: the O'Donnells of Donegal retained it for centuries in its silver shrine as the great heirloom of their clan; the Apostle of Scotland having been of the race of Conall Gulban from whom they descend.

To the sixth century are ascribed the copies of the

Gospels, written in Latin in the Irish character known as the Books of Dimma; of Durrow; and of Kells, the last of which has been pronounced by competent critics to be unquestionably the most elaborately executed manuscript of early art in existence.

Although these Irish Biblical manuscripts, and others of similar age and character preserved in English and Continental Libraries contain no important matter in the Gaelic language, they constitute valuable illustrative materials for history, as specimens of that peculiar style of writing and miniature painting, long mis-named Anglo-Saxon, but which is now admitted to have originated in Ireland, and to have been brought to the highest perfection by the Celtic people of that country.

The oldest monument now known to us containing vernacular matter in connection with the history of the early Christian Church in Ireland is a small vellum volume of 221 leaves, styled the "Book of Armagh," generally believed to have been written in A.D. 807; but considered by Professor O'Curry to be older than the year 727.

The high interest attaching to the "Book of Armagh," will be appreciated when we mention that it contains in Latin, in the Irish character, the only complete copy of the New Testament which has come down to us from the ancient Irish; and in it are inscribed the earliest and most authentic memoirs of St. Patrick, written in the eighth century, the language of which, being the oldest specimen of Gaelic extant in Ireland, is invaluable to philologists.

Through the munificence of the Protestant Primate of Ireland, the "Book of Armagh" has recently become the property of Trinity College, Dublin, and we understand that it is being prepared for publication by that eminent Irish ecclesiologist, the Rev. William Reeves, Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy, well known to the learned by his elaborate edition of Adamnan's Life of St. Colum Cille.

After the "Book of Armagh" the most interesting early Irish ecclesiastical document is the *Liber Hymnorum*, or Book of Hymns in Latin and Gaelic. This beautiful manuscript, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, cannot be of later date than the ninth or tenth century, and is justly regarded as one of the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity remaining in Europe. The Gaelic hymns and the glosses and scholia in that language

on the Latin hymns in the *Liber Hymnorum* are of surpassing interest, and we look forward anxiously to the completion of the entire of this difficult and complicated work by the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, under the able editorship of the Rev. J. H. Todd, S.F.T.C.D., who has already given us the first portion of it, containing the following Latin Hymns, with Irish scholia and glosses: the alphabetical hymn of St. Sechnall or Secundinus, in praise of St. Patrick; the alphabetical hymn in praise of St. Brigid, attributed to St. Ultan, Bishop of Ardbreccan; the Hymn of St. Cumain Fota; and the hymn or prayer of St. Mugint.

Of Saint Patrick and numerous other saints of Ireland, there are extant several lives, written in the Gaelic language at divers periods, which, with the "Festologies," abound in valuable historical, topographical, and genealogical information. The Irish Festologies, Martyrologies, or more correctly Calendars, are written in prose and verse, and contain lists of native and foreign saints, arranged under their respective festival days. Of this class are the martyrologies of Tallacht, and of Marianus O'Gorman; but by far the oldest and most important is the *Felire*, or Festology of Oengus, surnamed *Ceile Dé*, or the servant of God. This composition, completed towards the close of the eighth century, consists of three parts, two of which are poems precatory and invocatory, the latter written in *conachlann* or chain metre, in which the first words of every quatrain are identical with the last of the preceding one; the third portion of the work is the *Felire* or Festological poem of three hundred and sixty five³ stanzas, in which large numbers of the early Irish Christians are introduced and named on their festival days, with references to the localities and churches with which they were connected—much additional illustrative information being furnished by the accompanying copious, but complicated, ancient Gloss and scholia.

The Martyrology of Tallach, a prose Calendar of Irish Saints with many notices of their ancestors and churches, was at one time believed to be the oldest Irish Martyrology extant, but it is now generally considered to be of more recent date than the work of Oengus.

The Martyrology of Marianus Gorman or *Maolmuire O Gorman*, abbot of *Cnoc na n-Aspal* in Louth, composed between 1156 and 1173, is a poem arranged in months,

containing verses of unequal length for every day in the year, in each of which are introduced the names of the Saints whose festivals fall upon the day to which the stanza is assigned.

The other important ancient Ecclesiastical Gaelic writings extant, in addition to the classes which we have already mentioned, consist mainly of canons, monastic and ecclesiastical rules, tracts on the Mass and the ritual; forms of prayer; litanies of the Blessed Virgin and of native Saints; commentaries upon and concordances of the Evangelists; devotional, doctrinal and moral poems.

On the study of the ancient Martyrologies and other ecclesiastical manuscripts in the Gaelic language, Professor O'Curry writes as follows:

"Passing over altogether for a moment the value of such studies in a religious point of view, we shall take them at their mere antiquarian or their purely historical value. And we may positively affirm, that it is totally impossible to know, to understand, or to write, either the civil or ecclesiastical history of Erin, without a deep and thorough acquaintance with those yet unpublished and unexplored documents. This is felt and acknowledged by several writers and historic investigators of our day. So that I have no hesitation in asserting, that until these national remains are thoroughly examined by competent and well qualified persons, we shall have no civil or ecclesiastical history of our country worthy of the name. But even as a matter of individual pride and gratification, indeed as a matter of intellectual enjoyment, could there be anything more agreeable to a cultivated mind than to know the origin and history of these countless monuments of the fervid piety and devotion of our primitive Christian forefathers, which are to be found in the ruined church and tower, the sculptured cross, the holy well, and the commemorative name of almost every townland and parish in the whole island? Few out of the many thousands who see those places and hear their names know any thing whatever of their origin and history; and yet there is not one of them whose origin and history are not well preserved, and accessible to those who will but qualify themselves to become acquainted with them, by a proper study of the rich and venerable old language in which they are recorded. Besides these martyrologies, and the many tracts on ecclesiastical subjects, preserved in the *Leabhar Mór Duna Doighré*, you can scarcely open an ancient Gaedhlic manuscript without meeting one or more pieces in prose or verse, illustrative of the great principles, particular doctrines, and moral application of the Christian religion, as brought hither from Rome, and preached and established in Erin, by St. Patrick, in perfect connection with, and submission to, the never failing chair of St. Peter."—pp. 353-4.

Next in order, according to the classification which we have adopted in the present paper, come the Historic Tales, which undoubtedly formed the popular literature of the native Irish from a very remote era. According to the Brehon laws, each *Ollamh*, or chief professor of learning in Ireland in ancient times, was bound to have for recital at public assemblies thrice fifty of these *scela* or stories; and his subordinates were by the same authority required to possess minor numbers of tales in proportion to the rank they held in the profession of learning.

The Irish Historic Tales, which narrate real historic events, poetically embellished by the introduction of imaginary personages and marvellous incidents, were divided into prime and secondary stories on the following subjects: destructions (*toghla*); cattle spoils (*tana*); courtships or wooings (*tochmarca*); battles (*catha*); caves (*uatha*); navigations (*imrama*); tragedies or deaths (*oitte*); banquets (*fessa*); sieges (*forbossa*); adventures (*echtraí*); elopements (*aitheda*); slaughters (*airgne*); irruptions of lakes (*tomadhma*); visions (*fis*); loves (*serca*); expeditions (*sluagid*); and *tochomlada* or progresses. The titles of one hundred and eighty seven of these tales, many of which are not now extant, are given by Professor O'Curry from a list in a manuscript of the twelfth century, classified under the foregoing heads. Some learned Irish writers of, and previous to, the eleventh century refer with respect to the authority of the historic tales and poems, and it is to be regretted that of the numerous still existing productions of this class there have as yet been published but two specimens—the Battle of Magh Rath (Moirá) edited by Dr. John O'Donovan; and the Battle of Magh Leana by Professor O'Curry. Until larger numbers of these compositions have been rendered accessible through the press and submitted to a thoroughly critical examination, it would be premature to pronounce on the precise historical weight to be attached to them; but there can be no question as to their very high value in illustrating the language, the literature, the manners, traditions and ideas of the old Gaels of Ireland.

The ancient Historical Tracts or detailed pieces of history resemble the historic tales in character and style but are less replete with marvellous incidents, and may be regarded as authentic narratives in the main; such are the history of the *Borama* or tribute formerly levied off Leinster; and

the history of the wars of Thomond or North Munster, compiled about the middle of the fifteenth century. Of this class of documents no specimens have yet been published, and we consequently look forward with interest to the appearance of perhaps the most remarkable of them—the history of the wars between the Gaels and the Northmen, which is now being printed under the able editorship of the Rev. J. H. Todd, D.D.

Turning next to the Gaelic books of genealogies and pedigrees, we find that the old Irish bestowed very great care on these documents, which possessed high importance during the existence of the clan government, as under that system an individual was not permitted to enjoy any lands or property unless satisfactory evidence were on record establishing his relationship to the sept of which he claimed to be a member. The greater part of the Irish genealogies go back to Eber, Eremon, Ir, and Ith, the four sons of Mileadh or Milesius, whose name was given to the colony which is stated to have acquired possession of Ireland by defeating and suppressing the Tuatha de Danaans.

The chief native families of Munster traced their pedigrees to Eber; those of Connacht and Leinster to Eremon. Another Eber was believed to have been ancestor of the races of ancient Uladh or Ulster; while Ith was regarded as the progenitor of the tribes which occupied the western districts of the present county of Cork, formerly known as *Corca Laidhe*. The numerous and complicated branchings of families from these chief heads, the divisions and subdivisions of clans, their separate and distinctly defined territories, the aggrandisement of some tribes and the reduction or migrations of others were all minutely recorded in the Irish genealogical books.

“The genealogists always made a distinction between a genealogy and a pedigree. A *Genealogy*, according to them, embraced the descent of a family and its relation to all the other families that descended from the same remote parent stock, and who took a distinct tribe name, such as, for instance, the Dalcassians. A *Pedigree* meant only the running up of the line of descent of any one of those families, through its various generations, to the individual from whom the name was derived, such as the line of O'Brian, Mac Namara, O Quinn, etc., traced up again to a more remote ancestor, such as Oilioll Oluim, without any reference to relationship with the other families descended from the same remote progenitor.”

The Book of Leinster, compiled about 1130 from older writings, contains very copious and elaborate series of Irish genealogies, which are to be found augmented and continued nearly three centuries later in the Books of Lecain and Ballymote; and these are again brought down to 1650 by that learned native historiographer, Duald Mac Forbis, in his *Leabhar Genealach* or genealogical book, the latest and most perfect work of its kind. Of this book, the Irish text of which if printed would form about thirteen hundred large quarto pages, an admirable copy was made in 1836 for the Royal Irish Academy by Professor O'Curry, from the autograph manuscript in the possession of the Earl of Roden.

On a superficial view, the Gaelic genealogies might appear of little importance; but investigators accustomed to examine critical questions connected with early native Irish history well know the valuable lights supplied by the entries in the old genealogical books, which also furnish unerring means to test and corroborate the statements in the Annals and historic narratives.

The documents next in order, according to our classification, are the early native historic writers and annalists; among the former may be named Eochaidh O'Floinn, Gilla Caemhain and Flann, surnamed *Mainistreach*, from having been a teacher in the Monastery of St. Buithe, in Louth, now known as Monasterboice.

The poems of O'Floinn embody nearly the entire of the Bardic accounts of the remote history of Erin, previous to, and for many centuries after, the era assigned to the establishment of the Milesian dynasty. These subjects also form the theme of Gilla Caemhain, who died in 1072, leaving, in addition to other compositions, a chronological poem on the history of the world from the creation to his own time. Flann, of Monasterboice, has left a number of historical poems, and a collection of synchronisms from the earliest period to the time of the Emperor Leo the contemporary of Ferghal Mac Maelduin, king of Erin, A. D. 718. This work, which, after Flann's death in 1056, was carried down by an anonymous continuator to the year 1119, exhibits a large amount of general learning, remarkable in a layman of that period, and has always been referred to as a high authority by Ussher, Ware and other eminent scholars.

The most important Gaelic manuscript Annals extant

are those of Tighernach; of Ulster; of Kilronan or Loch Ce; and of Connacht; to which may be added the "*Chronicum Scotorum*." The entries in the Irish Annals are generally meagre and succinct in the extreme; but their accuracy and fidelity has been found to stand the severest tests.

Of Tighernach or Tiernach little more is known than that his family name was O'Braoin, that he was of the O'Connor race of Connacht, and that he died, in 1088 Abbot of Clonmacnois, "which continued to be the seat of learning and sanctity, the retreat of devotion and solitude, and the favourite place of interment for the kings, chiefs and nobles, of both sides of the Shannon, for a thousand years after the founder's time [in the sixth century], till the rude hand of the despoiler plundered its shrines, profaned its sanctuaries, murdered or exiled its peaceful occupants, and seized on its sacred property."

Tighernach appears to have acquired very extensive erudition; he collates the Hebrew text with the Septuagint version of the Bible; his numerous quotations from Greek and Latin authors, and "his balancing their authorities against each other, manifest a degree of criticism uncommon in the iron age in which he lived." In his Annals he chronologises the events recorded by preceding native chroniclers with an accuracy and ability fully meriting the opinion expressed by an erudite writer—that "not one of the countries of Northern Europe can exhibit an historian of equal antiquity, learning and judgment with Tighernach."

The earlier portions of Tighernach's Annals contain but few references to Ireland, the historical epoch of which he commences with the reign of Cimbaoth and the founding of the great palace of Emania in Ulster, about the eighteenth year of Ptolemy Lagos, or 305 before Christ, to which entry a remark is appended, in every copy known to us, that "all the monuments of the Scots [Irish] to the time of Cimbaoth were uncertain."

This observation, which has been received and repeated by every late writer on early Irish history, is made the subject of a most interesting and learned disquisition by Professor O'Curry, who shews that so far as can be now ascertained, the authors from whom Tighernach is known to have drawn his materials give no countenance to such a statement, and that this, which has hitherto been accepted as the definite opinion of so valued a chronicler may have

been but a marginal gloss or observation of a scribe written long subsequent to the time of the annalist.

Seven paper copies and a vellum fragment of Tighernach's Annals are known to be extant, but they are so defective in important parts that a perfect text could not be made from them. The "*Annales Tighernachi*," printed in the second volume of the "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*," are so inaccurate as to be almost valueless, but we are happy to be able to state here that an edition of Tighernach, as complete as can be formed from all existing copies, is now in contemplation by some of the most competent Irish historic investigators.

The "*Annals of Innisfallen*," written in Latin and Irish, and so called from the Monastery of Inisfaithlenn, on the island of that name at Killarney, are ascribed to the learned Maelsuthain O'Carroll, prince of the Eugenia tribes of the territory of Loch Lein, in Kerry, and counsellor to Brian Borumha, who is said to have been educated under his care. O'Carroll died in 1009, and the Annals of Innisfallen were continued by an anonymous writer to the year 1213. No genuine copy of this compilation is now to be found in Ireland, the portion of the Annals extending from A.D. 428 to 1088 was printed with a Latin version by the Rev. Charles O'Conor, in 1825, from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

* Cahal Mac Guire, an erudite layman of high eminence, who died in 1498, was the compiler of the Annals of Senait Mac Maghnusa, so styled because his clan or chieftain title was Mac Maghnusa, and his "residence and property lay chiefly in the island of Senait in Loch Erne, between the modern counties of Donegall and Fermanagh; and it was in this island the Annals were written. They have received the arbitrary name of the Annals of Ulster, merely because they were compiled in Ulster, and relate more to the affairs of Ulster than to those of any of the other provinces."

These Annals, which commence at A.D. 431, are extremely meagre till the beginning of the ninth century; and after the year 1000 they grow more diffuse, but the complicated intermixture of Latin and Irish in which they are written renders their correct interpretation a task of great difficulty. Extracts from a very inaccurate version in Latin and English of these Annals were published at Copenhagen in 1786, by the Rev. James Johnstone, "with

the hope that such a specimen might suggest to some Irish gentleman the idea of publishing, at least the more material part of these valuable records in the original." This expectation was not realized till the Rev. Charles O'Connor, in 1825, devoted a volume of his "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*," to an edition of a portion of the "*Annales Ulsterienses*," so unsatisfactorily executed as to deserve Professor O'Curry's observation, that—

"Notwithstanding the respect in which the name of Dr. O'Connor, and that of his more accurate grandfather, the Venerable Charles O'Connor, of Balenagare, are held by every investigator of the history and antiquities of Ireland, still it must be admitted, that his own writings—as regards matters in the Irish language, in his Stowe Catalogue, and in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*,—would require very copious corrections of the inaccuracies of text, as well as of the many erroneous translations, unauthorized deductions, and unfounded assumptions they contain."

The manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, called the "*Annals of Kilronan*," should, according to Professor O'Curry, be styled the "*Annals of Innis Mac Nerinn*," in Loch Ce, near Boyle, in the present county of Roscommon. These Annals extend from 1014, to 1571, and are more copious than any others in detailing the affairs of Connacht. The imperfect "*Annals of Connacht*," in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, extending from 1224 to 1562 consist of an inaccurate transcript made in the last century by Maurice O'Gorman, from a vellum manuscript now in the inaccessible collection of Lord Ashburnham. The so-called "*Annals of Boyle*," in the British Museum, extending from the earliest times to 1253, are exceedingly meagre, confused, and irregular. That there is no real authority for calling them the "*Annals of Boyle*," is shown by Professor O'Curry, who concludes that "this ancient and curious chronicle must have belonged to some Church, within Mac Dermot's country (in Roscommon), and that it probably belonged to the island of saints in Loch Cé, though we have no record of the time at which the church of that island became ruined and abandoned."

The "*Chronicum Scotorum*," commencing with the first ages of the world and coming down to 1113, is composed of brief and condensed entries, compiled from old native authorities, by Duald Mac Firbis, "the last of the regularly educated and most accomplished masters of the

history, antiquities, and laws, and language of ancient Erin.

The original autograph of the "*Chronicum Scotorum*," written about 1650, is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, but it is unfortunately defective in some places.

The latest and most valuable collection of native Irish Annals, is the compilation of the O'Clerighs, styled the *Four Masters*, extending from the earliest ages to A.D. 1616. Dr. O'Donovan's elaborate edition of these Annals having made them and the history of their compilers accessible to the world, it is unnecessary to do more than refer to them in a paper confined to the notice of the *unpublished* documents of Irish history, adding however, in the words of Professor O'Curry, that "it is to this edition that, in future, every student must apply himself, if he desires to acquire only reliable information; it is, in the present state of our knowledge, the standard edition of that work, which must form the basis of all fruitful study of the history of Ireland."*

The Prophecies ascribed to the great Irish Saints, Colum Cille, Berchan, Bricin, Moling and others, which have for centuries exercised an extraordinary influence on the lower classes of the native Irish, form the subject of Professor O'Curry's nineteenth and twentieth lectures, in which he says: "The practice of writing these long, and but too suspiciously circumstantial prophetic poems, and ascribing them to distinguished persons far back in our history, appears to have first sprung up in Erin after the occurrence of the Danish invasion, at the close of the eighth century; and I may indeed add, that we have lately seen instances of the same practice continued down so late as to about the year of our Lord, 1854."

After having expressed his most mature and decided opinion on the spurious and apocryphal character of these reputed prophecies, our author says, "Our primitive saint never did, according to any reliable authority, pretend to

* Those who have not an opportunity of consulting this great work will find a useful and popular analysis of it in "*The Celtic Records of Ireland*," by J. T. Gilbert, Hon. Sec. of the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 8vo., Hodges and Smith, Dublin, 1862.

foretell political events of remote occurrence." "I feel it," he adds, "to be a duty I owe to my country, as well as to my creed as a Catholic, to express thus in public, the disgust which I feel, in common with every right-minded Irishman, in witnessing the dishonest exertions of certain parties of late years, in attempting, by various publications, to fasten these disgraceful forgeries on the credulity of honest and sincere Catholics as the undoubtedly inspired revelations of the ancient saints of Erin."

Professor O'Curry concludes as follows his observations on this subject, the importance of which, we can testify, fully merited the amount of learning and research which he has bestowed upon it.

"When first I entered, in these Lectures, on the discussion of the authenticity of these 'Prophecies,' as they are called, I never intended to follow them out to the extent that I have done; but the more I examined them, the more imperatively did I feel myself called upon—as one who had spent his whole life in the perusal and comparison of the original Gaedhlic documents,—to examine them fairly and thoroughly, and, without assuming anything of dictation or dogmatism, to record my humble opinion of the degree of credence to be given to this class of compositions. Another motive, too, impelled me to come forward—the first that I am aware of to do so—to throw doubt and suspicion on the authenticity of these long talked of 'Irish Prophecies,'—I mean the strong sense I entertain of the evils that a blind belief in, and reliance on their promises have worked in this unfortunate land for centuries back. I have myself known—indeed I know of them to this day—hundreds of people, some highly educated men and women among them, who have often neglected to attend to their worldly advancement and security by the ordinary prudential means, in expectation that the false promises of these so-called prophecies—many of them gross forgeries of our own day—would, in some never accurately specified time, bring about such changes in the state of the country as must restore it to its ancient condition. And the believers in these idle dreams were but too sure to sit down and wait for the coming of the promised golden age; as if it were fated to overtake them without the slightest effort of their own to attain happiness or independence. When such has been and continues to be the belief in such predictions, and even in these modern times of peace, what must their effect have been in the days of our country's wars of independence, when generation after generation so often nobly fought against foreign usurpation, plunder, and tyranny? And in the constant application of spurious prophecies to the events of troubled times in every generation, observe that the spirit of intestine faction did not fail to make copious use of

them. So we have the blind prophet predicting that a Red Hugh O'Donnell would annihilate the Anglo-Norman power on the plains of the Liffey; but we have him adding too, that the same redoubtable hero would, to complete his triumph, burn and ravage Leinster, Munster, and Connacht also, as if for the very purpose that the common enemy should, on his next coming over the water, have less opposition to meet. And well did the astute Anglo-Normans, (as well as, indeed, their Elizabethan successors in a subsequent age,) know what use to make of these rude and baseless predictions..... And as the native Irish, for a long period after De Courcy's time, continued to be influenced by the expectation of the good or evil which these worthless predictions had promised them, so also did the enemy continue with success, either to appropriate to their own account older predictions, or to procure new ones to be made for their especial purposes in the native Gaedhlic."—pp. 430-433.

It is desirable that these observations of Professor O'Curry should obtain the widest circulation among his humbler countrymen, who will, we trust, allow the worthless fabrications styled "Prophecies," still current among them, to sink into the oblivion and contempt they merit, and thus practically evince the value they attach to the opinion of a Gaelic scholar so eminent, and so thoroughly identified with the right thinking portion of themselves in race, religion, and political feelings.

The necessarily brief notices we have given of some of the more important of the numerous Gaelic documents still unpublished will enable our readers to form an idea of the vast amount of preliminary work to be done before any accurate history of Ireland can be commenced; and at the same time demonstrate how valueless and erroneous are all the publications hitherto put forward as "Histories of Ireland." Relative to the most gifted of those who have undertaken such compilations we are told the following anecdote by Professor O'Curry.

"The first volume of his [Moore's] History [of Ireland] was published in the year 1835, and in the year 1839, during one of his last visits to the land of his birth, he, in company with his old and attached friend, Dr. Petrie, favoured me [Professor O'Curry] with quite an unexpected visit at the Royal Irish Academy, then in Grafton Street. I was at that period employed on the Ordnance Survey of Ireland; and, at the time of his visit happened to have before me, on my desk, the Books of Ballymote and Lecain, the *Leabhar Breac*, the Annals of the Four Masters, and many other ancient books for historical research and reference. I had never

before seen Moore, and, after a brief introduction and explanation of the nature of my occupation by Dr. Petrie, and seeing the formidable array of so many dark and time-worn volumes by which I was surrounded, he looked a little disconcerted, but after a while plucked up courage to open the Book of Ballymote, and ask what it was. Dr. Petrie and myself then entered into a short explanation of the history and character of the books then present, as well as of ancient Gaedhlic documents in general. Moore listened with great attention, alternately scanning the books and myself; and then asked me in a serious tone if I understood them, and how I had learned to do so. Having satisfied him on these points, he turned to Dr. Petrie, and said: 'Petrie, these huge tomes could not have been written by fools or for any foolish purpose. I never knew anything about them before, and I had no right to have undertaken the History of Ireland.' Three volumes of his history had been before this time published, and it is quite possible that it was the new light which appeared to have broken in upon him on this occasion that deterred him from putting his fourth and last volume to press until after several years; it is believed he was only compelled to do so at last by his publishers in 1846."—
p. 154.

The numerous and copious extracts printed in Mr. O'Curry's volume, in the original Gaelic character, from many important Manuscripts, give an incontestable weight and authority to his work, affording, at the same time, invaluable illustrations of the language at the various periods to which they belong. His admirable chronological series of facsimiles of Gaelic caligraphy from the fifth century to our own time possess the highest interest for every scholar, and will be received as a great boon by Continental Palæographers whom they will enable to identify and assign to their proper ages many Irish manuscripts hitherto lying unrecognised and obscure in foreign libraries.

That Professor O'Curry fills with eminent credit to himself and with great advantage to the institution, the chair so judiciously assigned to him in the Catholic University of Ireland, is fully testified by the lectures now before us, which embody much of the results of a life-long experience of documents in the ancient Irish language. The testimony which we willingly accord to the value and importance of Professor O'Curry's labours cannot augment the high estimation in which he has been long and deservedly held by scholars most competent to appreciate his profound acquirements as an Hiberno-Celtic

Palæographer. To many readers this volume opens a field of ancient literature completely novel both in ideas and language. An examination of the appended facsimiles of portions of the venerable Gaelic documents from which the materials of these lectures have been mainly drawn cannot fail to excite in the mind feelings of astonishment, mingled with admiration, at the protracted, patient labour and untiring zeal of the author of this work, every page of which evinces so complete a mastery over the difficulties abounding in these obscure writings, and so thorough an acquaintance with the most minute details which they record. These sentiments of admiration and astonishment will not be diminished when it is remembered that eminent workers in true literature, art, and science—whose labours would obtain for them elsewhere national respect and consideration—gain nothing in Ireland by the exercise of their talents beyond the high but unsubstantial appreciation of a very small number of cultivated men.

We wish here emphatically to impress on the educated classes of Ireland that if prompt steps be not taken to second the exertions of those who have been for some years disinterestedly engaged in endeavouring to effect the publication of the written historic monuments of their country, the day must ere long arrive when they will again become to the world the sealed books they were from the close of the seventeenth century till the knowledge required to elucidate their contents was regained by the labours of the great Gaelic scholars still spared to us; but who, in all probability will leave no successors in this ill-requited department of learning.

Let us hope, however, that the time may be at hand when educated Irishmen at home will endeavour to free themselves from the ignominious imputation under which they now too justly lie, of being the least advanced of their class in Europe, when tested by the amount of encouragement they afford to the preservation of their national records, or to the cultivation of the higher branches of art, science and literature.

ART. XI.—*The Geraldines, Earls of Desmond, and the Persecution of the Irish Catholics.* Translated from the Original Latin by the Rev. C. P. Meehan. Dublin: Duffy. 1849.

THE monarch of the forest desires to enjoy his prey in peace: he has discovered that, upon the measure of mental serenity with which his meal is eaten, depends the successful performance of various important functions, and upon them the well-doing and happiness of his existence. Since the days of Henry Fitz-Empress the Sovereigns of England have been desiring the peace of Ireland; for they also have sought to enjoy their royal repast in tranquillity; but their desire has been a grief, and their devices vanity! By some instinctive process—akin perhaps to that which regulated the royal appetite—an ingenious people invariably discovered the presence of the fang and the claw in their flesh; hence was their intractable spirit ever in remonstrance, and the banquet of their rulers always troubled. For seven hundred years, this hard dying porcupine has brought blood to the lips of the Kings of England. *Hibernia Pacata*—in the sense of the *Rex ferarum*—has ever been the desire of King and Council, Deputy and Viceroy, all this long time; and the expedients essayed to effect it have been as numerous and as various as the ministers entrusted with the government of that unintelligible country. Amongst the minor of these schemes was one, which, whatever other claims it may have upon our notice, merits admiration for its originality, its simplicity, and a certain amount of poetic sentiment which inspired and adorned it. In the voluminous history of English diplomacy, so instructive and so moral, it would be difficult to find any record of a political experiment more maturely considered, more timidly hazarded, and more precipitately abandoned, than that of which James, the 17th Earl of Desmond, was the instrument and the victim. The details of this brief episode in a great national struggle are complete from the moment when the first conception of it dawned upon the mind of Sir George Carewe, through all the misgiving with which it was slowly adopted by Sir Robert Cecyll, and most reluctantly consented to by Queen Elizabeth, till its languid termination from mere want of earnestness in all the parties concerned in it: and so utterly insignificant was

the issue of the project which had cost the English cabinet so much anxiety that the reputation of its authors was saved from any material damage by the absolute indifference of all men with regard to it.

The condition of Ireland in 1600 is too well known to permit more than the briefest allusion to it here. A rebellion, the nearest to success of the many through which Ireland had struggled, was universal throughout the land. The English were pent up within a few walled cities; trembling at every rumour of the coming of O'Neill; and in Munster, the Royal Commissioners, with what few forces they had, dared scarcely to venture two miles without the walls of Cork. These commissioners, Sir Henry Power, and Sir Warham St. Leger, were men best acquainted with the simplest and swiftest resources of diplomacy; they became embarrassed, and saw no device more promising than to send armed bands to plunder, and utterly lay waste the most fertile districts of the province entrusted to their care, and of which the chieftains had incurred their suspicion. When the tidings of this prompt proceeding reached the Privy Council, the prospect of immediate and extensive demands upon the Queen's Exchequer afflicted the loyal mind of Sir Robert Cecyll, and he summoned to his counsels a man in whose sagacity and vigour he could place reliance. Sir George Carewe was invited to reduce to writing his opinion of the crisis, and of the measures fittest to be taken to avert expense and danger. Whilst this able counsellor, "in his lodgings in the minories," was anxiously balancing the chances of O'Neill against the Queen, a luminous device flashed upon his mind, which, together with the less ingenious suggestion of troops and money, he at once communicated to the minister. Scarcely to have captured Hugh O'Neill himself would Cecyll have dared to convey Carewe's proposal to the Queen! In the mean time Power and his associate in the government of Munster, were plunging all things into confusion, and Carewe was hurried away to Ireland to supersede them and deal with rebellion as best he could. He entered upon his government in April 1600, and his first act was to demand from the retiring rulers and from their council, a report on the state of the province. Very forlorn must have appeared to him the hope of extricating his own reputation from the difficulty in which he had consented to place it! A larger

body of English troops than had ever before been at the disposal of a President of Munster had accompanied him from Dublin; they were outnumbered twenty-fold by the native troops that he was sent to subdue. The ordinary resources of his own genius, which were neither few nor feeble, inspired him with little confidence; but in the device which he had brought with him from England, and which Cecyll had refused to hearken to, his own faith was unshaken, although no man else could be brought to think well, or even patiently of it. To explain to the reader the notable scheme of Sir George Carewe, and to inform him how it was that Sir Robert Cecyll shrank from the mere proposal of it to the Queen, it may be convenient to call to his recollection some of the circumstances attending the suppression of the previous great rebellion in 1583, in which Gerald, the 16th Earl of Desmond, lost the largest patrimony in the kingdom. His great possessions, considerably over half a million of acres, were forfeited to the crown, the blood of the Geraldines attainted, and the Earldom of Desmond extinguished! But this mighty blow, crushing prince and principality, had swerved from its legitimate direction, for it so happened that, by English law, the great rebel had never been legitimately Earl of Desmond at all! His father, James, the 15th Earl, had had a son by his first marriage, whom he had chosen to set aside by a Will in favour of Gerald, his son by a second wife; Gerald had succeeded in forcing himself upon the country, and the English Government had found it more expedient to acknowledge a proud and fiery chieftain than to champion the legal right of a submissive and feeble rival; but not the less was his elder brother Sir Thomas of Desmond legitimately the Earl! And not the less was *his* son, James Fitz-Thomas, heir by English law, to every acre which the Queen had seized; and to the Earldom of Desmond which the Queen had declared attainted! It had been expedient to acknowledge the usurping Earl; it continued expedient to maintain his right, for upon it depended the lapse of the noblest patrimony in Ireland to the crown, and the consequent distribution of it amongst a powerful body of gentleman-beggars who were in favour at the court; but a day came when the expedience of this state policy was less apparent. The first act of O'Neill, on his coming into Munster, had been to summon James Fitz-Thomas to his presence, and offer

him the alternative of assuming instantly the title of Earl of Desmond, or of moving aside into the royal shadow and making place for his younger brother. James Fitz-Thomas required no time for deliberation; he accepted his earldom at the hands of O'Neill, and was proclaimed by him lawful head of the Geraldines.

There are few personages in Irish history who inspire so great sympathy as James Fitz-Thomas, the Sagan Earl of Desmond. A sense of his own right and of his own dignity induced him to assume a position for which he was unequal. He was a truthful, honourable and brave man, but he possessed neither the fiery courage nor the abilities of his race. His childhood had been overshadowed by the might of his imperious uncle, and his manhood by the withering vengeance of the Queen, and the great ruin of his house. From the time of his uncle's fall till the arrival of O'Neill in Munster he had been a hopeless suppliant for his inheritance. The small portions of the Desmond lands that had been allotted to him were greedily coveted by one or other of the Queen's favourites, or the needy relatives of English noblemen who had cast their fortunes in Ireland, and who looked upon every acre left to a Fitz-Gerald as robbed from themselves. The consciousness of being constantly surrounded by a multitude of enemies and spies had suppressed the spirit that was needed for the command of the wild undisciplined men who flocked to his banner, and looked to find in him the daring that they remembered in his uncle. As a soldier or a political chief he contrasts disadvantageously with O'Neill and Florence MacCarthy, whose names are mostly associated with his, but history has enabled us to assert that his character, if it had less of brilliancy than theirs, had fewer blemishes.

Sir Thomas of Desmond had lived and died, with what patience he possessed, under the great robbery of his title and inheritance. He had solicited for justice, and sent his son to the court to protest against the spoliation which had been made of his property, but beyond some fair promises and the gratuity of a mark a day to his son—promised for life and paid for a year,—had gained nothing by his loyalty. There was one man in Ireland—it is difficult to believe there was more—who "found it strange" that the son should seize the first opportunity that offered to make an effort to recover the dignity and estates of his ancestors.

A man as single-minded as himself, one who was probably loyal because the Fitz-Geralds were otherwise, the bitterest enemy of his house, the same who had pursued the great Earl his uncle to his death,—Thomas, Earl of Ormond,—was, at that time in command of the Queen's forces in Ireland, and as soon as the tidings reached him that James Fitz-Thomas had joined the rebels, he wrote him a grand letter, to which, personal respect for the veteran who wrote it obtained from the young man a temperate and modest answer. These letters are now laid before the reader, not so much because that of Fitz-Thomas contains an eloquent narrative of the wrong inflicted upon his father and upon himself, as that it will remove all doubts, which it had been expedient to encourage, as to his lawful claim to the title which he assumed.

"The Earl of Ormond to James Fitz Thomas.

"James Fitz Thomas, Hit seemed to us most strange when wee hard you were combined and ioyned wth theis Leinster Traytors lately repaired into Mounster, consideringe how your fater Sir Thomas alwaies contynued a dutifull subject, and did manie good offices to further Her Mats service, from wch course if you should degresse and now ioyn wth those unnaturall traytors we maie think you very unwise, and that you bring uppon yoursealf your owne confusion wch is th ende of all traytors; as by daylye experience you have seene; wherefore wee will that you doe putly make your repaire unto us wheresoever you shall heer of our beinge, to lay downe your greifes and complaints, if you have anie; and if you stand in anie doubt of yourself, theis our lres shall be for you and such as shall accompaie you in your cominge and retorninge from us, your safetyes, and further in your drawinge neere the place where we shalle be we will send safe conduct for you.

"Given at the Campe of Cowlin,

"8 Octr. 1598.

"Thomas Ormond & Ossery.

"Wee need not put you in minde of the late overthrowe of the Earle your uncle, who was played, wth his ptakers, by fier, sworde, and famine; and be assured if you pceede in anie traiterous actions, you will have the like ende. What Her Mats forces have done against the King of Spaine and is hable to doe against anie other enemy the world hath seen, to Her Highnes immortal fame; by wch you maie iudge what she is able to doe against you, or anie other that shall become traytors.

"To James Fitz Thomas Fitz Geralde.

"Give theis in Hast."

"James Fitz Thomas to the Earl of Ormond.

"Rt. Hon.: I receaued your Los lres wherein yor. Ho. dothe specifie that you think it verie straunge that I shoald ioyne in action wth theis gentn. of Leinster. It is soe that I haue ever at all times behaved myself dutifullie and as true a subiect to Her Matie as ever laie in me; and as it is well known to yo Honr. I haue showed my willingness in service against my uncle, and his adherents, wherebie I haue bin partelie a meane of his destruction. Before my uncle's deseace it may be remembered by your Lo: that I haue bin in England from my father claiminge title to his inheritance of the House of Desmonde, wch is manifestlie known to be his righte, whereuppon Her Matye hath pmised of her gracious favour to doe me justice uppon the decease of my uncle, who then was in action, and haue allowed me a marke sterling pr. diem towards my maintenance, untill her Mats further pleasure were knowne, of wch I never receaued but one years paie, and ever since my uncles decease I could gett no hearinge concerninge my inheritance of th Earldome of Desmonde, but haue bestowed the same uppon divers undertakers, to disinherite me fur ever; haueing all this while staid myself, in hope to be graciouslie delt wthall by Her Matie; seeinge no other remedie, and that I could gett no indifference, I will follow by all the meanes I can to mainetaine my right, trusting in Th Almighty to further the same. My very good Lord I haue seene soe manie bad ensamples, in seeking of diuerse many gents. bluddely false and sinister accusations cutt off and executed to deathe, that the noblemen and cheif gentln of this province cannot thinck themselves assured of their lyves if they were contented to loose their lands and livings; as for example Redmond Fitz Geralde, uppon the false informacon of a scurfey boy, for safeguard of his leif, was putt to death, being a gent of good callinge, being 3 score years of age, and innocent of the crime chardged wth all. Donagh McCraghe alsoe was executed uppon the false informacon of a villanious Kerne, who wthin a sevensnight was put to death within your Los Libertie at Clonmell, who tooke uppon his salvation all that he said against the said Donough was untrue, that he was subborned by others. Of late a poore cosen of ours James Fitz Morrys of Mochollapa is soe abominablie dealt wthal, uppon the false information of an Engleishman, accusinge him of murder, who never drew sworde in anger all the daies of his leife, and is manifestlie knowne that he never gave cause to be suspected of the like; Pierce Lacie who was an earnest servitor, and had the killinge of Rory McMorogho and the apprehension of Morogho Oge till he left him in the geale of Limerick, and after all his services was driven for the sauegarde of his leif to be a fugitive. To be brieve with yo Lo: Engleishmen were not contented to haue our lands and livings but unmercifullie to seeke our leives, by false and sinister meanes,

under cullor of Lawe ; and as for my prte I will prevent it the best I maie.

“ Committing yo Lo. to God I am,

“ Yo Honors Loveing Cosen,

Ja : Desmonde.

“ From the Camp at Carrigrone,

“ 12 Oct. 1588.

“ To the right hono. my verie good Lo and cosen therle of Ormond and Ossery, Lo Leuet General of her Mats forces wthin the realme of Ireland theis to be delivered.”

It is not the purpose of the present narrative to follow the course of the great struggle which ensued. In the palmiest days of his prosperity, as he afterwards acknowledged to Carewe, Fitz-Thomas numbered as many as 8,000 well armed men. Sir George Carewe might, he wrote to Cecyll that he would, have ventured to give battle to this large force, had it not been that a man as wary as himself, and whose neutrality he feared more than the open rebellion of the Sугan Earl,—for so was James Fitz-Thomas called,—lay in patient observation beyond his reach, within the fastnesses of Desmond, professing unwavering loyalty, yet in possession of all the issues of that wild country into which Carewe must have penetrated before he could bring the Geraldines to battle. The reader who follows, through the pages of the “*Pacata Hibernia*,” the struggles in Munster in 1600, and who becomes interested in the fortunes of the gallant man who ventured fortune, dignity, and life upon the hazard of their success, must often be astonished that Florence MacCarthy (supposing him to have been, as that history asserts that he was, not less rebellious than Fitz-Thomas himself, and at the head of a powerful body of troops) could have received the many letters from the Sугan Earl, which are printed there, and which appeal alternately to his patriotism, his honour, and his interest for some open co-operation, and yet have made no move to join him! But in truth this sagacious chieftain understood, far better than Fitz-Thomas, the strategy of the President of Munster, and how to encounter it. At the very time when the necessities of the Earl were the most urgent, and his appeals the most touching, the Fabian policy of the man who seemed so indifferent to his danger, alone stood between him and his destruction. The troops which Florence MacCarthy had in his pay were not merely “his own people,” but disci-

plined, veteran bonnaghts of Connaught, and the hereditary fighting men, the warrior septs of M'Swynies and M'Shiehies, who had been for four generations—since they had been first introduced into Carbery by the son of Dermod-an-Duna—a regular body of trained soldiery in the service of MacCarthy Reagh. So completely had this able man succeeded within less than two years in organizing the forces of Desmond and Carbery that, as Sir George Carewe speedily ascertained, 10,000 men awaited but his word for a simultaneous rising.

The President of Munster put a brave face upon his difficulties; but in his correspondence with Cecyll he declares "that Florence MacCarthy was a dark cloud ever hanging over him." The storm grew daily darker about him; the walls of Cork circumscribed all the loyalty of Munster, and he appealed once more for a trial of the scheme which he had proposed when in England, and which had met with so little encouragement from the Privy Council. Cecyll had hoped that this perilous fancy of Carewe had been abandoned; he now found himself compelled, however reluctantly, to lay it before the Queen.

The reader, mindful of the bitter hatred of Elizabeth to the house of Desmond, may picture to himself the wrath with which she listened to a proposal—on which the President of Munster declared the safety of his province depended—to take from the Tower of London, where he had been confined from his childhood, the son of the attainted Earl, who had perished in his rebellion of 1583, to restore him in blood, and send him to Ireland! No project other than this could Carewe devise which could break up the formidable alliance of the Clan Carthy and the Geraldines. Her Majesty, though not a placable enemy, nor usually tolerant of opposition to her will, was a wiser politician than even the Solomon who succeeded her: some ominous lightnings flashed from the royal eyes, some sudden colour crimsoned the maiden cheek as the humiliating proposal was developed; but the Tudor will was stronger even than the Tudor temper! She consented that the experiment of Carewe should be tried, but she threw upon him, and upon her adviser, all the responsibility of a trial, in the success of which she had no faith. Cecyll retired from the royal presence less in love with the romantic device of Carewe than he had entered it. Whether the angry allusions of Elizabeth to the eight years' rebel-

lion of the last Desmond enlightened him a little as to the power of the mere name of a Geraldine; whether he was reluctant to disturb the peace of mind of the undertakers, who had by this time contentedly fitted into the forfeited possessions of the late Earl; or whether he really respected the opinion of the Queen as much as he dreaded the responsibility which she had emphatically thrown from herself upon him; it is evident from his letters, as the reader will presently see, that he trembled more at the liberation of this young FitzGerald from the Tower than he did at any event in his political career. Had Queen Elizabeth entered with any hope or earnestness into this project of her minister, it is scarcely probable that she would have sent this young Geraldine into Ireland with the bare dignity of a restored title, without an acre of land, and with the paltry income of £500 per annum, pinched out of certain companies of soldiers "cassed" for the purpose. To succeed under such circumstances would have required an amount of energy and ability in her agent, which, had he possessed it, might have resulted in the quick transition of Sir George Carewe, the instigator of the experiment, to the lodgings in the Tower from which he was about to be taken. For the character and antecedents of the young Earl, from whose liberation Carewe hoped, and the Queen feared such great things, we look in vain through the pages of the "*Pacata Hibernia*." Sir George Carewe may not have been acquainted with any details of the previous sixteen or seventeen years of his life: Cecyll and Burghley knew them but too well. The Queen must also have known them, and had they transpired, he would have been received in Ireland perhaps with as much derision, certainly with more pity than he left it. The reader will remember that this youth was the son of the haughtiest, the fiercest, the stubbornest rebel that had ever risen up in Ireland. Gerald FitzGerald, the 16th Earl of Desmond, had seized the inheritance of his elder brother, and he held it as he acquired it, by the sword; and from the day of his first encounter with the Earl of Ormond at Athmane, till his proud head was stricken off in the cabin of Gleanaguinty, by order of the same great hereditary enemy of his house, each year of his life had left a trail of blood and ashes behind it as it passed.

The reader will now need but little further guidance

from the pen that has written this introduction. The letters which trace the pitiful career of the Tower Earl from his very cradle to his grave, exist in the handwriting of the youth himself, of the statesman whose victim he was, and of the spies placed by them around him: they are laid before the reader, as the author of these pages has collected them, from the State Paper Office, and the Carewe MSS. at Lambeth. The series is complete; every detail of this insignificant life is contained in them; Cecyll and Carewe sustain the especial reputation which their published letters have already gained for them, and the Irish reader is enabled, with additional assurance, to judge of the characters of the statesmen by whom his country was pacified in the year of grace 1602.

The earliest notice of James FitzGerald—who may be best distinguished from another James FitzGerald, claiming also to be Earl of Desmond, by the designation of “the Tower-Earl,”—occurs in a letter written by the Earl of Leicester to the boy’s father, shortly previous to his breaking out into rebellion: the next is after a lapse of ten years, when the great rebel—the *ingens rebellibus exemplar*—had been subdued and slain, and the authorities of Dublin shrank from the responsibility of keeping charge of such a prisoner. These early letters are chiefly interesting by their deciding the precise duration of his dreary imprisonment: they shew us that he spent sixteen years in the Tower! and that when he landed in Ireland, although infirm of purpose as a child, he must already have reached his thirtieth year.

“*The Earl of Leycester to the Earl of Desmond.*”

“Yor L’s request lykewise for the presentinge of yor sonne to Her Matie, I have also accomplished. Her Highnes accepteth of him, and taketh yor offer of him in very good pt, as I have signefied by lres to my Lady yor Wyfe, and bycause he is yet to yonge to be brought hither, Her Matie hath taken ordre for his plasinge until he shal be fit to be removed.

“At the Corte the xviii of June, 1573.

“Yor lovinge frend

“R. Leycester.

“1583. Nov. 17.

“*The Lords Justices to the Lords of the Privy Council.*”

“Post scriptum.

“Our verie good LL. for that we acompt Desmond’s sonne here in the Castell to be a prisoner of greate chardge, and that manie

escapes have ben made herehence (thoughe not in our tyme), we wyshe, for the better assueraunce of hym, that Her Matie mighte be persuaded to remouue hym hence unto the Towre of London, welh notwithstandinge, we leue to yor LL's grave consideracon.

"1584. July 9.

" From Treasurer Wallop to Walsyngham.

" My Lo : Deputie hath sent the Erles of Desmond and Clancarty their sonnes to the Courte, by tow of my men, whome I beseche yo to dischargde as sone as they com to the Court wth them."

What the men of Munster would expect from the lion's whelp when a few years should have passed over, it is not difficult to conjecture; but it needs evidence clear and strong to convince us of the transformation of this young lion into a lamb. James Fitz Gerald was the godson of Elizabeth; had he been her own child it is doubtful whether she would have scrupled to send the offspring of such a father to the Tower as she did. The secret history of the boyhood of this unfortunate Geraldine has been well kept for 270 years; it has, notwithstanding, been in existence all this time; but the Tower held it as it had held him, and official men have till now guarded the shadow as they guarded the slender sickly form that cast it.

When the Tower gates once closed upon a prisoner it was seldom that the outer world knew aught more about him. Whether he lived in cold and utter darkness; whether he were clothed like other men, or loaded with chains; whether his diet were bread and water, or whether he were allowed an establishment of cooks and confectioners; whether he were tortured, or left in peace; no one knew! Yet all these things were periodically reported to the Privy Council: not that that august body was supposed to concern itself with the comfort of the traitors whom they incarcerated, but because bare subsistence, much more the comfortable maintenance of a prisoner cost money; this money was advanced by the Lieutenant of the Tower, and reclaimed by him by a document detailing his outlay. From these documents, some few of which have fortunately escaped destruction, we learn the precise treatment in health and sickness of all who enjoyed the hospitality of Her Majesty's Lieutenant of the Tower of London. We learn indeed incidentally other things; the price of every article of clothing as they

chanced to be supplied to noblemen or paupers: the cost of a hat, of a bible, of chains, bolts, and locks. The charges relative to the infant state prisoner, Mr. James Garolde, were not of this description. Alas! the earliest and the latest, and all between them, were alike; they were apothecary's bills! The first of a long series bears no date, but was doubtless sent in some time in 1588. The contents of it are no ordinary items; they have no reference to the ailments of childhood, but show a miserable diseased body, and prepare us for all that followed.

"A note of all suche chardges laide unto the use of Mr. James Garolde as shall appear followinge.

Imprimis paide for ij Bottells of Serope of iij pints	s.	d.
apeace at	xij	iiij
Item j unnce of the Beste Rubarbe at	jx	viiij
Item iij Bottells of diet Drinke of a Pottell apeace at	xij	iiij
Item ij Doiltes perfumed for his hed at	x	vj
Item ij pourgatives	vj	viiij
Item iiij ownces of perfumed Lossengis for his eare	x	vj
Item iiij ownces of Serope for his nostrells at	viiij	viiij
Item iiij ownces of Unguente for his eare at	vj	vj
Item iiij ownces of Implaster for his eare at	v	iiij
Item iiij ownces of Pilles of Mastiogiai	viiij	x
Item ij drames of Pillelmies	v	viiij
Item j drame of Trossies de terra sigilata	ii	vj
The Holle some of chardges at <u>vli. os. vjd.</u>		

I stande to yor Honors Rewards for my paines taken in curinge of Mr. James Garolde at yor Honors pleasure.

Yor Lordeshipes to commande Duringe Liffe .

John Robertes—Surgion.

Totlis vli. vij. od.

Owin Hopton."

Before directing the reader's notice to the active career of this sickly phantom—if any single act of his languid existence can be called active—it may be well to lay before him some few more extracts from the bills of the various Lieutenants of the Tower of London, which would, better than any suspicion of his loyalty, have justified the misgivings of Elizabeth and Cecyll, when, by the urgency of Carewe, their consent was extorted for taking him from his tutor and his doctor, and sending him amongst the wild spirits of his native land.

"The Demaundes of Sir Owyn Hopton Knight Lewitennant to Her Majesties Tower of London for the Diette and other chardges

of Prisoners in his custodie from the Nativitie of Our Saviour Christe laste paste 1588 till Th annunciacon of our Blessed Ladye the Virgyn then next followinge beeing won quarter of a yeare, as hereafter is pticularly declared—

James Fitz Garalde

Imprimis For the Diette & other chardges of James Fitz Garolde from ye xxv. of December mdlxxxviiij (1588) till the xxjv. of March then nexte followinge beeing xiiij weeks at xxs. the weeke for himselfe—xiiij*li*.

Itm. For his Appell at xxx*l*. the yeare vij*li*. xs.

Itm. For the dyet of his Scholemaster at xxi*li*. the yeare vi*li*.

Itm. For the wadges of his scholemr. at xiiij*li*. vjs. viij the ycare, iiij*li*. vjs. viij

Itm. For the wadges of my servant

Attending on him at vi*li*. the year xxvs.

Somma xxx*li*. o xxd."

A similar account was sent in for the period intervening between the 24th of June 1589 and 24th of December then next following. The next bill that is extant refers to a period considerably later. The name of this poor boy figures as usual at the head of the list of prisoners; but the items reveal considerable changes both in his health and position. The Lieutenant of the Tower is changed; Sir Michael Blount has succeeded Sir Owen Hopton; and, from a trait incidentally mentioned of him by Florence Mac Carthy, who was also in the Tower at the time, it is to be feared that he was a hard and punctilious man, and may have proved a less indulgent keeper to the boy whose whole chance of comfort or recreation lay in his hands. Young Fitz-Gerald still continues under the tuition of his schoolmaster; but he is passing from childhood to youth, and we now, for the first time, see the items following.

"Imprimis, from 25th of March now laste paste 1595 untill the 24th daye of June then nexte followinge, &c.

For the diette of his servaunt duringe that time, at vjs. the weeke, iiij*li*. vjs. viij

Item for fewell and lights duringe the same tyme at vjs. viij the weeke, iiij*li*. vjs. viij*d*.

Item for his keeper that tyme at vjs. the weeke, viij*li*. vjs. 8*d*."

Now, too, appears a melancholy item in these bills which never hereafter fails, viz. the charge for his "Sur-gion," for Dr. Noel his physician, and for his physic bills. Indeed, into such deplorable health had the prisouer fallen

that these functionaries were taken into as regular pay, and at as fixed salaries as the schoolmaster: besides these, his staff included also an apothecary.

“Mr. Fitz Gerald's Surgion. For his quarter's allowance frome the said 25 March 1595 untill the 24th of June then nexte followinge beeing one whole Quarter of a Yeare, xls.

Item Geven unto Dr. Nowell for his commynge and counsaile in physicke unto Mr. James Fitz Gerald at diuise and soundrie tymes in halfe a yeare xxxs.”

The Lieutenant of the Tower is again changed. It is now, at the Christmas of 1595, Sir Drew Drury. The Bills continue unvaried; diet, fewell, servants, appell, scholemaster, surgion, Dr. Nowell, and the apotecarye.

In the summer of 1596, Sir Richard Barkley has succeeded Sir Drew Drury; but there is yet no sign of coming change for the prisoner. The schoolmaster still receives his salary; and it is to be regretted that his name and the course of tuition he adopted have not found their way into these mournful accounts. Two things he certainly taught him well, viz. to write a clear, bold handwriting, and to compose his letters in a florid, sentimental, humble style, that would have excited great wonder amongst the gentlemen of Munster, who knew something more of Earls of Desmond than was known to the teacher or his pupil.

The last bill extant concerning this tower nursling is sent in by another new Lieutenant, Sir John Peyton, in the summer of 1599, in which the last items are as usual the surgion's &c.

The following prodigious physic bill was delivered on the 12th day of June 1596, and the reader may judge how unfitted for active service in the wilds of Munster, was the poor patient who, from day to day, required comfortable plaisters for his stomach, item for his side, perfumes for his ears and nostrils, acorns and barberries for a stitch, besides the swallowing of such a fearful catalogue of doses. In fact, as he increased in years all the infirm members of his poor crazy frame required increasing stimulants, laxatives, quilts, perfumes, and plaisters; so that the bills grew in stature as he grew, till at last there was produced a voluminous roll of drugs such as it would seem the united shops of Mr. John Roberts and Mr. John Fethergill must have been in requisition to supply.

How he escaped living from the hands of these gentlemen

is surprising, and how his schoolmaster failed to whisper to him one line of warning with which he was doubtless familiar, is surprising too!

“Hos necat afflatu, funesta hos tabe veneni.”

“To Mr. Fitz Gerald.

the 12th day of June, 1596.

Imprimis A pourgation with Syrop of Angonstome and others	s.	d.
Syrops for vij mornings	iiij	
A Bolus of Cassia and Rubarb	v	
A laxative powlder for ij doses	iiij	
A Plaister for the Backe	v	
A Linyment for the Syde, con. iiij oz.	ij	
A Quilte for the hedd	vj	viiij
A coolyng Oyntments con. iiij oz.		xij
A coole Julep to take at all tymes	v	
Syrop of Vyletts and limons demild	iiij	
A Quilte for the backe	v	
Laxative cinrans compounded with Rubarb iiijld	vj	
For iiij Cordyall Drinkes with bezar	iiij	
Cinnamon water a pynt	v	
Aqua Cœlestis a pint	x	
Consurve of barberys and others	iiij	iii
Consurve of Roses	iiij	
The Julep as before	v	
A Compound Syrop &c.	iiij	
Acornes and barberys for a Stitch		vj
A compound electuary to take at morning con. 7 ld.	v	
Soundry distilled waters with Syrop of Vyletts and limons containing a pottle	v	iiij
Another pourgation with rubarbe	iiij	
Sewger-Candye a Quaterne		x
Manor Christi iiij oz.	iiij	
The Julep agayne as before	v	
Another coulde oyntments con iiij oz.	ii	
The cordyall drinke agayne as before	iiij	
Syrop of Vyletts iiij oz.	ij	
A box of perfume for theares	vj	
A bolus of Cassia and Rubarbe	iiij	
An aperitive Julep for the Lyver	v	
Pills for hedd and stomack for soundry tymes	v	
Diaphalma 3 iiij		xvj
Syrop of Vyletts and lemons to take every morning con viij oz.	iiij	
Consurve of Waterlillyes, of Vylets, and of Borax for soundry tymes contayninge vj ouz.	iiij	
A Julep to drinke after the consurve	iiij	

A fomentacon for the syde	v
A compound oyntmente for the same	ij
A Bathe containinge may ingredients	x
An Aperitive to take yt at all tymes	v
Another box of pfume as before	vj
A plaster for the stomack	
A pfume for the hedd	
A laxative drincke for soundry tymes	
An electuary to take in the mornynge	
A syrop to drincke after yt	
Rubarb to stepe in a drinck	
A drinck for the Rubarbe	
A Glister	
A fomentacon for the Stomack	iiij
A comfortable oyntmente for the stomack	ij
An oyntment for the hedd	iiij
A powder for the same	ij
An lixivum for the same	ij
An oyle for theares	ij
A Quilte for the hedd	v
A perfume to ayer the same	iiij
Another Glister	v
Aperitive syrops for v mornynge	v
A pouregation with Rubarbe and manna	v
Losangis for the head, stomack and backe jld	x
A comfortable powder to be taken before meate	v
A Julep to take at all tymes	v
Summa totalis xiiij ^{li} . xvjs. vjd.	

I receaved all theis things above written according unto the severall perticulers.

J. FitzGerald.

William Burghley
Buckehurst
Ro : Cecyll.

The letters written by this young Tower Earl to the wily statesman who eventually set him at liberty; by the persons placed as guardians and spies about him; and by Cecyll to Carewe concerning him, are now laid before the reader, and will enable him to perceive that the cunning of these crafty men was a less trusty guide than the instinct of their mistress.

* These prices are not visible owing to the folding and fraying of the paper.

"From James Fitz Gerald in the Tower of London, to the Right Hon. Sir R. Cecyll.

"Honorable Sir

"Let it not be offensiuē, I besech you, to be troubled with the lynes of an unknowne stranger, who though yong in years, yet being old in miserye is taught therby to apprehend any meanes of favour whersoever vertue may move compassion. My hard fortune and my faultlessness I hope ar nether unknowne unto you; howe only by being born the unfortunate sone of a faulty father, I have since my infancy never breathed out of prisē,—the only hellish torment to a faithfull hart to be houlden in suspect, when it never thought upon offence,—the favour and comfort which I have alwise receyved from my especiall good Lord yor father, hath, (I verily thinke,) ben the preserver of my sorrowfull lyfe, which er this would els have pyned away with grief. And nowē in his Lordship's absence I am therfore inbouldned to sollicit yor Honor, as a worthy branch of soe true, noble, and verteous a stocke; hoping to find the same favorable inclination towerds me which his Lo: hath alwise shewed. Lett me then humbly intreat and obtain att yor Hos handes to further my humble request which I shall this day make unto yor honorable assembly at the Counsell table, and soe far as itt shall be thought resonable and convenient to lett it be comended to Her Matie. If you shall afford me any favour heerin, soe furr as so unhappy a man shall be able to doe you service, assure yourself to have made a purchase of a most faithfull and thankfull hart. Thus praying for the preservation of yor health, and daily increase of Honor, I humbly take my leave.

"Yor Honor's ever to comand

"James Fitz Gerald.

"From the Towre

"this xvij of June 1593."

Alas! the hands upon the political dial pointed not yet to liberty: this letter, plaintive and touching as it is, availed the writer nothing! What the request presented with it to the Privy Council was, we know not. It is not likely to have been for permission to return to his native laud, for every spark of national affection had long since become extinct in him. It was probably for some little glimpse of freedom; but scarcely so much as the license to go out from that dreary Tower. It is dated in June, 1593: unfortunately the Tower bills for that year are not preserved, or perchance we might find the letter simultaneous with one of the frequent changes of his keepers; the appointment of some one with little patience for the melancholy humours of the poor helpless invalid.

Seven more long years were to pass away, youth was to ripen to manhood, before hope should enter into the cell in which his miserable life was pining away. He wrote no more letters, as far as we know, during that time; but the blunder of one of the shrewdest men of his age befriended him. Sir George Carewe was about to undertake the government of Munster, and the extinction of another Desmond rebellion; and the good genius of the captive deluded that crafty bad man with a dream that the pallid face, the mild eye of young Fitz Gerald would at once calm the stormy ocean of Irish politics. He proposed to Cecyll, as we have seen, to take him from his prison, to restore him in blood, change Mr. James Garrolle into the Earl of Desmond, and send him into Munster. Cecyll shrank from making such a proposal to the Queen; and when it was at last made, Elizabeth emphatically refused to consent to it. Carewe went to Ireland, and there encountered difficulties greater even than he had expected, and he then wrote to urge the reconsideration of his proposal.

“Ld. President Carewe to Cecyll.

“Whoso knoweth this kingdome and the people will confesse that to conquer the same and them by the sword onlie is opus laboris, and almost may be said to be impossible,—and I do uerylie beleve that all the treasure of England wilbe consumed in that worke except other additions of helpe be ministred unto ytt. The fayre way that I am in towardes the finishinge of the beaue taske wch I undertogoe I am affrayd wil receyue some speedye and roughe impediment, unlesse my aduice in sendinge of the yonge Desmond hether may be followed. The good wch by his presence wilbe effected hath bene by me so often declared as I holdeytt needlesse to trouble yow wth reiterations of the same; the danger that may ensue if he should proue a traitor (wch I suppose to be the motiue of his detention) is no more then the malice of a weake rebell, who can neuer be so great by reason of his education, wch hath bene in simplicitie unaccustomed to action, together wth his religion,—as this countrefaict Earle,* nourished in villanie and treasons, and the greatest pillar (Tyrone excepted) that euer the Pope had in this kingdome,—and farther, if this traytor were taken or slayne, yet the rebellion is not ended; for these Mounster rebells will establishe another Robin Hood in his roome, and so in sequence, as long as there is a Geraldine in Ireland. As sone as the bruiet was divulged that he shoulde be sent unto me, I found such an alac-

* James Fitz Thomas, the Sugaun Earl of Desmond.

ritye in his followers as an immediate sighte of a present quiet did represent ytsel self unto me.

"Sir beleue me all the perswasions in the world will not preuaile to induce them to serue against James McThomas, much lesse to do anythinge upon his person, before they see his face.

"If God be pleased, for the good of this country, to direct her Maties counsailes to send him hether, I do humblye beseche yow to moue her that he may come (or not at al) as a free man, without any marke of a prisoner,—and that he may enioy the name and tittle of an Earle. What land is most conuenient for him to have, and least dangerous if he should be ill disposed, I haue heretofore at large deliuered my opinion; and also how easie it is to prevent any harme he may do if he be enclined to do ill.

"Geo. Carewe."

No doubt State secrets are always well kept. Ministers and their secretaries are all honourable and discreet gentlemen; but the fact is undeniable that men will know, and seldom fail to know, what concerns themselves, or greatly moves their curiosity. As early as 1598, when Carewe was first called upon by Cecyll to advise him upon the subject of Ireland, the secret of the proposal to liberate the young Desmond had in some unaccountable manner transpired. The air of the Minister's Cabinet vibrated with the earnest tones of Carewe, the doubtful accents of Cecyll, and when the doors were thrown open, and those two profound statesmen passed forth, those vibrations floated outward with them, and as "the five winds served" they were borne whither Carewe and his friend would have had little pleasure in following them—namely, to the camp of O'Neill! They arrived indeed curiously travestied, and would seem from the speeches of the Irish chieftain, reported by Fenton to Cecyll, to have travelled to Spain before they reached him.

O'Neill openly declares to his friends:—

"I do assure you all upon my creditt and as I wold haue yo hereafter to beleue me and be directed by me that th Erle of Desmond's sonne is escaped out of the Tower of London by meanes of the Lieftent of the Tower's daughter, who is gonn wth him, and arryved in Spaine, where they had such acceptanc and entertainemt as seldome hath ben hard of tobe in that kingdome afforded to a man of his yeers; and further I do assure you that before a monneth do pass, yf wynd and weather do serue, wilbe in Mounster wth great forces both of men municion and treasure; the lyke whereof I do expect, wth assurance to myself, and therefore comforte yo selves."

The last bill for diet, &c. of Mr. Garrolde, included the feast of the Nativitie of St. John the Baptist, 1600.

The royal presentiments gave way at last before the repeated solicitations of Carewe and the advice of Cecyll, and there burst suddenly into the prisoner's cell a flood of sunshine, such as might have played about his cradle, or shone upon him once from "the divine eyes" of his royal Godmother, but such as he could have neither remembrance nor conception of. The prisoner was made free! and carefully, as such a fragile vessel required, he was removed to the house of Dr. Nowell. Now commenced a political education, correspondence with the minister, interviews with some eager Irish friends, and the expression of simple hopes that he should shortly do something to show his immense gratitude for—her Majesty's adoption of her minister's scheme for subduing Munster! His second letter bears a new signature, one that was hateful to Elizabeth, as it had been to the kings of England, at frequent intervals, for 400 years.

Earl of Desmond to Cecyll.

Right Honrrable I have receued this morninge by John Power certayne letters foorth of Ireland, wch in regard that you maye see by these advertisements what benefit may growe unto her Highnes' service, and what obstacles tothe contrary, I thought fitt to have presented unto you, towwhose consideration referring it and myselfe, I rest.

"from my lodginge in all humblenes

"this 7h of Sepr. 1600.

"Your Honor's in verry much assurance

"Desmond.

"Such horses as your Honor appointed I should be presently furnished wth, I am as yet unfurnished of. Attendinge whatsoever directions it shall stand wth your honorable discretion."

"Desmond to Cecyll.

"It maye please yor Honor, one Mr John Crosbye being a membre of the church hathe bene especially recommendid untome by some of my best freinds in Irland to be for his lief and living bothe honest and sufficient touching his religion and otherwise; whereby I am pswadid that he is one well hable to serve her Matie in Mounater, and to stand me in good steed; therefore I humbly beseeche your Honor to be a meane that her Matie will bestowe on him the poor Bushoprick of Keiry, being nowe voided, wch although it be a thing of smale or no value at this pte, yett I hoape in tyme it

maye be some help of living unto him ; for web, and for all other
yor most honorable and kynd favors

“ I am and wilbe ever

“ your Honor’s most bounden

“ Desmond.

“ At my lodging

“ the 18th of Sepr. 1600.”

The reader has seen that it was no part of Carewe’s plan that the young Earl should come into Ireland otherwise than as “ a free man, and without any mark of a prisoner.” Queen Elizabeth had yielded to the solicitations of the English minister and the Irish President so far as to consent to his being sent into Munster, but with how great misgiving, with how much of real freedom, and with what resources for rendering respected the grand title that he bore, the reader will learn from the next few letters of Sir Robert Cecyll. The despatch now first following admirably depicts the state of excitement into which the forebodings of the Queen, and her final consent had thrown him. Had he been announcing the intention of “ Her sacred Majesty” herself to visit Ireland, he could scarcely have heralded her approach more pompously. Had this notable scheme already failed, and the new Earl turned out as “ malicious a rebel” as his father, his caution to Carewe would have scarcely needed to be more significant.

“ *Cecyll to Carewe.*

“ Nowe is the hour come that you shall receave the pson of the Earle of Desmonde, soe called here by courtesye alredie, and soe resolved by hir Matie to bee, as maie appeare by the pattent you receave; onlye this is the dyfference, that her Matie will see som imprest of other mens promises before she give him plenary satisfaccon ; wherein I pteste unto you noe one thinge hathe made hir more to sticke then the doubt wch she hath that there wilbe noethinge don for him worthie of soe greate a favour. For the matter I must owne and speake to you my opinyon, yt you and I have made a greate adventure to presse and importune for a thinge soe subject to illsuccesse, in a tyme when most thinges are iudged by effect, and shall especially be applyed untoe us ; because the mallice of som and the ignoraunce of others have taught them this odd sentense to hinder any thinge (they wold not have, or understand not,) by saying, ‘ Yea butt he maie proove a rebell hereafter.’ I praie you thearfor when you have him, take this counsayl of me ; whensoever you fynd any cause toe doubt him, never feare toe laie

holde of him, for therin we will never blame you, butt we will take yt for a thinge that was necessarie, quoniam ipse dixit.

"Robt. Cecyll.

"Sept. 24, 1600."

"Cecyll to Carewe.

"You must knowe that notwithstandinge all the poore credytt. I had I cold not dissuade hir Matie from deferryng to signe Desmonds pattent, although I did laye before hir houe infinit advantage and oportunitie wold be loste; but yt pleased hir to bee stille fyxed that she wold see somthinge effected before she did absolutelie give him the title: still layinge before me what a scorne she shold receave yf he shold effect nothings; and then Tyrone might laughe at her doble, as he hath don alreedy att the goinge in of Sir Arthur O'Neill, whome he called 'Queen Elizabeth's Earle that cannot comaund a hundred kern.'

"Robt. Cecyll.

"Sept. 28, 1600."

"Earl of Desmond to Cecyll.

"Rt. Honorable. Here is a scoller and a preacher, one Mr Edward Hargrave that is desirous tobe my chaplayne, and to receaue the protection of that dignitie wch her Highness in her mercy hath allowed me. I beseech you in my absence that he maye receave that benefite and acknowledgment, and I, in the loue that I am ever bound to you, will acknowledge it, and so I take my leaue.

"From Coldbrooke this 28 Sept. 1600.

"Yr Honor's ever assured

"Desmond."

"P.S. This letter I was lothe to write, because I know not what exception might be taken, in regard I had not my pattent; neither could I tell howe to put it of, in regard I was urged by my very good frend Mr Blount, except I should discouer that wch your Honor wished me to conceale. therefore I thought good to aduertise your Honor, whom I beseech to auswer anie re-construction (if there be anie made of it) and tobe favourable to this bearer, according to the nature he desireth to serve me, and who is ignorant of this postscript.

Memorandum by Sir Robert Cecyll:—

"A note of ye somes that have ben delivered by me to the E of Desmonds use.

"One *cli* to Mr Lieftenant when he was first dyscharged out of ye Tower, whereuppon himselfe and his followers lyvid at Do: Nowel's.

"One other *cli* delyvered to himselfe in the presence of Captn

Pryce at my house at ye Savoy for ye provyding of armor and apparell, and necessaryes for the sending away his nурсel and syster.

"Ten pounds delyvered him at ye Court.

"One c and iiijxxli delyvered to Capen Pryce for his charges to into Ireland.

"Twenty Pounds deld. to Moryce Shehan for his use.

"Ten Pounds to ye Bp of Cashell.

"Thirty Pounds to John Poore."

The following memoranda would appear to have been the basis of a series of sermons, which either Cecyll intended himself to compose for the guidance of the Earl, or which Captain Price or the Bishop of Cashel was to preach to him as opportunity might offer. Article No. 4 of these instructions was a delicate proof of the growing confidence of the minister in his pupil, and article No. 5, certainly an important one for an Earl of Desmond with £500 per annum, and we can scarcely be surprised that to enlighten him as to the amount of magnificence that could be exhibited for the money, several cautions were to be given to him.

"For the Earl of Desmond.

"1 Touchinge his dysposinge in marriage.

"2 Touchinge his servants and retinewe.

"3 That he contayne himselfe moderate in matters of religion, &c.

"4 That he at his first cominge do fashion himselfe in some convenient measure agreeable to the Irish nacion.

"5 Several cautyns for the frugall management of his estate.

"6 Particuler admonitions to hold himselfe humble, gratefull and loyall towards her Matie.

"7 Priuate instruons for his present and future course of lyfe in general and in pticuler for his correspondence, and his dependencie here and in Ireland."

"*Captain John Price to Cecyll*

"Rt. Honble. Upon Tuesdaie, being the thirtieth of Sepr. I came with my L unto Bristol: At my cominge I went into Mr Mayor whoe provided a house, where my Lo is lodged in, accordinge to my instrucns, wch I was very gladd Your Ho. had soe sett it downe, for that hee hath here above 30 psons followinge him, besides fyve horses. Whereuppon I tould his Lordshipp that I was to goe noe further then your Honor's instructions, unto which hee was very willinge to followe, and the rest lyeth uppon his owne charge. Alsoe I dealt with Mr Mayor aboute a barque wch wee have provided ready; when it shall pleass God to send wynde. Yesternighte beinge the 1st of October, when wee weare at supper there came

one in to my Lord whose certified us that hee came out of one of the shippes wch was appoynted to carry souldiers over to Ireland, and that they being some sixe daies at sea, and neare the coast of Ireland were by fowle weather dryvin backe into Bristoll againe, except one shippe, wch by reason of the tempest, was dispersed from them, soe that this daye all the souldiers are landed at Bristoll againe. And soe I humbly take my leave praieng tothe Almighty for your honourable successe.

"Yr honor most humbly to

"commande in all service

"Bristoll this 2d Oct. 1600.

"John Prise."

"The Earl of Desmond to Cecyll.

"Right Honorable. I am nowe come tothe place that your Honour desired for my sooner transportinge for Ireland, where I am to entreate yr Honour in that greate measure of yr undeserved favour you will not lett me nowe sinke, cominge, as I dayly pray for, neere to that fruition wch will satisfie the expectation of hir Matie and yr Honors, and dischardge the duetie of that loyaltyt wch nothing shall have ever power to allter. Captayne Price shewed me yr Honor's order, to wch I have, and ever will submitt myselfe, but the overplus of my retinewe is soome thirteene more, wch God is my witnesse I tooke not for vayne gloryes sake, but that the world should see the title wch hir Highnes did affoord me was not so naked but that it had attendaunce in soome sorte answerable; besides I am certaynely informed that the best men of Mounster in this prime of my sun shininge fortune (through her Maties extraordinary bounty) wilbe glad to were my clothe, that halfe a yeare hence will not altogether be so fond of it. Some fewe horses my friends have affoorded me to the number of five, wch I thought good to acquaint you wth, as he to whom I must address my whole selfe, and they tell me I have very great neede to carry saddells over, wch are not there to be had; these are not idell expences, and though it may be opposed that it is not fitt her Matie should be at such a chardge uppon an uncertaynety, yet let the consequence of this imployment be exammined, and it wilbe found matters of less note more chardgeable; I refer myselfe to yr Honor's consideration, and these, Honorable Sr, are the tokens of your vertues speritt to strenthen those defects that maye hinder the seruices, as myselfe hath nowe no meanes to supply the chardge of these things, and by you must they nowe be uppheld, uppon whom retourneth the actions of my best and deerest seruices, to whom I committ myselfe and them.

"From Bristowe

"this second of Octr. 1600. Yr Honor'r euer unfaynedly

"Desmond.

"Patricke Arthur is retourned wth the soldiers, wch I thought fitt to acquaint yr honor wth, because of yr determination that they

should attende uppon me, who are nowe to attend your directions. I beseech yr Honor to hasten awaye my Lord Archbishop and Patricke Crosby."

Price to Cecyll.

"My humble dutiees to yr Ho remembrid,—yt maye please the same to be adurtised thatt I have receved by the hands of Mr. Mayor yur honoruable lres of the firste of this moneth together wth the pacquett this 3d of Octobre at xij o'clock in the afternone; and as for the shipping wherein the soldiers wth Cap Aurthur were to passe, they were retorned hither yesterdays by contrary wynds; the wch I have at lardge certyfyed to yor honor yesterdays at xij o'clock by the poste, I have, according your honor's directions delywred yor comendacens to the Earle, and wthall acquaynted him thatt his patent was signed, and wilbe sent by the Archbushop; for the wch he reioyceth so much thatt he wysshed himself att thatt instant to be in Irland, whereby he myght manifest his willingnes to further her Mats service; and although he knoweth the Lo Bushop hath don his indevors to bring this patent to be signed, for wch he semeth to be moch beholding, yett he resteth altogether upon yor honor as the onely scetanquor (sheet anchor) and patrone to work this happines unto him, for wch he voweth to be ewyor's, and at yor comand. I will have great care thatt no blast of servyseable wynd be wasted, but will take the comodie of the first, and therle is as willing also to be gon. I will deliyur yor pacquett accordyng yor direction. Our ship is agreef by the Mayor and me, and caused her to fall downe fearing to be neaped.

"At the Keye the soner to be gon wth the first wynd wch nowe is at west,—I will nott have more care of the p-suacion of my lief then to followe yor honourable instructions sent me. And so most humbly taking leave I beseech God send yor ho long life and moch happanes.

"Yor Honores most humbly to
"comand in all things

"John Prise.

"Brustoll the iiii of Octr. 1600"

Earl of Desmond to Cecyll. From Bristol.

"Right honorable. I haue receaued by Captaine Prise the aduertisement of her Maties exceedinge mercy towards me, for wch, as the whole course of my life I cannot be so voyde of the understandinge of hir Princely woorth as not still to admire the nature of her deuices that all admiration must absolutely attend uppon, and do hope that hir royall inclination doeth not impose impossibilitiees; that where I shall shewe a truenes of will, and duty there, no disaster in the proofe of my allegiaunce shalbe anie

obstacle to hir published mercy. I do heere by one Cornelius Dier who landed at *blew morris*, uppon Wensday last, beeing the 28 of Septr. (and nowe wth me at Bristowe) that James Fitz Thomas hath carried away by pollycy Cormache McDermot's sister, and coossen germaine to Florence M Carthy, albeit that he hath an other wife, wch is the Lord of the Caher's sister, that nowe is, these courses are thought to be but pacts of underhand rebellion, for wch I humbly beeseech yor honor to be a meane for unto her Matie to the further discouringe and punishinge of it, that I maye be ioyned wth the Lord President for the takeinge in of those that will unmaske these wicked concealements, and marshall lawe for the contrary that shall run the course of this reprobation. Myne owne person I feare not shall neuer want that desire wch shall alwaies answer the expectation of hir Highnes, on whom, next under God, I rely uppon, and from whom the actions of my abillities have receaved life. This Cornelius is a foster brother of my sister Roches, who sent him wth this aduertisement unto me, and of hir owne suffered wrongs by this Lord Roche, wch I mooved your honour for to give order unto the President that it should be redressed according to Justice and equitie, wch if yon have not doon I humbly beeseech you to do, and for incouragement to Dermott OConnor, who I doubt not will behaue himselfe well in these employments, so I lease your honor's further trouble.

"From Bristowe this 3d of October 1600.

"Yor Honor's, as I have professed

"and will ever continue

"Desmond."

"*Desmond to Cecyll.*

"Right honorable: Though none shall euer accuse me of unthankfullnes, yet I must retourne all my happines on yr honourable favours, to whom I owe all the fruition of my happinesses and yeeld the comandment of my lifes seruices, beeseeching yor honorable kindnesses that wee may be second wth all good meanes, and I doubt not but to accomplish yor desire, or myne owne end, wch shall shewe the will I had to performe it, wth some direction to Captayne Price that nowe in almost stepping into Ireland I maye not want meanes for the transportation of my men and soome fewe horses, wth humbly beeseeching you to remember Morris Shieshan's sute as before.

"Desmond."

"*John Price to Cecyll.*

"My humble duetie to yor hon remembrid. I have receid yor honourable lre dated the 3d of this moneth the 5th of the same at one o'clock in th afternoone, wch came in vearly good time, for the yong Earle was greatly pressed upon by gent herr to recive som

of ther friends into his service, wch he reiected as soune as I shewed him so moch of yor honor's lre as conserved himself, for wch he gave God thanks that he had so fast a friend as would send him so freindly aduice; and for the last pte of yor lre I dealed earnestly wth him according your lre, and withal told him that if by eny of his dealings he would geve yor honor eny cause of dislike, he would then loose the freindship of yor honr, and therby loose all, to his own othrowe; who ptested that he wilbe eur as carefull to followe yor honor's aduise as of the pseruacion of his own lief. The wynd hath bene sithens owre comyng hither at west southwest, untill this daye mornyng, to south east, and thereupon I gave directions to or shipmr to ship my Lo horses and to drawe downe to Kingwade, wher my Lo will take shipping. Nowe as I was to make an end of my lre the wynd changed to south west, and to a fogg; yet I have sent all pvision both for man and horsse a shipboard, to be in a readines to go wth the first wynd, wherof I ptest, as also to followe yor honor's direction in all points, I have as great care as of my lief; wch I doubt nott, when my dealing and reconyng shall com to yor honor, it shall manifestly appeare Mr. Aurthure and his shipmaster now called before the mayor and I, where I have opined unto them, according yor Honor's direction, thatt by their necligens her Maties service was greatly hindered, by staing so long in this roade that they could nott recour any harbor in Mounster, having had a north east and south east wynd, wch they have confessed to have had for one daye att ther setting out of this harbar a north east wynd, being in the chaniell they had a south east wynd, and being more then half seas owr they were checked wth a south west wynd wth a dark fogg and tempest; wherby they were inforced to retorne hither—it is reported heere thatt one of their shippes recowred Waterford; butt they are of a contrary oppynion, so as I cannott sertenly certifie thereof. I have geven straight chardge to the Mrs. and also to Mr. Aurthure to be in a readynes to sett fourth upon one houres warnyng. I haue no newes more to writt unto yor Honor butt thatt one Mr. Pyne and Mr. Colters arryved here yesterdaye who told me thatt the Lo Psident wentt on a yoney to Carybraghe* against Florens McCartie who is in armes, so praying to Almighty God to ptect and keepe yor honor in all helth and happiness.

“Yor honor mest humbly to

“comand in all seies

“John Prise.

“Bristoll, Octr. 6, 1600.”

“*Cecyl to Carewe.*”

“Ther hath been wrytten this daie from Irland certen newes of Mounster to wch I geve noe credytt untill I heer yt confirmed,

* Carbery.

and yett hath one of the best consellers of yt kingdome (when he hath related ye matter) concluded wth this sentense. 'If ther were noe wieser then my selfe or that I cold have my wishe I vowe to God the yong man Desmond shold neur see Irland; for I feare hir Majestie, supposinge to putt' downe a bad won, will raise up a wors.' The newes are in theis words—'Captayne Richard Green hath don vary good service of late, for he fought wth the pretended Earle of Desmond as he was marchyng into Arklow: He slew his sone and 60 of his chyfest men, wth twoe or thre of the captaynes of his bonaughts, he tooke his cows, his sheepe his garrans and all his bagage; he fetched them out of the woodes, and never left followinge them untill he drowe them into Leix wth 300 rascals wth him, not havinge scarce a rag about him.' Whether this is treue or false, I knowe nott; but Sr I prairie you lettus nowe fall into this consideracon. Yf itt see be yt James McThomas be att so lowe an ebbe whether ther be so great a piece of worke left behynd for this yong Gent, as that yt might not be don without him; and soe the honor given to your sworde and industrie, as well as toe adventuer him abroade, when yf he proov nought you knowe the pill like to ensue (wch doeth nott a littel trouble me) how apt our enemyes will be to throwe uppon us (yt have ben auchtors of the counsaile) the imputacon of anie future bad successe. I prairie you therfor lettus be as wise as serpents, though we bee as symple as doves, and yf uppon his cominge over you fynde noe great taske to be don bye him, rather take a true and a wies wai and mak suer of him yt he cannot escape; and aduertis hither what you thinke: for take this from me uppon my life, that whatsoever you doe to abridge him, wch you shall saie to be don out of providense, shall never be ymputed to you as a fault, butt exceedingelie comended byethe Queene for God doett knowe yt the Queene hath ben the most hardliedrawn unto yt yt cold be, and hath layde yt in my dysh a dusion tymes. 'Well I prairie God you and Carewe be not decaued.' Besides Sr, yt shalbe an easie matter for you to coller whatsoever you shall doe in that kynde by this cours. You maie ether apostate sombodye to seke to withdrawe him, who maie betraie him to you; or, rather then fayle ther maie be som founde out ther to accuse him, and it maie be sufficient reſon for you to remand him, or toe restrayne him. First I see won thinge yt a meane fortune will never contente him, wth wch disposition assuer your selfe the Queen will not be mutch pleased; next he is in nature proude, and yf he ever shold be suffered to meddell wth ye undertaker's lands his teeth will water till he have devoured them all. I confesse everie perill nowe obiects ytself to my senses, and for no reson more then when I contemplayte what a vexacon yt wilbe when our own accous are efficientes of after repentence, in a tyme when no iudgment is made but bye the successe. Still remember what I say unto you. Blame shall never betyde

you for anie cautions (howe curyous soever) in the manageinge of this Puer male Cinctus.*

"From my Lodging at the Savoy,
"Octr. 8, 1600."

"ROBT. CECYLL."

The reader unacquainted with the peculiar notions of morality entertained by this great English statesman may be reluctant to affix to "the Curious Cautions" mentioned in this letter such interpretation as the ingenious suggestion of the "Apostating somebody to seek to withdraw him," would seem to make the most obvious. He may prefer to understand the expression as advice to Carewe to take care that the Archbishop of Cashel should urge with untiring repetition upon this Puer male Cinctus the sixth article of the lectures; this interpretation may be correct, and will certainly be charitable. Such a reader is in the fittest possible state of mind for the perusal of much more of the confidential correspondence of these two friends: The rumour that had reached England of the good service of Captain Richard Green, and of the total defeat of the Sagan Earl was true; the Queen's Earl of Desmond could now be of no possible use in Ireland; he might be mischievous if indeed "his teeth had already begun to water for the lands of the undertakers;" and it is a curious trait in the character of Cecyll that he should have preferred, to the simple expedient of recalling Captain Price and his charge to London, the shadowing out to Carewe of the curious cautions to be taken with him, the first moment that he should give cause for suspicion. Had he stopped the journey of the Earl at Bristol the loss would have been little either to the traveller or to Ireland; but had the President of Munster misunderstood the meaning of his despatch, Cecyll might have had to return to the same page which had furnished him with the warning words of Sulla, in search for a fitting phrase with which, in his future

* Nec ut unquam aliter quam super eum cingeretur (latus Clavus) et quidem fluxiore cinctura. Unde emanasse Sullæ dictum, optimates sæpius admonentis, "ut male præcinctum puerum caverent." —(Suetonius.) Neither to Sulla nor to the Optimates did Julius Cæsar cause a tithe of the uneasiness that James FitzGerald caused to Cecyll.

epistles to his friend, classically to mourn over the untoward demise of the modern Cæsar.

"Price to Cecyll.

"Right honorable. I have this daye at 10 a'clock in the forenone receved Yor Honr's lres of the 9th of this psent, together wth lres to the Lo. Psident, wch God willing shalbe deliued unto his owne hands, whereof I will be careful ; I have dispatched all things here, and caused the ship wherein we go to fall down to Kings road 5 miles from Brustowe so as wthin an houres warnyng we will take saile wth the first wynd, wch I greatly long for. My staye here a dayise longer to me then a yeare ; the wynd is south south west, and veary dark wether by reason of fogg and rayne, some time to south south east for iij. or iiij. houres, the Mr. of the barke dare nott venter to go this dark wether untill it brake up somewhat cleerer, and will answer for his lief thatt he shall loose no houre of eny convenient time or wynd. I have deliued yor Ho. comendacons to th Earle who humbly thanketh yor hon. and is very glad to heer of the good newes yor hon. wrott, yet he saith that he hopeth wthin feawe dayes after his arryvall in Irland to send unto yor hon. better. So beseeching almighty God to keepe and pserve yor hon. in all helth and happiness. I humbly take leave.

"Brustoll, the x of October, 1600.

"JOHN PRICE.

"The ship wth the soldiers thatt was dispersed, wch was thought to be at Waterfourd, is nowe at Milfourd, whereof I had suer newes. My Lo. Archbushop and Mr. Crosby came hither a Wednesdaye last."

"Desmond to Cecyll.

Right honorable. I knowe not in what measure of thankfullnes I maye give you thanks, because infinitely haue you tied me ; and my endeours to your comandment shall never be finit ; what errors the greenes of my youth maye comitt will rather growe through ignorance of this worlds carriage then anie thought or imagination of willfullnes to offend ; and I do assure my selfe in the woorthines of yor nature, You will hold them as escapes, then as settled determinations to followe or continu in. But howe can I beare my selfe in the height of these admirable fauours wch his Highnes has imposed upon me, that I shall not eur disclayme from merit, and coome short of yeelding anie reasonable satisfaction to that sacred majestie which the period of my lifes endinge cannot satisfie ? only alegiaunce and dutie are the pledjes of my humillyty, that the conscience of an honest hart upon such suerties will neur lett a forfeiture indamage. And You Honourable Sr be my organ that maye alwaies sound in hir highnes eares the yeeldinge tribute of my loyallty, that will not receave anie shadow of disobedience, nor to your Honor anie unconformity of yor disposinge. And so ready to set

sayle wth the next wynde wch I earnestly long for, and humbly thanking yor Honor for your care of defrayinge the chardge of my horses, hopeinge by my next letter to aduertiss you of my arrivall at Corke. I take my leaue this xii. October, 1600.

"Yr Honors euer bounden,

" DESMOND.

"I humbly thank Yor Honor for yor good newes. I hope shortly to send you better. Captayne Price hath made all things redde here, and desires to be gon, and I protest I do the like."

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*Hermæ Pastor. Æthiopice primum edidit et Æthiopica Latine vertit Antonius d'Abbadie. Lipsiæ, 1861.*

We are compelled by want of space most reluctantly to reserve our notice of this important publication, which is but one of M. d'Abbadie's many contributions to the literature of the Abyssinian church. We hope to connect with it in our next number a detailed account of the literature of Abyssinia, as described by M. d'Abbadie. It is deeply interesting in a religious point of view.

II.—*A Vindication of the Duke of Modena from the Charges of Mr. Gladstone, from Official Documents and other Authentic Sources, selected and revised, with an Introduction by the Marquis of Normanby, K.G. London: Bosworth and Harrison, 1861.*

To attack, to slander, to lie is an easy task. It only requires audacity coupled with a rapid and unscrupulous tongue and a fit audience. But to vindicate the cause attacked, to rebut the slander, and to unmask the lie is a work of time and difficulty. It costs labour and research. And the vindication at last often fails in its purpose, because it comes too late. The lie is rapid, the truth is slow. The telegram, the special correspondent, the Prime Minister of Turin, or a Cabinet Minister in England, fabricate or father a falsehood, and it speeds on to the ends of the earth. Yet truth though slow is strong, and must ultimately penetrate into the mind and heart of a truth-loving people.

Relying on this conviction, Lord Normanby, in the

pamphlet which he has just published, has endeavoured to stem the tide of falsehood and calumny which has up to this moment overborne all resistance. He has appealed, and let us hope not in vain, to the fair spirit and sober judgment of reflecting and independent men against the thoughtless clamour of the noisy politician, and against the prejudice and passions of the revolutionary partisan. In his vindication of the Duke of Modena from the charges of Mr. Gladstone, he produces documentary evidence to show that the statements enforced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with unctuous rhetoric and solemn declamation on the House of Commons were utterly without foundation, and that by far the gravest accusation was not borne out even by the work from which he quoted, and from which he has learned his revolutionary lesson. With singular want of penetration and judgment of character Mr. Gladstone had accepted, as trustworthy evidence against the Duke of Modena, a compilation of documents, drafts of laws, memoranda, and private letters, of a most suspicious character furnished by Doctor Farini, who ransacked the public archives and purloined confidential papers from the Duke's private bureau, in order if possible to find proof for his accusation in the House of Commons. In his attack against the Duke, Mr. Gladstone made more than a free use of these suspicious documents. He went beyond his text.

Not only is Mr. Gladstone guilty of the un-English habit of attacking a fallen and unfortunate prince, but, when as in his correspondence with Lord Normanby, he is driven from point to point, and the ground on which he had taken his stand is cut from beneath his feet, he is so wanting in candour and manliness as to evade Lord Normanby's demand to retract in the House of Commons the accusation which he was no longer able to maintain. If he had valued truth and justice more than political partisanship or personal vanity, he would not have sought to have covered his defeat by making fresh charges against the Duke of Modena from the same impure and tainted sources. His letters are evasive and shuffling in the extreme; they indeed exhibit "the contortions of the Sybil without its inspiration." But it is not Mr. Gladstone alone, the national character suffers from this want of truthfulness, from this unreality in describing events which has been introduced by this sad Italian revolution and its agents, the anonymous

correspondents of newspapers. Words are losing their proper signification. Grave men, in speaking of the state of Naples, make use of terms which they know to be false. Soldiers fighting for their king and country against a foreign invader,—peasants in arms in defence of their priests and of their church, against the violators of the sanctuary, are called robbers and brigands. A war for the dearest and the holiest interests of a nation is described as a trade pursued for the love of pillage, and out of an inhuman thirst for blood. The ignominy of a felon is attached to the name of the royalist soldier, and to the peasant faithful to his king. The character of a whole people is maligned and blackened by the foul imputation. We all know that such a description of the royalist war in Naples, whether used by the press or by Ministers of State is a strange and unwarrantable perversion of language. We all know that it is done for a purpose. We also know that love of king and country is still regarded in England as a virtue, and that English history is filled with glorious examples of a loyalty that braved death and exile for this noble principle, and that English hearts kindle again at the bare recital. It is in order to stifle sympathy with the Neapolitans in their death-struggle against the foreign invader of their hearths and homes that they are termed blood-thirsty brigands and robbers.

To crush brigands is it necessary that sixty thousand Piedmontese soldiers should be poured into the valleys and cities of Southern Italy? To hunt down robbers is it necessary to burn cities, to butcher their inhabitants in cold blood, or to force innocent women and children to perish in the flames of their burning homes? Are Neapolitan priests, men of ability and character, beloved by their people, (according to the testimony of a Protestant clergyman on the spot,) to be shot in cold blood, as at Caserta a few weeks ago, in order to put down brigandage? "The officer who commanded the Piedmontese soldiers on this occasion," writes the clergyman alluded to above, "when remonstrated with by the populace for the cruelty of this proceeding, ordered his men to fire upon the followers of Francis! This was done. A woman with a child at her breast was killed, and three other persons seriously wounded."

"You will be astounded," the writer continues, "to hear how fearful are the sufferings of those who are suspected of sympathising

with the King of Naples, and desire his return . . . many members of families of the highest classes—including women—are walked off to prison upon no charge whatever, without any examination, and with no prospect of being released. . . . The prisons are full of suspected favourers of their lawful king. . . . If the English people were not so utterly deluded by the newspaper statements and telegrams—many of which are manufactured by the Piedmontese officials in order to mislead our nation—it would be impossible that they would morally sanction the fearful state of anarchy and cruelty which at present obtains.”

We regret our limited space forbids us to give this interesting letter in extenso, we must refer our readers to the pamphlet.

“Is it possible,” asks Lord Normanby, “that Lord Palmerston is in ignorance that at this moment there are more than 10,000 persons in the prisons in the kingdom of Naples for political causes; that in the last six months there have perished by military execution 617 people, whereas a work published at Bologna, called ‘*Il Martirologio*,’ makes it an accusation against the Italian rulers that in fifty-four years in the kingdom of Naples 333 people had been executed by sentence of a regular government—333 in fifty-four years, 617 in six months!! Does Lord Palmerston any longer wonder that they want least of all such a change as he would bring.”!!

Yet Lord Palmerston, who in the House of Commons never failed to hound on Cialdini and the blood-thirsty Pinelli in their savage work of extermination, knew very well that they whom he termed “infamous wretches and brigands,” were soldiers fighting faithfully for their king. Is such perversion of facts honourable in a minister of the crown? How long is it to be tolerated? “There is no form,” says Lord Normanby, “in which the perversion of the truth is so mischievous as in the mouth of a British minister, who profiting by the credit which belongs to that character, misrepresents facts, the knowledge of which he is supposed to derive from his official position.”

With a directness of purpose and a persevering energy, which cannot be too much admired, Lord Normanby is battling almost alone in support of truth of statement against an all but universal perversion of public and notorious facts. It were to be wished that the millions of Catholics in Europe had but a portion of his energy and disinterestedness. We are not so romantic as to suppose that the friends of the Papacy will display half the zeal

manifested by its enemies. The good are too often supine. But under present circumstances supineness is a crime. Can nothing but self-interest sting and spur men into energy? We know that a breach of a Galway contract has made politicians beld, and nearly cost a Whig minister his supremacy. Can the need of the church and the voice of the Pope not do as much now? The Pope has not to fear the Jews of Germany, the Protestants of England, or the infidels of Italy, so much as the intense selfishness and cowardice of the Catholic millions of Europe. If the temporal power be lost to the Pope, it will be lost not indeed by the active co-operation but by the passive and guilty acquiescence of Catholic Europe in the results of the Revolution.

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